

59

26 Mar – 14 Apr 1960

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru



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59



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**Selected
works of
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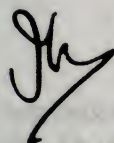
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SECOND SERIES

Volume Fifty Nine (26 March – 14 April 1960)

Editor

MADHAVAN K. PALAT



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FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both

within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

Indira Gandhi

New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

Nehru was always anxious to communicate with the public at large, whether through mass meetings or in smaller groups that may have gathered at short notice. This volume contains the record of at least sixteen such meetings. The themes were the usual ones, on the historical transition underway in India, the importance of industry, the need for technology in agriculture, the significance of human resource development, and the imperative of independence in foreign policy. But each one was tailored to his audience, the stress shifting as required. It is curious to watch Nehru being virtually summoned to meet Vinoba Bhave near Panipat; and it is curiouser that he objected to *Lady Chatterley's Lover* whereas he had approved of *Lolita*. Otherwise the internal politics of the country follow their predictable course of factionalism, agitations, and corruption. Foreign affairs is humdrum, but preparations are underway for Chou En-lai's visit, which is covered in volume 60. However, there is a record of an interesting conversation with Nasser in this volume.

Some of the speeches have been transcribed; hence the paragraphing, punctuation, and other such details have been inserted. When no text or recording of a speech was available, a newspaper report has been used as a substitute. Such a newspaper report, once selected for publication, has been reproduced faithfully; other information has been added only by way of annotation. Words and expressions which were inaudible or unintelligible have been shown by an ellipsis between square brackets thus: [...]. Most items here are from Nehru's office copies. In personal letters, and even in official letters composed in personal style to persons like B. C. Roy or Govind Ballabh Pant, the salutation and concluding portions were written by hand; such details are not recorded in the office copy. Therefore these have been inserted in Nehru's customary style for such persons, but the editorial intervention is indicated by square brackets. Information on persons may always be traced through the index if it is not available in the footnote. References to the *Selected Works* appear as SWJN/FS/10/..., to be understood as *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*, First Series, Volume 10. In the case of the Second Series, it would be SWJN/SS/.... The part and page numbers follow the volume number.

Documents, which have been referred to as items, are numbered sequentially throughout the volume; footnote numbering however is continuous only within a section, not between sections. A map of the boundary between India and

China has been reproduced from White Paper II of 1959 and is placed at the end of the volume.

Nehru's speeches or texts in Hindi have been published in Hindi and a translation into English has been appended in each case for those who might need or want a translation.

A large part of Nehru's archives is housed in the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and is known as the JN Collection. This has been the chief source for items here, and has been made available by Shrimati Sonia Gandhi, the Chairperson of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund. Unless otherwise stated, all items are from this collection. The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has been immensely helpful in so many ways, and it is a pleasure to record our thanks to it. The Cabinet Secretariat, the secretariats of the President and Prime Minister, various ministries of the Government of India, All India Radio, the Press Information Bureau, and the National Archives of India, all have permitted us to use material in their possession. We are grateful to *The Hindu*, the *National Herald*, *Shankar's Weekly*, and in particular to R. K. Laxman for permission to reproduce reports and cartoons.

Finally, it is my pleasure to thank those who bore the heavy burden of preparing this volume for publication, most of all Geeta Kudaisya and Fareena Ikhlas Faridi. The Hindi texts have been prepared by Mohammed Khalid Ansari, and the translation from the Hindi was done by Chandra Chari. Chandra Murari Prasad ably handled all the computer work, including preparing the entire text for the press.

Madhavan K. Palat

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I. GENERAL

(a) Speeches

(i) Punjab

1. At Patti Kaliyana Village, Panipat¹

मैं कोई यहाँ सभा में बोलने तो आया नहीं, आप जानते हैं कि मैं यहाँ आया आचार्य विनोबा जी से मिलने और अभी एक-दो घंटे उनके साथ रहा।² अब आप लोग यहाँ इतने हैं कि आपसे मिलने का मौका मिला, खुशी होती है, हालाँकि दिल्ली से बहुत दूर आप नहीं हैं लेकिन दिल्ली तो ऐसा पिंजड़ा है कि उसमें से निकलना मुश्किल हो जाता है कभी-कभी, क्या बताएँ, तो इधर

[THE CUMPUSSION TO SPEAK]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



Fortunately nobody noticed it and it's all over—

I had forgotten to plug the wire for the mike!

(From The Times of India, 31 March 1960, p.1)

1. Speech to villagers at an unscheduled meeting at the village Patti Kalyana, Panipat, Punjab, 2 April 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Nehru spent two hours with Vinoba Bhave, at the Sarvodaya Ashram at Patti Kalyana before addressing the villagers. See also SWJN/SS/58/item 140.

बहुत दिनों से मैं आया नहीं था इस तरफ। मैं आपसे क्या कहूँ मेरी समझ में नहीं आता। यों स्पीच, व्याख्यान तो बहुत इधर-उधर भी दिए जाते हैं और लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें हैं कहने को, हमारे देश में क्या हो रहा है और आपके यहाँ पंजाब में और विदेशों में क्या हो रहा है, बहुत बातें हैं क्योंकि अच्छा होता है कि आप सब लोग यहाँ कुछ सारे देश का हाल समझें। पंजाब का हाल तो आपको मालूम है, ठीक है और मुझसे अधिक मालूम है आपको लेकिन कुछ सारे देश का हाल भी मालूम होना चाहिए थोड़ा सा और कुछ दुनिया का हाल। अब आप देखो, कल रात नौ-दस बजे इंडोनेशिया देश के राष्ट्रपति आये³ तीन घंटे दिल्ली में रहे, बारह बजे गये, और एक दूसरे देश के राष्ट्रपति परसों आये⁴ थे, वो जो राष्ट्रपति सुकर्ण हैं। अच्छा उनके नाम पर भी आप विचार करें, कैसा नाम है? उनके देश में अधिकतर मुस्लिम लोग रहते हैं, लेकिन उनका खुद का नाम है शुद्ध संस्कृत का नाम है सुकर्ण। ऐसे वहाँ बहुतों के नाम हैं। मिस्र देश के एक और राष्ट्रपति आये राष्ट्रपति नासिर।⁵ वो आजकल शायद मेरा ख्याल है भाखड़ा नांगल देखने गये हुए हैं। अब आठ-दस-बारह घंटे के बाद एक और देश के लोग आते हैं। इस तरह से और देशों के लोग आते रहते हैं, अच्छा है हमारा सम्बन्ध बढ़ना उन देशों से हमारी मित्रता बढ़नी कि अपने देश के ज़रूरी बड़े-बड़े प्रश्न हैं, उनसे बाहर निकल आये ज़रा और दुनिया को देखें कि मैं आपको बताऊँ दुनिया में क्या हो रहा है, उससे हम सीखें, काम तो हमें अपने देश में करना है, अपने गाँव शहर मोहल्ले में काम करना है लेकिन और जगह क्या हो रहा है, हमें मालूम होना चाहिए। हमें अपने देश में काम क्या करना है, यह कहानी तो बड़ी लम्बी हो जाती है, बहुत काम करने हैं। सबसे बड़ा काम तो यही हो जाता है कि हमारी जो जनता भारत के पाँच लाख गाँवों में रहती है, पाँच से अधिक है उसका उठना, उठाना। ख़ाली दिल्ली या चंडीगढ़ या बड़े-बड़े शहरों के बनने से तो देश नहीं उठ जाता जब तक कि गाँव हमारे न उठें। तब असल में देश उठता है।

यह सब तो आप सुनते होंगे पंचवर्षीय योजना और क्या-क्या और विकास योजना यह सब इसी में है। बड़े-बड़े अफ़सर इधर से उधर घूमते हैं और यह कहते हैं और वो कहते हैं। अफ़सर इसलिए रखे जाते हैं कि कुछ काम सीख के उस काम को बतायें लेकिन जहाँ किसी काम में बहुत अफ़सरी का काम होता है तो इसके माने हैं कि वो काम नहीं होता। अफ़सर कितने ही अच्छे आदमी हों, अफ़सरी से काम नहीं होता। काम हर एक को करना है, अपना-अपना अपने

3. President Soekarno of Indonesia arrived at 9.30 p.m. and was received by President Rajendra Prasad, Vice-President S. Radhakrishnan, Nehru, and Finance Minister Morarji Desai at Palam airport. After dinner and talks with Nehru, Soekarno left for Baghdad at midnight. He was on a goodwill visit to over twelve countries.
4. Khrushchev stopped in Calcutta on 1 March 1960 before returning to Moscow. See SWJN/SS/58/items 235 and 236.
5. President Nasser of UAR was in India from 29 March to 10 April 1960. See items 196-199.

गाँव वाले करें, पंचायत करें, यह करें, वो करें, अफ़सरों से सलाह ले लें और राय दें लेकिन जहाँ लोग बैठे हैं कि सरकारी लोग आयेंगे, सरकार के अफ़सर आके कर देंगे वहाँ कुछ नहीं होता, न अफ़सर करें, न और लोग। इसलिए आजकल बड़ा ज़ोर है पंचायत बनाने का। पंचायत तो बनी है बहुत जगह। पंचायत को इख़्तियार देना, अधिकार देना, खर्चने के लिए पैसा देना, जो वहाँ से सरकारी आमदनी होती है वो पंचायतों को दी जाये कि वह अपने इलाक़े को चलायें, अच्छा चलायें, बुरा चलायें, जैसा चलायें, बुरा चलायें तो बुरा चलायें, लेकिन वही चलायें। इससे अपने आप चलाने से, काम करने से आदमी सीखता है, भरोसा होता है, इससे देश बढ़ता है। फिर अगर इस तरह सब हो तो असल में पंचायती राज हो, फिर उसमें लाखों-करोड़ों आदमी देश में लग जाते हैं। यह नहीं कि ख़ाली थोड़े से आदमी ऊपर से अफ़सरी करें। लाखों-करोड़ों आदमी की ज़िम्मेदारी हो जाती है अब जैसा आपके उनके ऊपर है आप लोग अक्लमंदी से काम करें, आपका भला होगा और आप बेवुकूफ़ी से करें तो आपका नुकसान होगा। ज़िम्मेदारी आपकी है भलाई की और नुकसान की, किसी दूसरे की नहीं है, तब काम ठीक होता है। हाँ, कभी-कभी ग़लती हो जाती है सीखने से, लेकिन हमारे देश में अब यह बुनियादी बात है कि हम देश की जनता की पंचायतों को अधिकार दें और पंजाब में भी होता जाता है, उधर राजस्थान में और कहाँ-कहाँ दो एक प्रदेशों में तो बड़े ज़ोर से हो गया है। पंचायत के ऊपर पंचायत समिति और उसको काम करने का बड़ा अधिकार है, सब गाँव वगैरह में सड़कें बनायें, स्कूल बनायें, खेती में तरक्की हो।

उसके साथ दूसरी बात है कोऑपरेटिव सहकारी संघ हो, जिसमें गाँव के रहने वाले मिल-जुल कर कोऑपरेटिव बनायें। जो पुराने कोऑपरेटिव हैं वो ठीक नहीं थे। ठीक से मतलब वो तो ख़ाली थोड़ा सा पैसा लेने के लिए थे अब कोऑपरेटिव सब मिलकर बिक्री वगैरह करें ताकि उसमें बीच के लोगों का फ़ायदा न हो आप ही लोगों का हो। ऐसा न हो कि बीच वाले आपसे ख़रीदें, बाज़ार में बेचें, मंडी में बेचें। जो कुछ उसमें होना है वो सब फ़ायदा जनता को हो। यह सहकारी संघ हो, यही बातें तो चलानी हैं। यों तो बड़ी-बड़ी बातें हो रही हैं आपका भाखड़ा बना, कितना पैसा उसमें लगा, उससे नहरें निकली, पांच बरस से थोड़े ही दिन बाद लोहे का कारख़ाना बना है उससे एकदम से फ़ायदा नहीं होता, लेकिन जब बन जाता है, तब उससे बड़ा फ़ायदा होता है। आजकल देश में लोहे की बहुत आवश्यकता है। यहाँ तक कि किसान को है, ज़मींदार को है। अब मैं आपको क्या बताऊँ, लेकिन मैं चाहता हूँ आप इसको समझें और यह हमारी जो यह कम्युनिटी ब्लॉक्स हैं वो भी इसीलिए हैं कि आप देहाती आबादी को उठायें, मर्द हो, औरत हो, अपने-अपने इलाक़े में, गाँव में काम करें और वो समझ लें कि हम इस बहुत बड़े काम में, हम एक नया हिन्दुस्तान, नया भारत बना रहे हैं और हम भी उसमें एक सिपाही हैं। यह तो छोटा काम नहीं होता। आप चाहे गाँव में करें या आप सारे भारत को उठाने का काम कर रहे हैं, आप यहाँ पंजाब में हैं, इसके पास राजस्थान है, उत्तर प्रदेश है, लेकिन असल में ये सब नक्शे के सफ़े हैं, इतिज़ाम करने के लिए प्रबंध करने को तो हमारा देश भारत है, उसको हम सबको उठाना है। आजकल तो पढ़ाई फैल रही है, अस्पताल वगैरह हैं क्योंकि आगे वही देश बढ़ते हैं, आदमी जहाँ पढ़े-लिखे हों, लेकिन पढ़ने-लिखने के ये माने नहीं हैं कि आपका लड़का पढ़े और बाबू बन के देहली में बैठ जाए, यह माने नहीं है। वो अपने गाँव में काम करें, अच्छी खेती करें, कहीं ज़्यादा

अच्छी खेती करेगा। तो सब बातें हैं और उधर पीछे देखो दुनिया में अजीब हालत है वो बड़े बम चलाते हैं, एटम बम अभी आज ही के अखबार की खबर है 'एक और एटम बम फ्रांस देश ने छोड़ा।' ⁶ यह बड़ी खराब बात है क्योंकि एटम बम से बड़ी हानि होती है और हवा खराब कर देता है। अगर ऐसा होता जाये तो मालूम नहीं कब सारी दुनिया तबाह हो जाये। एक तरफ तो दुनिया में बड़े अच्छे-अच्छे काम हो रहे हैं, मेल के, खुशी के, दूसरी तरफ से लड़ाई के। अब सवाल यह है कि कौन जीतेगा लड़ाई कराने वाला या मिल-जुल कर काम कराने वाला।

मैं कहता हूँ सबसे निकम्मे वो लोग हैं जो हाथ पर हाथ रखके बैठने वाले हैं वो निकम्मे लोग हैं। ऐसे कहीं देश उठता है कि आप चारपाई पर बैठे-बैठे एक दूसरे की बुराई करें, कोई काम-वाम न करें। हमें तो समझ लेना है कि हमारे ऊपर तेज़ी से सारे देश को उठाने का एक इतना बड़ा काम आ गया है, और भी देश उठ रहे हैं और हमें ज़ोरों से काम करना है, उससे हमारा भी भला है और देश का भी भला।

तो मैंने थोड़ा सा आपको कह दिया अब मैं देहली जाता हूँ। यहाँ खासतौर से हमारी बहनें बैठी हैं, उन्हें याद रखना है कि स्त्रियों का ज़माना आ गया है, उन्हें बड़े काम करने हैं। महात्मा गांधी जी के समय से हमारी स्त्रियों ने हमारे स्वराज की लड़ाई में कितना हिस्सा लिया और यह भी आप याद रखो कि स्त्रियों का काम करना, पुरुषों के काम करने से ज़्यादा फ़ायदेमंद उससे कहीं लाभदायक होता है। स्त्रियों का पढ़ना पुरुषों के पढ़ने से ज़्यादा लाभदायक है, क्यों? इसलिए कि छोटे बच्चों लड़के-लड़कियों पर माता का ज़्यादा असर होता है। माँ अनपढ़ है तो बच्चे का भी ठीक रास्ते पर चलना कठिन होगा। बाप तो इधर-उधर फिरेगा, कामों में फँसेगा। इसलिए स्त्रियों का पढ़ना, लिखना, सीखना कुछ न कुछ काम उठाना बहुत आवश्यक है, नहीं तो देश कैसे बढ़ेगा। असल में तो सभी को करना चाहिए, तो बस फिर मैं आगे बढ़ता हूँ।

जय हिन्द! जय भारत!

[कोई कहता है जय जगत!]⁷

[Translation begins :

I have not come here to address a public meeting. As you know, I had come here to meet Acharya Vinoba Bhave and have just spent a couple of hours with him.⁸ I am glad to have the opportunity of meeting all of you too, though you are not very far from Delhi. But somehow Delhi is like a prison and it is very difficult to get out of it. Anyhow, I have not been able to come here for a long time now. So I do not know what to say to you. I keep giving speeches here and there, talking about our internal affairs as well as the international situation,

6. On 1 April 1960, France exploded a second atomic device at the Reggane testing grounds in the Sahara.

7. Victory to the world.

8. See fn 2 in this section.

etc., about what is happening in the Punjab or in countries abroad and what not because it is a good thing to understand all these things. You must, of course, know what is happening in the Punjab and most of you must be knowing more than I do. But you must know something about the rest of the country and a little about the world situation too.

For instance, last night, the President of another country, Indonesia, passed through Delhi and stopped for three hours.⁹ Another country's president came the day before yesterday.¹⁰ Now, President Soekarno, think about his name, his country is predominantly a Muslim country but the President's name is in pure Sanskrit—Sukarn [Soekarno]. Many people have such names in Indonesia. President Nasser of Egypt is also visiting India these days.¹¹ I think he has gone to see Bhakra-Nangal. So, people from other countries are constantly visiting India. It is a good thing to establish friendly relations with other countries and also to look beyond our own problems and try to understand the world a little.

So, I would like to tell you about what is happening in the rest of the world so that we may learn from others. Our work, of course, lies in our own village or city or street. But we must be aware of what is happening in other countries in order to understand what needs to be done in the country. That is a very long story for a great deal needs to be done. The biggest task is to uplift the people who live in the five million or more villages of India. Big cities like Chandigarh or Delhi do not reflect the real progress of the country. It is only when the rural areas become prosperous that the country will progress.

You must have heard about the five year plans and National Extension Schemes and what not. The officers go from here to there, explaining and telling things because they have been trained to teach the people. But too much official interference is not good, for the job has to be done by the people no matter how good the officers are. The work must be done by the people in villages and panchayats. They can be advised by the officers but if the people sit waiting for them to come and do the work for them, then the work will simply not get done. Therefore, there is great emphasis on establishing panchayats and to give them wider powers, financial and otherwise, so that they may administer their own areas as they think best. They may make mistakes. But at least the reins of government will be in the hands of local bodies. It is only by doing something on his own that a man learns and acquires self-confidence. This is how individuals and nations grow.

9. See fn 3 in this section.

10. See fn 4 in this section.

11. See fn 5 in this section.

If there is real panchayati raj, millions of people in the country can participate in the task of administering the country instead of a few officials at the top. The responsibility also devolves on millions of people. Thereafter, it will depend on them whether they do well by acting wisely or suffer losses through their foolishness. Once the responsibility is theirs, the good as well as the bad will be their problem. It is only then that the work gets done properly. Sometimes there may be mistakes, which can be rectified. But the fundamental thing is to give more powers to the panchayats. It is being done in the Punjab, Rajasthan and one or two other places. The panchayat samiti will have wide financial powers and will be able to build roads, schools and make improvements in agriculture, etc. Also, cooperative societies must be formed. The old system of cooperatives was not quite right. They dealt more with giving credit, etc. Now the cooperatives should help the villagers in all their activities, of buying and selling etc., so that the profits may go directly to them instead of going into the pockets of the middlemen.

So, all these things are happening. Projects like the Bhakra-Nangal and the steel plants cost a great deal of money and do not benefit the people immediately. But once they are completed, there will be increased benefit. The country needs steel. Even farmers need it.

I want all of you to understand what we are trying to do with these community blocks. They are meant to raise the standard of living in rural areas, of men as much as of women, each in their own area working in the village in the knowledge that they are soldiers in the task of building a new India, a new Bharat. It is by no means a small task, that of uplifting the people of India, whether it is in the cities or in the rural areas. You are here in the Punjab, and Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh border this state. But, in fact, they are merely for the sake of administrative convenience. We are concerned with the entire country.

We are trying to spread education and health care facilities because only a country of literate, educated people can progress. But education does not mean that it should equip the people only for white-collared jobs in urban areas. They must go back to their villages and try to introduce new methods of agriculture. There is a strange situation in the world today, with all kinds of lethal weapons being invented. Today's newspapers say that France has undertaken a nuclear test.¹² These tests pollute the atmosphere with radio-activity and if they continue, nobody can predict when the whole world may be destroyed. On the one hand, a great deal of good is being done for mankind and on the other hand, there is this tendency towards violence. Now the question is which side will gain the

12. See fn 6 in this section.

upper hand and whether the world will lean towards peace or war.

Let me tell you that those who sit idle are useless. No country can hope to progress without working hard. We must realise the enormous task that that we are facing today. If we work hard, the country as well as we ourselves will stand to gain.

I have told you a little about various things. Now I shall proceed to Delhi. Our women who are seated here especially must realise that they have a major role to play in the big tasks ahead. In fact, they played a great role in our struggle for freedom. Please remember that the work done by women is of great significance, because mothers have a greater influence on their children than fathers. If the mother is educated, the child's development will be satisfactory, not otherwise. Men are usually busy in outside activities. Therefore, it is extremely important for women to be educated and to participate in the national tasks. Actually, everyone must do so. All right, now I shall go.

Jai Hind! Jai Bharat!

(Somebody cries out from the crowd—Jai Jagat!)¹³

Translation ends]

(ii) Gujarat

2. At Rajkot: Public Meeting¹⁴

कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष,¹⁵ गुजरात प्रदेश कांग्रेस अध्यक्ष,¹⁶ बहिनो और भाइयो, मैं आपके यहाँ कुछ बरस बाद आया हूँ। शायद पिछले बार इलेक्शन के ज़माने में आया था। हमारे देश में और दुनिया में उस समय से बहुत कुछ हुआ, होता ही जा रहा है, क्योंकि आजकल हम एक अजीब क्रांतिकारी समय में रह रहे हैं। आपके यहाँ पिछले इन चंद बरसों में भी ऊँच-नीच हुई। पहले आप एक अलग प्रदेश थे, फिर आप एक बड़े बम्बई प्रदेश के एक भाग हुए और अब उसका भी एक-दो भाग होने वाले हैं। काफ़ी बातें इस समय हुई, इस ज़माने में जिससे दुःख हुआ, तकलीफ़ हुई परेशानी हुई, लेकिन वह सब हो गया और अब उधर विचार करना ठीक नहीं है, क़रीब-क़रीब एक बात निश्चित हो गयी। क़ानून लोक सभा में पेश है और

13. See fn 7 in this section.

14. Speech at Rajkumar College, Rajkot, 3 April 1960. AIR tapes, NMML. After addressing the Conference of the PCC Presidents and Secretaries (see item 14), Nehru came to this public meeting, accompanied by Morarji Desai and Dr Jivraj Mehta, the Finance Minister of Bombay.

15. N. Sanjiva Reddy.

16. Thakurbhai Desai.

आशा है कि इसी मास में उसका अन्तिम निर्णय हो जायेगा और पहली मई से इस बम्बई का यह एक बड़ा प्रदेश बम्बई के दो भाग हो जायेंगे गुजरात और महाराष्ट्र जिसमें सौराष्ट्र भी है।¹⁷ जो कुछ हुआ वह हो गया। अब हमें अच्छे से, खुशदिली से, प्रेम से इस नये नक्शे को चलाना है और अपने मन को आपस के झगड़ों से हटाकर इस बड़े काम में लगाना है, जो कि गुजरात का नहीं, सौराष्ट्र का नहीं बल्कि सारे भारत का मसला है, क्योंकि एक बात हमको आपको पक्केतौर से समझनी है कि भारत एक बड़ा देश है और उसके अलग-अलग बड़े टुकड़े हैं, उनकी अलग-अलग भाषायें हैं, अलग-अलग रिवाज़ भी हैं, लेकिन कोई भारत का हिस्सा आगे बढ़ नहीं सकता जब तक कि पूरा भारत न बढ़े। यह सोचने की बात है। हम लोग इसको समझते हैं कि बात यह है, लेकिन उस पर कभी विचार नहीं करते हैं और यह हमारी एक पुरानी बीमारी है कि हम अपने खाने में पड़े रहते हैं, अपने गाँव में, अपने मोहल्ले में अपनी जाति में और यह जो भारत का बड़ा-बड़ा चित्र है और उससे भी बड़ा दुनिया का, उसकी तरफ ध्यान कम देते हैं, लेकिन यह बात बहुत चलती नहीं।

सैकड़ों वर्ष बाद हिन्दुस्तान आज़ाद हुआ, स्वतंत्र हुआ और हमें मौक़ा मिला कि हम आगे बढ़ें और देशों के मुक़ाबले में हमारा देश पिछड़ गया था, अब भी पिछड़ा हुआ है, हमें उसे उठाना था, हमें उसको आर्थिक तरीके से उठाना था, दरिद्रता-ग़रीबी हटानी थी, हर तरह से उसको खुशहाल देश करना था। काफ़ी कठिन बात है ख़ाली क़ानून से और प्रस्ताव से तो यह हो नहीं जाता और यह गवर्नमेंट या सरकार की कोशिश से भी नहीं होता, छोटे-मोटे काम हो जायें यदि आप हमसे कहें कि हम एक फ़ौज भर्ती करें तो हम फ़ौज भर्ती कर लेंगे, लेकिन आप कहें कि हिन्दुस्तान के पचपन या साढ़े पाँच लाख ग्राम उठें तो वे एक सरकारी हुक्म से नहीं उठते, वे तो जनता के निश्चय से उठते हैं, जनता के सहयोग से यानी जब तक आप एक ऊपरी सरकारी काम करें तो गवर्नमेंट कर सकती है। अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में सरकार का काम क्या था? अमन-शांति देश में रखना और टैक्स जमा करना, विशेषकर ये दो काम थे और भी छोटे-मोटे काम थे यानी अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में जो ढंग राज्य का था, इसके अलावा कहें कि विदेशी राज्य था, वह तो था ही, वह सामाजिक नहीं था यानी समाज से सम्बन्ध नहीं था, समाज गिरता है, उठता है, क्या है, सोशल नहीं था, उसके सामने वो सोशल प्रश्न नहीं था। जब हमारे पास जनता के हाथ में अधिकार आया तो पहला सामाजिक प्रश्न हो गया, समाज को उठाना जैसे मुझसे कुछ बरस हुए एक अंग्रेज़ी, एक अंग्रेज़ ने एक सभा में लन्दन में पूछा “तुम्हारे यहाँ क्या-क्या, कितने प्रश्न हैं?” मैंने कहा छत्तीस करोड़ प्रश्न हैं या मैंने कहा तीन सौ साठ मिलियन प्रश्न हैं यानी जितने हमारे यहाँ लोग थे, उतने प्रश्न हैं। ये कोई जनता से अलग चीज़ तो नहीं है, प्रश्न होना या ये कोई प्रश्न नहीं है कि हम सौ-पचास, हजार, दो हजार को नौकरी दिला दें। चालीस करोड़ आदमी तो नौकरी नहीं करेंगे एक दूसरे की।

17. The Bombay Reorganisation Bill, 1960, was introduced in the Lok Sabha on 28 March, passed by the Lok Sabha on 19 April, by the Rajya Sabha on 23 April, and it received the President's assent on 25 April 1960. The two states of Maharashtra and Gujarat were formed on 1 May 1960. See also items 28, 31 and 33.

एक कहानी है आप जानते हैं कि चीन में बड़े अच्छे धोबी रहा करते थे, और भी लोग हैं धोबियों के अलावा, लेकिन बहरसूरत एक कहानी है कि वे एक-दूसरे के कपड़े धोकर कमाया करते थे। तो जहाँ आप ऐसे राज्य में आते हैं जिसके सामने सामाजिक प्रश्न हैं और आजकल दुनिया में करीब-करीब सब देशों के सामने वे प्रश्न हैं, वहाँ ढंग बदल जाता है, वहाँ खाली सरकारी हुक्म अफसरों का काम नहीं रहता। जहाँ कुछ काम चालीस करोड़ आदमियों, चालीस कोटि के आदमियों का है कोई कितनी बड़ी फ़ौज अफसरों की बनाता। वह बात तभी होती है जब करोड़ों आदमी काम खुद करें, अपने ऊपर भरोसा करके करें और अपने सहयोग से करें, तब देश चलता है। आप देखें ये प्रश्न तब अजीब हो जाता है ये दिल्ली, बम्बई, अहमदाबाद में बैठकर कुछ अफसरों के ढंग से निश्चय कर देना, वह उसका बहुत छोटा सा भाग है। असल चीज़ यह है कि कैसे भारत के जो कुछ नम्बर हों, आजकल कहा जाता है चालीस कोटि हैं, वे लोग कैसे अपने को उठाने में हिस्सा लें यह बड़ी बात हो जाती है।

अब इसमें काफ़ी कठिनाई है करोड़ों आदमियों को एक तरफ रखना और कई सौ बरस से करोड़ों आदमी कैसे दबे हुए थे, उनकी आर्थिक हालत बहुत ख़राब हो गयी थी विशेषकर हमारे गाँव की, गिरे हुए बिल्कुल ग़रीब, काम नहीं, बेकार सब लोग जो और काम करते थे, वे भी ज़मीन पर जाकर पड़े रहे क्योंकि सौ, सवा-सौ, डेढ़ सौ बरस में अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में बहुत से काम रोक दिए गए थे, ज़मीन पर बोझ अधिक हो गया, जित्ती आवश्यकता नहीं थी, वे और ग़रीब होने लगे। तो इन लोगों को उठाना, वो भी हुक्म से नहीं उठते। सौ-पचास आदमी हों आप उनको लाके शिविर में रख के उनको सिखाइये, लेकिन कौन शिविर बनाये, कौन कैम्प बनाये जिसमें चालीस करोड़ आदमी बैठें और कौन उन्हें सिखाये? तो ऐसे में सवाल बहुत पेचीदा हो जाता है।

आप सुनते हैं ये पंचवर्षीय योजना और विकास योजना और ये और वो तरह-तरह के बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने और फैक्टरी खड़े हो रहे हैं और नयी-नयी चीज़ें बन रही हैं और लोहा बहुत पैदा हो रहा है और क्या-क्या, लेकिन आखिर में जो देश के लिए सवाल होता है वह है आदमी बनाना, पुरुष और स्त्री बनाना, वे बन गये तो वह सब काम कर ले जायेंगे, वे नहीं बने तो आपकी जड़ मज़बूत नहीं रहेगी, अब वे कैसे बनें? अब ज़ाहिर है कि उसमें शिक्षा आ जाती है, पढ़ाई आ जाती है आवश्यक है, बग़ैर आम जनता का पढ़ा-लिखा होने से देश कुछ आगे बढ़ता नहीं। आप देखें आज नहीं, ये साठ-सत्तर बरस की बात है और भी अधिक, अस्सी बरस की शायद, मुझे ठीक याद नहीं, जापान देश में जब एक परिवर्तन हुआ था। उन्होंने निश्चय किया कि हम पिछड़ गये हैं और बाक़ी दुनिया विज्ञान और मशीन की दुनिया हो गयी है, उसको हम भी करेंगे तब वहाँ के जो एम्पयर थे—मिकाडो, उन्होंने एक हुक्म निकाला—पहली बात यह है कि हर एक आदमी पढ़ा-लिखा हो, देश में सब प्रबंध हों, स्कूल-कॉलेज इत्यादि का क्योंकि उसी से और बातें आती हैं। यह थोड़े ही कि ऊपर से दिखाने के लिए आपने एक मशीन मँगा ली, एक चिमनी खड़ी कर दी और उसमें से कपड़ा-लत्ता कुछ निकलने लगा, ठीक है लेकिन उसका कुछ ख़ास असर दुनिया पर नहीं होता। उसके पीछे आदमी कैसे हैं? किन आदमियों ने मशीन बनायी? तो यह जापान में हुआ और आप देखें जिन-जिन देशों ने तरक्की की है वो आजकल खुशहाल हैं। यूरोप के देश या और वहाँ सब जगह पढ़ाई ऊँचे-दर्जे की है। मैं आपके स्कूल-कॉलेज की पढ़ाई के बारे में नहीं कहता। पढ़ाई, हाथ-पैर चलाना, मैकेनिक्स होना, इंजीनियर्स होना और जित्ती हज़ार

बातें हैं आजकल वह होना और किसान की पढ़ाई कि अच्छी खेती कर सकें, यह नहीं कि किसान जा के स्कूल कॉलेज में पढ़ के, बाबू बन के, अपना घर-बार छोड़ के, शहर में आ के बैठ जायें और सरकार से नौकरी माँगें कि लाओ नौकरी। ऐसी पढ़ाई ठीक नहीं है बल्कि उनको अपनी ज़मीन को उठाना है, उनको अपनी ज़मीन को अपने गाँव को अच्छा करना है।

आजकल हमारे देश में, नगर में, शहर में और गाँव में कितना फ़ासला है। हर तरह का फ़ासला है। एक तो गाँव अक्सर, आपके यहाँ तो फिर भी कुछ अच्छे हैं शायद, और जगह गाँव मिट्टी की कोठरियों, खण्डहरों से बने हुए हैं। अब पिछले चंद बरस में कुछ तरक्की हुई है लेकिन बहुत कम। हाँ, शहर में बड़े-बड़े महल खड़े हैं, बड़े-बड़े मकान हैं, बड़ी मोटरें चलती हैं। मैंने कुछ रोज़ हुए कहा था कि आजकल भारत में यूँ तो मोटर चलती है, एटॉमिक एनर्जी का बड़ा कारख़ाना बम्बई के पास है, सब कुछ है, लेकिन हल्के-हल्के भारत अब बाइसिकल के युग में पहुँचा है क्योंकि बाइसिकल गाँव में पहुँची है। मैं देखता हूँ, गाँव में क्या चीज़ पहुँची है? उस युग में हम पहुँचे, और चीज़ें उतरीं, और चीज़ों को भी होना ही है। इसके माने थोड़े ही हैं कि जब तक हर एक के पास मोटर न हो, मोटर चले ही नहीं यहाँ। यह तो असम्भव है लेकिन एक माने में हम बाइसिकल के युग में भारत में पहुँचे हैं। मुझे याद आता है कितने दिन हुए मैं सात-आठ बरस का था, उस समय जब पहली दफ़े मैं बाइसिकल पर चढ़ा था यानी इसको बासठ-तिरसठ बरस हुए। मेरे पिता जी लाये थे बाइसिकल अपने लिए भी और मेरे लिए भी। तो कई दफ़े गिरके वगैरह बाइसिकल पर चढ़ना मैंने भी सीख लिया, अब बाइसिकल पर चढ़ना बहुत कम होता है, लेकिन बहुत दिन हुए मैंने सीखा था, उस समय क़रीब-क़रीब नयी बाइसिकल आयी थी। अब इस पचास-साठ बरस में बाइसिकलें बहुत मामूली चीज़ हो गयीं। यक़ीनन हमारे लिए कुछ दिन बाद तरह-तरह की और हो सकती हैं। बस बहुत ज़्यादा हों, छोटी मोटरें हों, चलने-फिरने के और नये तरीक़े निकलें लेकिन उसी समय पर वो आम हो जाते हैं, जब गाँव में पहुँचें। कुछ लोग शहर में चलायें तो हिन्दुस्तान के जीवन पर उसका बहुत असर नहीं होता।

ख़ैर, मैं आपसे कह रहा था कि एक तो हम शहरों का बढ़ना नहीं रोक सकते क्योंकि बहुत बातें शहरों में करनी पड़ती हैं लेकिन आख़िर में भारत के बढ़ने की माप गाँव से ली जायेगी। जितना गाँव बढ़ते हैं उतना भारत बढ़ता है और उनके बढ़ने के माने आप ऊपर से देखें कितने अच्छे घर हैं कितने थे। यह ठीक है लेकिन आख़िर में सवाल आ जाता है कि लोग कैसे हों? कितने पढ़े-लिखे हैं? कितने हाथ-पैर चल सकते हैं अपने? कितनों में उत्साह है, अपने ऊपर भरोसा है? ये चीज़ें जिससे आप अंदाज़ कर सकते हैं देश का बढ़ना।

आपने सुना होगा, हमने कुछ बरस हुए कम्युनिटी ब्लॉक शुरू किये थे। क्या माने थे उसके? कितने बरस हुए, सात-आठ बरस हुए। इसके माने थे कि गाँव वालों को अपने ऊपर भरोसा हो और वे खुद काम करें। उसका अच्छा नतीजा हुआ, लेकिन हल्के-हल्के क्या हुआ? अच्छा तो नतीजा हुआ और क़रीब गाँव में तीन लाख से ऊपर हैं, लेकिन वहाँ भी हल्के-हल्के हमारी पुरानी बीमारी पहुँच गयी यानी पुरानी बीमारी से मेरा मतलब है कि गाँव वाले तो हाथ पर हाथ रखे बैठे रहे कि अफ़सर लोग कर देंगे, बैठे हैं कि सरकार कर देगी, ऊपर से ज़रा सी खपैरल टूट जाये, बजाय इसके कि मरम्मत करें, बैठे हैं कि पी.डब्ल्यू.डी. आकर खपैरल बनाये, अजीब तमाशा है। हर एक का सरकार की तरफ़ देखना कि वह मदद दे, वहाँ इंजीनियर आये, वह कुछ करे।

पचास बातें हैं जो कि खुद कर सकते हैं, नहीं कोई सरकारी अफसर करेगा। फिर ऐसी हालत में वह सरकारी अफसर भी, क्या कहूँ कि वह वहाँ जाके बड़े बाबू बन जाते हैं, बड़े बॉस हो जाते हैं जो कि बिलकुल ग़लत बात है क्योंकि जिस उसूल से हमारी ये विकास योजनायें शुरू हुई थीं, उसमें यह था कि लोग जागें और खुद करें। हाँ, यह और बात है उनको सरकारी मदद हो और उसी पर हम फिर से ज़ोर दे रहे हैं।

अब एक और बात हुई। आपने सुना होगा और आपके यहाँ भी होवेगी लेकिन आंध्र में हमारे कांग्रेस के अध्यक्ष ने जो योजना वहाँ शुरू की और वहाँ राजस्थान में करीब-करीब सारी विकास योजनाओं का अधिकार पंचायतों को दे दिया, रुपया भी, अधिकार भी। वो रुपया ज़मीन का टैक्स वगैरह में आता था। वह सब उनको दे दिया और कहा कि तुम अपने गाँव-देहातों की देखभाल करो और तरक्की करो, हम मदद करेंगे, हम अपने सीखे हुए इंजीनियर भेज देंगे, हम अच्छे पढ़ाने वाले भेज दें, अच्छे डॉक्टर भेज दें। यह और बात है लेकिन तुम्हारा पंचों का काम है करना, अगर नहीं करते तो तुम्हारी हानि होगी लेकिन हमारे पास दौड़-दौड़कर न आओ। जो बात-बात पर अफसर के पास, मंत्री के पास दौड़ जाते हैं कि ये कराए दो। तो हमने इस दरवाज़े को करीब-करीब बंद कर दिया है, करो हम तुम्हें पैसा देते हैं, तुम्हें सिखाने के लिए प्रबंध करते हैं, बोझा तुम्हारे ऊपर है, तुम्हारा अगर जी चाहे तो अपने ऊपर और टैक्स बढ़ा कर और काम करो, अपनी खेती को उन्नत करो, स्कूल चलाओ, वहाँ छोटे-मोटे कारखाने बनाओ, स्वास्थ्य का प्रबंध करो सब। गाँव में पंचायत और एक ब्लॉक में जितनी पंचायतें हैं, वहाँ सब मिलकर एक बड़ी पंचायत, पंचायत समिति उसको बड़े अधिकार दे और फिर ज़िला परिषद बने।

तो आप देखें कि ये एक बात बड़ी क्रांतिकारी है और इसके पीछे तर्क यही है कि लोग खुद अपना काम करें, अपने ऊपर भरोसा हो और यह अफसरी दुनिया बदल जाये। अंग्रेज़ी ज़माने में तो बड़ी ज़बरदस्त अफसरी दुनिया थी, अब भी है, हालाँकि उसका कुछ रंग बदल गया लेकिन फिर भी बहुत है और बहुत रंग होने ही हैं। काम ऐसे करने हैं कि हम उसको बदल सकें, विशेषकर इन सब ग्रामों में, देहातों में। अफसर तो रहेंगे वहाँ लेकिन उनका ढंग बदल जाये, वे सलाह दें, हर तरह की सलाह दें, सहायता दें लेकिन काम का निश्चय, काम करने का बोझा, वहाँ के पंचों पर, पंचायत समितियों पर हो। यह बात जहाँ-जहाँ हुई है आंध्र में और राजस्थान में और भी इस छः, सात, आठ महीने से हो रही है, उसका अच्छा चित्र निकल रहा है, काफ़ी अच्छा निकल रहा है, एक रंग बदल रहा है, लोग ज़रा अपने ऊपर भरोसा करके आगे बढ़ते हैं, अब वह मंत्रीगण के पास दौड़ते नहीं कि काम कराए दो, उनसे ग़लती होती है, आपस में लड़ते-झगड़ते हैं, ये सब बातें होती हैं लेकिन फिर भी वहाँ एक नया वायुमण्डल, एक नयी हवा आ गयी और मुझे कोई संदेह नहीं है कि इसको सारे भारत में फैलाना है। आपके सौराष्ट्र में भी इसको आना है और ज़िम्मेदारी से आपके ग्राम के पंचों को हल्के-हल्के सारे विकास का, सारे डेवलपमेंट का काम अपने हाथ में लेना है। हाँ, बहुत बड़ी कोई योजना हो तो और बात है, उसके लिए तो प्रदेश करेगा या दिल्ली वाले करेंगे लेकिन मामूली योजनायें सब ग्राम के पंच करें और जब ये पूरेतौर से होने लगें, एक बड़ी क्रांति हमारे देश में होगी, उस समय हम कह सकेंगे कि हमने अपनी ग्रामीण जनता को जो कि इस देश में तीस-करोड़ है, जिस गड़्ढे में पड़ गयी थी, इसको हमने उससे निकाल दिया, वह निकल आयी, उसके हाथ-पैर चलने लगे, अपने ऊपर

भरोसा हुआ।

आपको याद है जब गांधी जी ने स्वराज्य के लिए यहाँ महाभारत शुरू की। आप तो नौजवान हैं, क्या याद होगा शांतिमय महाभारत के समय तो उन्होंने किस बात पर जोर दिया? हमारी जनता बहुत गिरी पड़ी थी, किसान तो बेचारे ऐसे मुर्दा थे कि मारे डर के कुछ भी कहना उनके लिए कठिन था, कुछ कह दें, मार पड़े, सज़ा हो। उधर ज़मींदार थे, ज़मींदार के कारिंदे थे, कोई थानेदार है, कोई पुलिसवाला है जिधर देखो उधर उनकी छाती पर बैठने को लोग तैयार थे, कोई उनकी सहायता करने वाला नहीं, अगर अदालत में जाओ तो ज़मींदार का वो वकील भी बैठा हुआ था, उनसे पैसा पाकर उनको दबाता था, बेचारों की बुरी हालत थी, भारत की कमर टूटी, आँखें सूखीं, यह हालत थी। तो महात्मा जी ने क्या किया? आपने सुना होगा असहयोग आन्दोलन किया, लेकिन जो पहला मंत्र बताया—उनसे डरो नहीं, कमर सीधी और सिर ऊँचा रखें, मामूली सी बात है, आप भी कह सकते हैं, मैं भी कह सकता हूँ, कोई भी, लेकिन उस समय देश की आम जनता की कुछ ऐसी हालत थी, सब महात्मा जी की तरफ़ देखते थे, असल में एक जादू सा हो गया, मरा हुआ किसान बेचारा वह भी तन के खड़ा होने लगा, उसे अपने ऊपर भरोसा हुआ, उसका डर कम हो गया, एकदम से भारत का चित्र बदल गया, कम से कम उस समय बदल गया। इसी तरह से अब यहाँ कोई गांधी जी तो हैं नहीं। हम बेचारे कमज़ोर आदमी काम करने की कोशिश करते हैं लेकिन उनके सीखे हुए सबक हैं, हमारे सीखे हुए उनसे। पहली बात यह कि हमारी जनता में अपने ऊपर भरोसा हो और दौड़-दौड़ के अफ़सर या गवर्नमेंट के या औरों के पास न जायें कि यह काम कर दो। गवर्नमेंट अफ़सर का काम है कि सेवा करें, नहीं करें तो दूसरा अफ़सर आये लेकिन यह विचार कि और लोग हमारा काम करें, यह ग़लत विचार है। अगर एक-एक ग्राम वाले और वहाँ के पंच इस बात को पूरे तौर से समझें, उनमें कुछ करने का उत्साह हो, जोश हो, तो आपके देखते-देखते भारत के साढ़े पाँच लाख गाँव एकदम बदल जायें। अगर सरकार करने चले तो आप समझ सकते हैं उनका इतिज़ाम कैसा है? वह करें कुछ न कुछ लेकिन बरसों या साढ़े पाँच लाख गाँव तक पहुँचने में दस-बरस, बीस-बरस निकल जायें, तो यह निगाह में होना चाहिए। सरकार के लिये तो बहुत काम करना है और उसे करना चाहिए। इसीलिए हम अपने प्लानिंग कमीशन और योजनायें बनाते हैं और यह गाँव वाले नहीं कर सकते। बहुत सारी बातों का प्रबंध करना है—पढ़ाई का, स्वास्थ्य का, यह नयी दुनिया कारख़ाने की है, हमारी खेती आजकल के नये ढंगों से हो, नये ढंग से मेरा मतलब नहीं है कि बड़े-बड़े ट्रैक्टर हर जगह चलें, वो जहाँ चलें चलते रहें लेकिन आमतौर से पूरे देश में नहीं चल सकते, यह हालत है। हर किसान के पास ज़मीन बहुत कम है ट्रैक्टर कैसे चलायें? लेकिन हाँ उसके पास अच्छा हल होना चाहिए, अभी तक अच्छे हल भी नहीं हैं, अच्छा हल हो, फ़ौरन ज़रा गहरा खोदे, उसकी पैदावार दुगुनी हो जाये, अच्छी खाद हो, अच्छी फ़र्टिलाइज़र हो, अच्छे बीज हों, पानी का ठीक प्रबंध हो, मामूली बातें हैं जो आप सब जानते हैं या जानना चाहिए लेकिन मामूली बातें होते हुए भी हमारे किसान करते नहीं, कहीं सब लोग करते हैं, जहाँ करते हैं वहाँ बहुत पैदावार बढ़ा लेते हैं। ये सब बातें सरकार को करनी हैं इसीलिए बड़ी-बड़ी योजनायें बन रही हैं।

आजकल कारख़ाने का सवाल है, बग़ैर कारख़ाने बढ़ाए देश में बहुत बढ़ाए, एक दो नहीं लाखों कारख़ाने यहाँ होने चाहियें, दस-बीस लाख कारख़ाने होने चाहियें यहाँ छोटे-मोटे, दो-चार

नहीं कह रहा हूँ और दस-बीस लाख कुछ अधिक नहीं हैं, यह भी समझिए। मैं नहीं जानता पंजाब में कितने हैं लेकिन इस दस बरस में जब से स्वराज्य आया और पंजाब के दो टुकड़े हो गये जो हमारे यहाँ है उस पंजाब में मेरा ख्याल है चालीस हजार छोटे कारखाने शुरू हुए हैं, ठीक-ठीक मुझे मालूम नहीं, शायद पचास हजार हों मुझे पता नहीं क्योंकि पंजाबी लोग हाथ-पैर चलाते हैं, अपने ऊपर भरोसा करते हैं, कभी-कभी हाथ-पैर गलत भी चलते हैं, एक दूसरे के सिर पर चलाते हैं लेकिन चलाते हैं और काम करने वाले लोग हैं, अपने ऊपर भरोसा करने वाले लोग हैं, लड़ाकू भी हैं। अब लेकिन काम खूब करते हैं तो उन्होंने वहाँ काफ़ी तरक्की की। इस तरह से हम चाहते हैं लाखों छोटे-छोटे कारखाने हों और वह शहरों में नहीं, वो वहाँ गाँवों में हों जिससे छोटे गाँव में यानी छोटे-छोटे नगर में वहाँ की हालत अच्छी हो, जिससे लोग दौड़-दौड़ कर बड़े शहरों में नहीं जायें और इस तरह से बहुत सारे लोग जो इस वक़्त ज़मीन पे खेती करते हैं, वे कम हो जायें क्योंकि आजकल ज़रूरत से अधिक लोग ज़मीन पे काम करते हैं, वे गाँव में रहें, गाँव से मैं नहीं कहता निकल जायें, छोटे-मोटे कारखाने हों, ग्रामोद्योग हों, छोटी मशीन हों, और चीज़ें बनायें, गाँव की हैसियत अच्छी होगी, खेती की हैसियत अच्छी होगी और कारोबार बढ़ेगा, बेकारी कम होगी। इस ढंग से हमें बढ़ना है तो आप इस नक्शे को सामने रखें।

अब मैं कहता हूँ आपसे, इसे गाँव-गाँव में करें। सच बात गाँव में बहुत से काम तो अब भी हो सकते हैं, लेकिन अगर गाँव में बिजली आ जाये तो और काम हो सकते हैं। हमारी इच्छा है कि गाँवों में बिजली फैलती जाये इसलिए नहीं कि जब आपके यहाँ शादी बारात निकले तो बड़ी धूमधाम की बिजली निकले। हमारे यहाँ तो बिजली का बड़ा जोर है कहीं किसी का विवाह होता है तो कुछ पूछो नहीं, उसका सारा घर चमक उठता है, चाहे कारखाने के लिए बिजली न हो, विवाह के लिए बिजली निकल आती है, हमारे यहाँ अक्सर उल्टी बातें हुआ करती हैं। आजकल हमारे यहाँ बहुत बिजली बढ़ी है, फिर भी बिजली की शक्ति की बहुत कमी है लेकिन विवाह के लिए कहीं न कहीं से मालूम नहीं कहाँ से निकल आती है। खैर, हम तो चाहते हैं कि बिजली गाँव-गाँव में जाये, अब एकदम से पाँच लाख गाँव में नहीं जा सकती, उसको पैदा करने में समय लगता है और बड़ा रुपया लगता है लेकिन कोशिशें हम कर रहे हैं। जहाँ बिजली जाती है एकदम से दरवाज़ा खुल जाता है छोटे-मोटे कारखानों का, ग्राम का सारा जीवन बदल जाता है, रोशनी होती है, वो लोग देर तक काम कर सकते हैं, यह नहीं कि रोशनी नहीं है, अंधेरे में एक दिया जल रहा है और समाज का हल्के-हल्के परिवर्तन होने लगता है, काम नये-नये आते हैं, नये-नये रोज़गार होते हैं और ग्राम बदल जाता है। ये सब बातें करनी हैं। इन बातों में आप देखें, आपस में कोई बहुत बहस की बात नहीं है क्योंकि शायद आजकल हमारे नवयुवक लोग बड़ी बहस करते हों कि कौन नीति ठीक है, कौन नहीं है लेकिन हर नीति के पीछे कुछ बातें हैं और वे ये बातें हैं कि बग़ैर परिश्रम किए और काम किए देश आगे नहीं बढ़ता। यह आवश्यक है चाहे वह समाजवाद हो या साम्यवाद हो या पूंजीवाद हो या गांधीवाद हो, कोई भी हो उसके पीछे है परिश्रम और सहयोग।

एक और बात हर देश में और हमारे देश में आजकल की दुनिया ने जो उन्नति की है, जिससे अमेरिका, यूरोप के देश जो धनी हो गये, कैसे हुए? इसलिए कि उन्होंने विज्ञान की सेवा की, विज्ञान की सेवा और उसके विज्ञान से नयी-नयी मशीन निकालीं, उससे वह खेती दुगुना, चौगुना,

पाँच गुना से अधिक पैदा करने लगे, कारखानों के लिए नये-नये तरीके निकाले क्योंकि मशीन क्या है? मशीन समझो कि एक आदमी का हाथ हो गया। आप पढ़ते हैं कि रावण के दस सिर थे और बीस हाथ थे। अरे आजकल के रावण के तो हजार हाथ होते हैं और बेचारा वो रावण कैसे सामना करे। हजार हाथ मशीन है जो हजार आदमी का काम करती है और उनकी आँखें दस सिर और बीस आँखें होंगी। आजकल आँखें टेलिस्कोप हैं जो जाके करोड़ों मील को देख आती हैं तो आप देखें विज्ञान ने क्या किया और करता जाता है और विज्ञान तो मनुष्य की शक्ति बढ़ाता है, मशीन वगैरह और शक्ति बढ़ाती है। अब उस शक्ति को आप अच्छे काम में लायें या बुरे काम में लायें वह तो शक्ति है जैसे आप चाकू से बड़े अच्छे काम कर सकते हैं और अपने पड़ोसी का गला भी काट सकते हैं तो चाकू का कसूर तो नहीं हुआ, यह तो आपका हुआ। तो जिस विज्ञान से सीखकर यूरोप ने अपनी खेती की उन्नति की और कारखानों की, वह हमें समझना है और करना है, नहीं तो हम पिछड़े रहेंगे। कैसे करना है? कोई यूरोप की खाली नक़ल करके नहीं क्योंकि हम हमेशा नक़ल करते रहेंगे तो पिछड़ जायेंगे। यूरोप, अमेरिका से लेकर जो भी देश हों उनसे सीखने की और अपनी बुद्धि से आगे बढ़ने की ज़रूरत है और सब ये योजनायें, पंचवर्षीय योजनायें वगैरह यही हैं कि हम अपने यहाँ एक बड़ी बुनियाद डालें, पढ़ाई-लिखाई से, विज्ञान की शिक्षा से, हमारे नेशनल लेबोरेटरीज़ कितने बन गये हैं, वहाँ बड़े अच्छे नवयुवक काम कर रहे हैं और टेक्नोलॉजी से मशीन बनाने का कि हम खुद मशीन बना सकें, यह नहीं कि हमें दौड़ के विलायत जाना पड़ता है, मशीन लाओ यहाँ लगा दो। जब तक हम यह करेंगे हमारी उन्नति ठीक नहीं होगी। हमें मशीन बनानी है, हमें मशीन का डिज़ाइन बनाना है जो भी चीज़ हो— रेल है, इंजन है उसका हमें खुद नक्शा बनाना, डिज़ाइन बनाना और बनाना। हवाई जहाज़ है— जब तक हमें बाहर से हवाई जहाज़ खरीदने पड़ते हैं हम अपने ऊपर भरोसा नहीं कर सकते। अब मेरा मतलब यह नहीं है कि हम दुनिया से कोई चीज़ खरीदें नहीं, ज़रूर खरीदें लेकिन हम में शक्ति होनी चाहिए अपनी आवश्यक वस्तुओं को अपने मन से बनाने की, उसको आगे बढ़ाने की और उसको ज़्यादा अच्छा कर देने की, हमारे लोगों में नक़ल करके नहीं। यह सब पंचवर्षीय योजना का नक्शा है।

आपने अगर इतिहास पढ़ा हो तो शायद आप जानते हों कि पहला देश जो कि उद्योग की इस नई दुनिया में, इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन दुनिया में आया, वह अंग्रेज़ों का देश था, उन्हें कई बातें आसान हो गयीं। खैर, एक बात तो यह थी कि उसी समय जब उन्हें रुपये की ज़रूरत थी जैसे हमें आजकल ज़रूरत है, काम बढ़ाने की, कैपिटल की ज़रूरत है, उसी समय अंग्रेज़ों को एक बड़ा थैला मिल गया जिसमें से जितना चाहें रुपया ले जायें, वह थैला भारत था और भारत से सोना-चाँदी बहुत ले गये। खैर, अगर यूँ ले जाते तो इतनी बात नहीं थी। यह उन्हें ऐसे समय पर मिला जब उनके यहाँ उद्योग-धंधे की और मशीन की एक क्रांति हो रही थी— इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन। चुनांचे, वह जो रुपया यहाँ से मिला वह फ़ौरन लग गया और सौ बरस तक वह तेज़ी से बढ़ने लगे, दुनिया में सबसे बड़े ताक़तवर देश रहे लेकिन एक और बात थी— उनके देश में दो आवश्यक वस्तुएँ थीं— एक लोहा और एक कोयला। लोहे और कोयले को विज्ञान के साथ जोड़, मशीन ने वहाँ के देश का सारा नक्शा बदल दिया और उन पर उनकी जनता पर बहुत मुसीबतें आईं।

लेकिन हल्के-हल्के उन्होंने अपने देश को खुशहाल देश कर दिया, शक्तिशाली देश कर दिया, यह हुआ, लोहा, कोयला, विज्ञान फिर और जगह भी फैला— जर्मनी में, फ्रांस में, अमरीका में और देशों में बहुत फैला, तो वे भी बढ़े। लोहे और कोयले की बुनियादी ज़रूरत होती है इसलिए हमें फ़िक्क़ हुई, यहाँ जब इस काम को हमने उठाया। पहली बात तो यह कि ज़रा विज्ञान में तरक्की हो और विज्ञान के जो बाल-बच्चे हैं— जैसे इंजीनियरिंग वगैरह उसमें उन्नति हो क्योंकि आजकल की दुनिया में इंजीनियर की ज़रूरत है, चाहे वे बिजली के इंजीनियर हों, चाहे मैकेनिकल हों, चाहे कुछ हों, हर बात इंजीनियरिंग की है। ऐसे लोग हम अधिक पैदा करें और लोहा निकालें, हमारे भी देश में भाग्य से अब लोहे की खानें काफ़ी हैं, कोयले की भी खानें हैं। हाँ उसको निकालना और उस मामूली लोहे को स्टील बनाना, तब वह काम में आता है। यों तो हमारे यहाँ वह पचास बरस, साठ बरस से जमशेदपुर में रहा, लेकिन फिर उसने तरक्की नहीं की, हमें बहुत ज़्यादा ज़रूरत थी। आपको शायद मालूम हो पिछले चार-पाँच बरस में तीन-चार बड़े-बड़े नये कारख़ाने चलाये, जमशेदपुर को दुगुना किया और तीन बहुत बड़े-बड़े नये कारख़ाने बने। आप समझें उसमें कितना खर्च होता है? एक-एक बड़े लोहे के कारख़ाने में एक सौ पचास करोड़ रुपये लगे हैं, सोचो कितना रुपया? एक ग़रीब देश को इतना रुपया निकालना, तीन कारख़ाने में चार सौ पचास करोड़ रुपये हो गये और शायद इससे भी अधिक हों। जब तक वह बनता जाता है, उसमें से कुछ निकलता नहीं तब तक तो काफ़ी खर्चा ही खर्चा होता है पाँच बरस तक बड़ा बोझा और वह जब बन जाये पाँच बरस बाद, छः बरस बाद क्योंकि रुपया खाता जाता है, तब वह लोहा और स्टील पैदा करता है।

लेकिन हमने देखा कि लोहे के बग़ैर हिन्दुस्तान बढ़ नहीं सकता और यह हो नहीं सकता कि हम लोहा बाहर से ख़रीदने जायें। कहाँ से मिलेगा, बड़े दाम देने पड़ते हैं, तो हमने यह किया, तीन कारख़ाने बनाये— राउरकेला, भिलाई, दुर्गापुर। अब वो तीन तो क़रीब-क़रीब तैयार हो गये हैं, कुछ-कुछ लोहा निकल भी रहा है, तभी से हम निश्चय कर रहे हैं कि और नये कारख़ाने बनायें लोहे के, लोहा पैदा करने के, जो तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में चलें और उसी के साथ जो, जिस मशीन से लोहा बनता है, लोहे का प्लांट होता है, भिलाई मशीन प्लांट हमने मँगाया रूस से, राउरकेला मशीन प्लांट मँगाया जर्मनी से, दुर्गापुर का मशीन प्लांट अंग्रेज़ों के देश से। यह भी सिलसिला ठीक नहीं है। हमें अपने यहाँ पैदा करना चाहिए वह मशीन प्लांट। उसकी तो बड़ी भारी मशीन है लेकिन हमें करना चाहिए। तो फिर हमारा ध्यान जाता है कि हम ऐसी मशीनें बनायें जो कि मशीनें पैदा करती हैं, बड़ी मशीनें। यह भी हो जाए, तब तीसरी चीज़ क्या ज़रूरत है? कोयला— कोयला भी काफ़ी निकालें, ये जड़ की चीज़ें हो गयीं और चौथी कहिए तो बिजली की पावर, चाहे कोयले से निकले, चाहे बिजली से, चाहे जैसे, यह एक बुनियाद हो गयी, यह बुनियाद डाल देते हैं मज़बूती से तब इस के ऊपर भारत के नये मकान बनते हैं। एक दफ़े हमारे यहाँ बड़े-बड़े मशीन बनाने के कारख़ाने हों, तब उसमें से मशीनें निकलती जायेंगी। आप राजकोट में लगाएँ, अहमदाबाद में लगाएँ, गाँवों में लगाएँ वो निकलती जाती हैं, कहीं बाहर से नहीं लेना पड़ेगा या छोटी मशीनें तो अब भी हमारे यहाँ बहुत बनने लगी हैं। इस पिछले दस बरस में हमने काफ़ी तरक्की की है, लेकिन अब हम चाहते हैं बड़ी से बड़ी मशीन जिससे लोहे के कारख़ाने बनते हैं, वह बनाएँ।

मैं चाहता हूँ आप समझें कि योजना बनाना प्लानिंग करना, यह कोई बैठ के एक फ्रेहरिस्त बना देना नहीं है कि जो हमारे मन में हो कि हमें यह भी चाहिए, वह भी चाहिए, हम लिख दें, लेकिन एक ऐसा नक्शा बनाना है जिससे हम देखें कि एक क़दम अब उठाते हैं तो उससे दूसरा क़दम उठने वाला है, उसकी अभी से तैयारी करें। अभी हम तीसरी योजना का विचार कर रहे हैं। जब हम तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना कर रहे हैं, उसी समय हमें अपने मन में चौथी पंचवर्षीय योजना और पाँचवीं योजना को रखना पड़ रहा है, क्योंकि अगर हम उसे भूल जाएँ तो तीसरी के अंत में फिर हाथ खाली हो जाये, चौथी में क्या करें और चीज़ों में चार-पाँच दस-दस बरस लगते हैं। इसलिए यह सारा नक्शा सामने रखना पड़ता है। इधर खेती का, खेती कैसे बढ़े? जो बहुत ही आवश्यक है। खेती से पैदावार उधर से कि बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने जो बन रहे हैं, वह हो जिससे शक्ति आये, पावर आये, जिससे लोहा काफ़ी आये, जिससे कोयला निकाला जाये ज़मीन से, जिससे बड़े कारख़ाने बनें जो कारख़ाने मशीन बनाते हैं। ये सब बातें हों और उसी के साथ, मैंने यह कहा बड़े कारख़ाने, छोटे कारख़ाने लाखों की तादाद में देश में फैलें। इसमें कोई बड़ी बात नहीं, बहुत बड़ी मशीनें मँगाने की भी आवश्यकता नहीं है। हम बना रहे हैं मशीनें आजकल। एक-एक गाँव में जायें, इस तरह से फैलें और इन सबके काम करने के लिए आदमी सीखे हुए हों, क्योंकि आख़िर में आदमी ही होता है, आदमी से मतलब पुरुष स्त्री सीखे हुए हों। मामूली पढ़ाई तो हो, शिक्षा हो, लेकिन विशेषकर शिक्षा हो हाथ पैर चलाने की, मैकेनिक बनाने की, मिस्त्री बनाने की, इंजीनियर बनाने की। ऐसी शिक्षा चाहिए।

तो आप देखें कि अब दुनिया का, कुछ हमारी दुनिया का रंग बदलने लगा। अब जो लोग कुर्सी-मेज़ पे बैठ के बाबू लोग काम करते हैं, बाबू लोग तो हमेशा ही करेंगे लेकिन उनसे अधिक आवश्यक हो मिस्त्री हाथ पैर चलाकर करता है, जो ओवरसियर करता है वह ज़्यादा आवश्यक हो गये, जो कोई नयी चीज़ बनाता है, इंजीनियर जो करता है। तो इसलिए हमारी पढ़ाई का भी झुकाव अब उधर पॉलिटेक्निक की तरफ़, इंजीनियरिंग स्कूल और कॉलेज की तरफ़ होता जाता है क्योंकि ऐसे लोग जहाँ काफ़ी हो गये तब आप देखेंगे कि और हम छोटी मशीन भी बना रहे हैं। सब जगह छोटी-मोटी मशीनें लगेंगी और कुछ न कुछ पैदा करेंगी। जब ऐसे काफ़ी लोग हमारे देहातों में हो गये तो हमारी खेती अच्छी होगी क्योंकि यह समझ लीजिए कि पढ़ा-लिखा आदमी, ठीकतौर से पढ़ा लिखा ज़्यादा काम करता है, अच्छा काम करता है। पढ़े-लिखे के मेरे माने ख़ाली किताब पढ़ना नहीं है बल्कि वह है जो काम सीखता है।

तो मैंने आपको ये बातें समझाने के लिए कोशिश की कि ये पंचवर्षीय योजना इत्यादि क्या है? ये बड़े-बड़े नारे उठते हैं और बड़े-बड़े ये और वो, लेकिन ये जो काम बड़े पैमाने पर करें तो इसमें पैसा बहुत खर्च होता है, खर्च होने के माने यह नहीं, पैसा बहुत लगाया जाता है, इन्वेस्ट होता है यानी जो पैसा लगाया जाये उससे फिर बाद में लाभ होता है, आमदनी होती है। अब जित्ता हम पैसा लगायें, उतनी तेज़ी से हम बढ़ें। पैसा कहाँ से आये? मैंने आपसे कहा एक-एक लोहे के कारख़ाने में एक सौ पचास करोड़ रुपये लगे। समझो, अब जो हम तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के लिए सोच रहे हैं उसमें अभी तक यह विचार है कि दस हज़ार करोड़ लगेंगे पाँच वर्ष के अंदर, दो हज़ार एक-एक वर्ष में बड़ी रक़म है हमारे ग़रीब देश के लिए। अब इसको हम नहीं करें तो ग़रीब रह जाते हैं। एक दफ़रे हम ज़ोर लगा के कर दें, तब पाँच-सात-आठ-दस बरस

में बेड़ा पार हो जाता है, तब हम दरिया के उस पार हो जाते हैं और फिर देश की गाड़ी अपने आप चलने लगती है जैसे अंग्रेजों के देश की, जैसे रूस की, जैसे जापान की, वे पार हो गये और उनकी मशीनें फैल गयीं, लोग सीखे हुए हो गये, शक्ति पावर पैदा हो गया। तब फिर वह अपने आप चलती है।

हाँ, अपने आप से मतलब ऊपर से कोई सहायता देने की उसमें अधिक आवश्यकता नहीं है और अगर हम बहुत हल्के बढ़ें तो हम पिछड़ जाते हैं क्योंकि एक बात आप याद रखिये कि और कोई चीज़ बढ़े या न बढ़े इस देश में हमारी आबादी बढ़ती जाती है, पॉपुलेशन बढ़ती जाती है, लोग पैदा होते जाते हैं और बड़े ज़ोरों से पैदा होते जाते हैं। अच्छा, समझा जाता है कि हर साल दो प्रतिशत पैदा होते जाते हैं, बहुत हुए दो प्रतिशत, दस वर्ष के अंदर बीस हो गये। इसके माने यह हैं कि मुझे ठीक याद नहीं, लेकिन हर साल भारत में मेरे हिसाब से साठ-सत्तर-अस्सी लाख लोग नये हो जाते हैं, हमारे फाइनेन्स मिनिस्टर बैठे हैं, उनसे मैंने पूछ लिया कि ठीक है, अब ये साठ-सत्तर लाख आदमी नये खाने वाले हर साल हो जाते हैं, नये कपड़ा पहनने वाले, नये घर में रहने वाले, नये स्कूल जाने वाले, अपने स्वास्थ्य के लिए उनका प्रबंध करना, देश पर यह बड़ा बोझ हो जाता है न, तो हम अपनी खेती से अधिक पैदा करें। अगर हम खेती से खाली दो अधिक प्रतिशत पैदा करें तो वो नये लोग खा गये, पुराने वैसे के वैसे ही रहे, मतलब यह है कि कोई उन्नति नहीं हुई, हमारी दो प्रतिशत तरक्की करने के मायने हुए हम वहीं के वहीं हैं। यह अजीब तमाशा है कि हम आगे भी चलते हैं, अधिक पैदा भी करते हैं, कुछ दौड़ते भी हैं और आखिर में वहीं के वहीं खड़े हैं क्योंकि हमारी आबादी बढ़ गयी। इसके माने यह हैं कि दो प्रतिशत से काफ़ी अधिक पैदा करना है, अगर हम चलें। केवल खाने का नहीं, खेती से नहीं, सब सामान [पैदा करें]।

अच्छा, फ़र्ज़ करो कि हम चार प्रतिशत अधिक पैदा करते हैं। उसमें भी बहुत कुछ हमें खर्चना पड़ता है, आजकल हमारी जनता जो बड़ी तकलीफ़ में है, उसकी तकलीफ़ कुछ कम करनी है, विशेषकर देहात की जनता। पचासों बातें हैं मैं आपसे क्या बताऊँ, कितने गाँव में अच्छा पानी तक नहीं है, यह बात अच्छी नहीं है, कम से कम अच्छा शुद्ध पानी हर गाँव में तो हो और फिर साढ़े पाँच लाख गाँव देश में हैं, एकदम से करोड़ों की बात हो जाती है, पानी हो और बातें हों, पढ़ाई के लिए स्कूल बनायें, ये सब बातें। ये बहुत रुपया खा जाता है। बहुत आवश्यक बातें हैं लेकिन इन बातों से हमारा धन एकदम से नहीं अधिक बढ़ता यानी चार प्रतिशत भी हमने पैदा किया, दो बढ़ी हुई आबादी में चला गया, दो प्रतिशत जनता को ज़रा आराम पहुँचाने में चला गया, खासकर बहुत अधिक गाँव की जनता को, चार प्रतिशत निकल गये। फिर भी आगे बढ़ने का बहुत कोई सामान नहीं आया तो उसके लिए कुछ और होना चाहिए। परन्तु समझो हम दो प्रतिशत, जिसमें और आगे बढ़े यानी जिस रुपये को हम इन्वेस्ट करें, जिस रुपये को इसमें, उसमें, कारख़ाने में, हम लगायें जो बाद में पैदा करेगा तो दो और दो चार, छः हो गया, अब छह प्रतिशत बढ़ना हर साल काफ़ी कठिन बात है, इसमें काफ़ी रुपया लगाना होता है, उसमें काफ़ी परिश्रम करना होता है। हम चाहते हैं कि यह छः तक बढ़े और किसी सूरत से साढ़े पाँच से कम न हो, तब हम कुछ बढ़ते हैं नहीं तो परिश्रम के बाद हम वहीं के वहीं रह जाते हैं। इस बात को आप समझें।

अब यह कैसे हो? हम यह पाँच प्रतिशत और छः प्रतिशत को सरकारी कह देते हैं लेकिन इसके पीछे बेशुमार रुपया और बेशुमार परिश्रम वह कहाँ से आये? यह कोई प्लानिंग कमीशन की एक योजना बना देना थोड़े ही है या दिल्ली बम्बई में बैठ के हम कह दें, अच्छा हम तीसरी योजना में दस हजार करोड़ खर्चेंगे और पाँच और छः प्रतिशत बढ़ेंगे। यह तो आपके ऊपर बोझ पड़ता है, भारत की जनता पे पड़ता है कि उता रुपया आये और उता परिश्रम हो, उन्हीं के परिश्रम से बढ़ता है, रुपये से तो नहीं, रुपया हमारे पास बेशुमार है, नहीं बढ़ता, असली में तो परिश्रम है, एक सीखे हुए आदमी का परिश्रम है। तो इसलिए सोच विचार करना पड़ता है क्योंकि भारत की तरक्की का बोझ भारत की जनता पर पड़ेगा। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि बोझ इस ढंग से डालना चाहिए कि जो अधिक बर्दाश्त कर सकते हैं उन पर अधिक पड़े लेकिन हर एक पे कुछ न कुछ बोझ पड़े। इसलिए बहुत सोच विचार करना पड़ता है। अब एक तरफ़ से हमारे लोग हैं, उनकी माँगें हैं— यह भी हो, वह भी हो, तुम ज़्यादा लोहा पैदा करो, ज़्यादा बिजली पैदा करो और ज़्यादा बाहर आये और ज़्यादा पावर आये, गाँव में, शहर में, कारख़ाने में हर चीज़ की माँग है। दूसरी तरफ़ यह भी कहते हैं टैक्स बड़ा हो गया साहब, कम करो तब ये दोनों बातें साथ-साथ चलती नहीं हैं। हाँ, आज टैक्स ज़्यादा है मैं मानता हूँ लेकिन और कोई चारा नहीं है या तो टैक्स से रुपया आये या क़र्ज़ा रुपया आये और तो कोई चारा नहीं है, कुछ बाहर से आ सकता है, आया है लेकिन बाहर से जैसा भी आये, चाहे क़र्ज़ा आये, जैसा अधिकतर आता है या वो लोग कुछ यूँ ही दे दें, फिर भी वह थोड़ा होता है। असल बोझ तो देश में पड़ता है और पड़ना ही चाहिए। हम कोई भिखमंगे हैं कि औरों की भीख से रहें, अपने देश को बढ़ाएँ, ऐसे कहीं देश बढ़े हैं? तो देश के ऊपर बोझ पड़ता है और हर देश पे पड़ा है, हमारे देश की ही बात नहीं है। ऐसे समय पर जब वह अपने को ग़रीबी से निकाल के खुशहाली में ले जाना चाहता है तो बड़ी कठिनाई पड़ती है— अंग्रेज़ों पर पड़ा, अंग्रेज़ों को आसानी हो गयी थी। मैंने आपसे कहा, भारत से वो सोना, चाँदी, रुपया ले गये।

अमेरिका को ही लीजिए, जो आजकल सबसे बड़ा धनी देश है, सौ बरस हुए, पचास बरस हुए अमेरिका में यूरोप का रुपया जाता था— अंग्रेज़ों का, जर्मन का, फ्रांस का रुपया इन्वेस्ट होता था, लगाया जाता था। ये जो पिछली बड़ी दो लड़ाइयाँ हुईं न, उस समय से ये कुछ पलट गया और अमेरिका इतना धनी हो गया कि अब उसको इत्ता धन हज़म नहीं होता है। बात यह है, हज़म नहीं होता है, यह न समझिये कि धन से सब मसले हल हो जाते हैं, उनकी मुश्किल हो जाती है, वो गेहूँ इत्ता पैदा करते हैं कि अगर किसी को नहीं दें तो ग़ल्ला समुद्र में फेंक देना पड़ेगा। ख़ैर, ऐसे समय पर तो यह हर देश में हुआ है, यह नहीं कि हमारी कोई नयी बात है। हाँ, अगर हम रुपया ले के फ़िज़ूलखर्ची कर दें और इन्वेस्ट नहीं करें, बढ़ें नहीं तो हम वैसे के वैसे ही रहेंगे लेकिन अगर हम उसको ज़मीन से पैदावार बढ़ाने में ठीकतौर से लगायें, कारख़ाने में, इसमें, उसमें, पढ़ाई में और ऐसी बातों में जिससे देश की तरक्की हो तो वह एक इन्वेस्टमेंट होती है— जैसे आप एक बिज़नेस में रुपया लगायें, आप अपने देश भर के बिज़नेस में रुपया लगाते हैं और यक़ीनन उस पर ऐसा समय आता है जब उससे ख़ूब आमदनी होने लगती है और फिर वह आमदनी देश में फैलती है तो देश खुशहाल होने लगता है। यही तरीक़ा है और कोई जादू से तो हो नहीं सकता। यह नहीं है कि आप बम्बई के स्टॉक एक्सचेंज पे जाके कुछ

जुआ खेलें और उससे देश खुशहाल हो। जुआ क्या है? एक तो जुए से कुछ मिल जाता है, दूसरे की जेब से आ जाता है, देश का तो कुछ बढ़ा नहीं या कोई साहूकारी करे, साहूकार बड़े धनी हो जायें लेकिन साहूकार का धन नया धन नहीं है वह किसी और जेब का धन आया है, ये बात समझ लीजिए। तो नया धन वो होता है जो नई चीज़ आप पैदा करें। एक किसान ज़मीन से कुछ पैदा करता है, अपने परिश्रम से और पृथ्वी की सेवा से कुछ पैदा करता है, देश के लिए नई चीज़ देता है, किसी और की जेब से नहीं। कारखाने में कोई बढ़ई या लुहार कोई काम करता है, नयी चीज़ बनाए तो नयी चीज़ है किसी और की जेब की नहीं है और इसी तरह से कारखानों में भी निकलता है। उसके परिश्रम का फल है इसलिए जहाँ सीखे हुए लोग परिश्रम करके धन पैदा करते हैं ज़मीन से, कारखानों से, उद्योग-धंधों से, बगैरह-बगैरह, वह देश धनी होते हैं। हमें ये करना है, इसमें हमारी जनता पर बोझा पड़ेगा और कोई चारा नहीं, ये नहीं कि जिनके पास सोना-चाँदी है, ये तो ऊपरी व्यापार की चीज़ें हैं।

आप कहें और ठीक कहें कि बोझा धनी लोगों पर पड़ना चाहिए। मैं आपसे सहमत हूँ धनी पर अब भी काफ़ी पड़ता है और भी पड़े तो और सोच विचार कर लें, लेकिन कित्ता बोझा आप धनी लोगों पे डालें, हमारे देश में धनी बहुत हैं नहीं किसी और देश के मुकाबले में, फिर भी काफ़ी आता नहीं। तो हम कोशिश करते हैं जितना टैक्स से निकाल सकें, रखें। हमारी जनता क्रूर जित्ता मिल सके, ले। सरकारी क्रूर होते हैं और बहुत अच्छे होते हैं तो उसमें अच्छी तरह से आपका रुपया भी रहता है और उससे आप देश की भी सहायता कर रहे हैं। आपको खुद भी मिलता है इसमें आप तो किसी के ऊपर एहसान नहीं करते। बहुत माकूल बात है, इसी तरह और देश बढ़ें हैं। रुपया एक चक्कर खाता है। अपने काम से रुपया आप कमाते हैं। आप रुपया लगाते हैं कुछ अपने काम में, कुछ नये काम में, कुछ सरकारी क्रूरों में, फिर और कामों में सरकारी क्रूर लगाते हैं, "इन्वेस्टमेंट" उससे और धन बढ़ता है। इस तरह से सारे देश का धन बढ़ने लगता है। ये ही हमारे सामने उपाय हैं। हाँ, और इस समय के लिए, इस पाँच, सात, दस बरस अन्य देशों से भी हम सहायता चाहते हैं क्योंकि जो मैंने आपसे कहा कि हर देश अन्य देशों से क्रूर लेकर बढ़ा है, हम कोई दान नहीं चाहते और हम तो क्रूर चाहते हैं जिसको हम अदा करें। ये कोशिश है क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं कि तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना के अंत तक हम अपनी इस यात्रा में काफ़ी दूर तक पहुँच जायें। अगर पूरी मंज़िल न पहुँचे तो चौथी में तो पहुँच ही जायें और पूरा पड़ाव या मंज़िल के माने हैं कि हम ऐसी जगह पहुँच जायें जब हमारे देश में ज़मीन से, कारखाने से, सब तरह से उद्योग-धंधों से, विज्ञान से, इत्ता पैदा करते हैं कि अपनी शक्ति से वह बढ़ता जाता है, तब गाड़ी ठीक चलने लगती है और फिर प्रतिदिन लोगों की हालत अच्छी होने लगती है। ये सब बातें तो मैंने आपसे कहीं। मैंने कहा, पैदा करने की निस्वत में ज़्यादा पैदा करना ज़्यादा ठीक है, उसके बगैर कुछ होता नहीं।

लेकिन उसमें एक और विचार भी रखना है वह ये कि जो पैदा होता है वह थोड़ी सी जेबों में अटक न जाये यानी थोड़े से लोग धनी न हो जायें और बाक़ी ग़रीब रहें। अगर ऐसी बात हो तो ये बड़ी बुरी बात है। इसलिए समाजवाद, सोशलिज़्म इत्यादि जिसको कहते हैं, हमारे सोचने में आ जाता है क्योंकि सोशलिज़्म का मूल सिद्धांत यह नहीं कि सब लोग एक से हों, एक से तो सब होते नहीं, कुछ फ़र्क़ होता है, हर दो आदमी में फ़र्क़ है, कोई लम्बा है, कोई छोटा है,

कोई चौड़ा है, कोई अक्लमन्द है, कोई बेवकूफ है, मूर्ख है, सब तो एक से होते नहीं, लेकिन सबको तरक्की का एक सा मौक़ा मिलना चाहिए जो आजकल नहीं मिलता है, पहले ज़माने में और भी कम मिलता था, कोई राजा है, कोई महाराजा है, कोई साहुकार है, कोई कुछ है और जिते बड़े आदमी हैं, धनी हैं, उता धन उनके पास और जाता है। तो ये बात ग़लत है, सबको बराबर का मौक़ा मिलना चाहिए, हर एक बच्चे को बराबर का मौक़ा मिलना चाहिए जित्ती उसमें शक्ति हो, उता बढ़ सके और बड़े होकर काम करें। इसलिए समाजवाद का ये चित्र सामने रखना है। उसमें बहुत सारी और भी बातें हैं लेकिन विशेषकर ये ही बात है कि धन जो देश में पैदा हो वह कुछ जनता में फैले, थोड़े से लोगों की जेब में न रहे और सारी जनता में एक-एक व्यक्ति को बराबर का मौक़ा मिले आगे बढ़ने का, जो कि नहीं है, आजकल हल्के-हल्के होता जाता है, लेकिन वो पूरे तौर से नहीं है।

इन बातों में ये सब क्रांतिकारी बातें हैं। इस समय हम अपने देश में इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोलूशन कर रहे हैं वह जो अंग्रेज़ों के देश में सौ बरस में हुई और उद्योग-धंधों की क्रांति ऐसे समय पर कर रहे हैं जबकि एक नयी-नयी, उससे भी बड़ी क्रांति— एटॉमिक और जेट, जेट की क्रांति छाती पर आ गयी है। इससे ज़्यादा क्रांतिकारी समय दुनिया में कभी नहीं हुआ है, यह आप याद रखिये। उस क्रांति से लाभ भी हो सकता है और हानि भी। एटॉमिक एनर्जी, अणुशक्ति बनी है। उससे सारी दुनिया को बहुत लाभ हो सकता है और अगर उसके ज़रिये लड़ाई लड़ें तो सारा संसार तबाह हो जाये। दोनों बातें हो सकती हैं। ये तो आदमियों की बुद्धि पर है, अक्ल पर है। तो इस चित्र को आप सामने रखें। भारत बहुत दिनों के बाद अपने पिंजरे से ग़रीबी के निकल रहा है, पहले-पहले गुलामी की दास्ताँ से निकला है, अब वह अपने परिश्रम से, अपनी कोशिश से ग़रीबी के पिंजरे से निकलने का पूरा यत्न कर रहा है, समय लगता है, चट-पट कोई देश नहीं बदल जाते, बरसों लगते हैं लेकिन आप देख सकते हैं इस समय, अगर आप देखें कि इस बारह बरस में कितना फ़र्क़ हो गया है। मैं देखता हूँ गाँव में जाता हूँ, पहले भी गया दस बरस हुए, बीस बरस, तीस बरस हुए, चालीस वर्ष हुए, अपने प्रदेश में, उत्तर प्रदेश में, बिलकुल गाँव की जनता का रंग बदल गया। मैं कोई सभा कहूँ तो सभा में जो लोग आते हैं ख़ाली पेट नहीं दिखते, कुछ-कुछ खाए हुए, कपड़े पहने हुए, नंगे बदन नहीं हैं जैसे पहले रहते थे। इस तरह से कुछ न कुछ उन्नति तो होती जाती है, लेकिन हम चाहते हैं तेज़ी से हो, जोरों से हो और परिश्रम से हो और जित्ती हम करते हैं उतनी ज़्यादा हमारी शक्ति बढ़ती है।

अब मैंने आपसे कहा कि हमारे यहाँ राजनीतिक क्रांति हुई अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्य को निकाल के। अब ये उद्योग, औद्योगिक क्रांति हम कर रहे हैं, आर्थिक क्रांति, उद्योग-धंधों का इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोलूशन। इसके साथ-साथ एक तीसरी क्रांति भी उतनी आवश्यक है, उससे जुड़ी हुई है। वह है सामाजिक क्रांति, अंदर से हमारे समाज का संगठन, हमारे समाज में कैसे आपस में व्यवहार होता है क्योंकि कोई देश बढ़ता नहीं है जिसका समाज ऐसा हो कि बंधा हो, जकड़ा हो, जंजीरों में हो। हमारा समाज काफ़ी बंधा हुआ रहा है, अब भी है, हमारे समाज ने कितने लोगों को दबाया, अछूत बनाया, बढ़ने नहीं दिया। कैसे कोई देश बढ़े अगर वह देश के लाखों-करोड़ों आदमियों को दबाते हैं। इसीलिए गांधी जी ने इस पे ज़ोर दिया था, बड़ा ज़ोर दिया आप तो जानते हैं। उन्होंने कहा कोई स्वराज नहीं है जब तक हरिजन लोगों को पूरा स्वराज का भाग नहीं मिलता

उठते नहीं। एक बात मैंने आपसे कही। उसी तरह से हरिजन क्या सारा हमारा जातिभेद जो है, कास्ट सिस्टम जो है, अलग-अलग खानों में एक-एक जाति, मालूम नहीं कि कितनी सौ हजार जातियाँ इस देश में हैं, इसने हमारे देश को बढ़ने नहीं दिया। दुनिया में जातियों का कहीं इस ढंग का सामाजिक संगठन नहीं है, आप याद रखें। हाँ, कहीं कुछ जातियाँ हैं, कहीं कुछ ऊँच-नीच तो बहुत जगह है लेकिन जैसे यह जातिभेद, कास्ट सिस्टम भारत में है उस तरह दुनिया में कहीं नहीं है। दुनिया के और लोग यहाँ आते हैं तो उनकी समझ में नहीं आता, उनको समझाना कठिन है क्योंकि उनके लिए ये नयी चीज़, उनके मन में कभी नहीं आई, ये बुरी चीज़ है, इसने हमें गिराया है, इसने हममें बहुत ऊँच-नीच रखी है और हम कहें कि हम प्रजातंत्रवाद रखेंगे और समाजवाद, न प्रजातंत्रवाद में जातिभेद रह सकता है न समाजवाद में क्योंकि दोनों में ऊँच-नीच है। ऊँच-नीच का फल तो आप आजकल देखें आखिरी फल जो दक्षिण अफ्रीका में हो रहा है। जिस तरह से वहाँ की जो गोरी आबादी है उसमें बाक्री आबादी जो कि असल आबादी नहीं है देश की आप समझें, उसको एक-एक मनुष्य की तरह से नहीं रहना है, वह तो जैसे कोई क्रैदी हो, टिकट ले लेकर जायें कहीं शहर से बाहर निकलें। अजीब तमाशा है। तो वहाँ एक उपद्रव हुआ आप जानते हैं। तो ये जातिभेद उसी ढंग की चीज़ है और आप दक्षिण अफ्रीका के विरोध में वहाँ के सरकार की बड़े शान से जा के एक प्रस्ताव करें कि अन्याय होता है तो उस वक़्त आप अपने मन में लायें कि आप कितना अन्याय कर रहे हैं अपने देश में हरिजन के साथ या और जातियों के साथ क्या किया, याद रखने की बात है क्योंकि वह दक्षिण अफ्रीका वाले हमारे मुँह पर फेंकते हैं—तुम कौन हो कहने को, आओ अपने देश को देखो किस तरह से तुमने अपनी अछूत जातियों को रखा है, अब भी रखते हो, और कैसे जातिभेद हैं, हमसे कहते हो, उँगली उठाते हो हमारे ऊपर, बात सच्ची है। हाँ, इत्ता बड़ा फ़र्क है कम से कम हमारी नीति नहीं है ये करने की, हमारी क़ानूनन नीति नहीं है, हम उसको हटाना चाहते हैं, कोशिश करते हैं और दक्षिण अफ्रीका में उनकी नीति है, लेकिन बड़ा फ़र्क है फिर भी ये बड़े कलंक की बात है हमारे लिए उसको हटाना है।

समाज का एक और हिस्सा आप लें। सौराष्ट्र एक सुन्दर जगह है। जब-जब मैं आया हूँ मेरा मन प्रसन्न हुआ है और अच्छे लोग, सुन्दर लोग, यहाँ के तगड़े लोग स्त्री-पुरुष बच्चे, आके ग्राम भी देखने में, उधर उत्तर प्रदेश के गाँव से बहुत अच्छे मालूम होते हैं, लेकिन जब मैं ये सुनता हूँ कि भारत भर में सबमें अधिक स्त्रियाँ यहाँ आत्महत्या करती हैं सौराष्ट्र में, तो मैं हैरान हो जाता हूँ।¹⁸ उसके माने क्या? एक ही माने हैं कि आपके समाज का ठीक ढंग नहीं रहा है, आपका समाज ख़राब है, आपके समाज का संगठन ख़राब है,¹⁹ आपके समाज के रिवाज़ ख़राब हैं। मैं कोई पुस्तक देखने को तैयार नहीं हूँ, न बहस या किसी से बहस सुनूँ। ये महज़ बातें हैं कि ऐसी आत्महत्या यहाँ होती है इत्ती स्त्रियों में, आपका ये मुक़दमा और आपके खिलाफ़ फ़ैसला

18. Out of 1129 cases of suicide reported between 1952 and 1955 in Saurashtra 750 were among women, according to a Government. See "Homebound Women of Saurashtra" in *The Economic Weekly*, 7 December 1957, pp. 1563-1564.

19. According to the report, one-third of the suicides was due to family tensions.

हो जाता है। ये आपके विचार करने की बात है। इसके माने क्या? यानी मैं तो हैरान इसलिए हूँ कि भारत में बहुत सी बातों में आपके प्रदेश का यह हिस्सा और अगुआ है, आगे बढ़ा है। जैसा मैंने आपसे कहा आपके गाँव में जाके देखो, अपने यहाँ के गावों में देखूँ तो आपका गाँव कहीं ज्यादा सुन्दर पक्का पत्थर का है और फिर यह आपके समाज में हो क्या रहा है? कौन सी बीमारी है, वहाँ जा के कौन सा कीड़ा लग गया है? इस तरह के नौजवान स्त्रियाँ, लड़कियाँ आत्महत्या करें, वह अपने घर में रह नहीं सकती हैं, उनके लिए घर में रहना इतना कठिन हो जाता है कि अपना जीवन, अपने को मार लें जाकर। बड़े विचार करने की बात है। लम्बी चौड़ी क्रांतिकारी बातें और समाजवादी बातें हम करें और अपने घर को हम संभाल के नहीं रख सकते तो हम अपने देश को और प्रदेश को और दुनिया को क्या सम्भालेंगे? हमारे देश में ये अजीब बात है कि हमारे यहाँ क्रांतिकारी बातें और क्रांतिकारी नारे लम्बी-चौड़ी बातें बहुत करते हैं लेकिन ज़रा दूरबीन से आप उनको देखें कैसे खुद उनका रहन-सहन है। आजकल का ज़माना छोड़ो, अभी उनके दिमाग पाँच सौ, सात सौ, हजार वर्ष, पुराने समय में चलते हैं। तो इस तरह से देश नहीं बढ़ सकता और मैं इसको जानता हूँ कि ये बातें हट जायेंगी क्योंकि आजकल सब जगह पढ़ाई-लिखाई हो रही है। लड़कियाँ जाती हैं पढ़ती हैं, उस बात को बरदाश्त नहीं करेंगी। ठीक है, नहीं करना चाहिए, बलवा करना चाहिए। मैं लड़की होता तो ऐसे मैं क्या आत्महत्या करता? नहीं मैं आत्महत्या नहीं करता, मैं बलवा करता, ज़ोरों से बलवा करता, यह बरदाश्त नहीं है कि इस तरह समाज चले जिसमें ये बातें हों और आप लोग भी इसको अपने हाथ में लीजिए, संभालिए, ये नहीं कि जब बलवाई लोग आपसे करवायें तब आप करें, बदलिए अपने समाज के रिवाज़ को, दस्तूर को क्योंकि वह जड़ है।

एक और माने में देखिये तो आजकल मैं समझता हूँ बड़ी क्रांति की ये बातें हो रही हैं कि हमारे विशेषकर गाँव की लड़कियाँ स्कूल, कॉलेज, यूनिवर्सिटी भी काफ़ी आने लगी हैं, जा रही हैं तो ये बड़ी क्रांति की बात है, पढ़ाई में क्रांति की बात है, पढ़ाई, शिक्षा क्रांति है लेकिन लड़की या स्त्री की शिक्षा और भी क्रांति है। इसलिए कि स्त्री का असर अपने घर में पुरुष से अधिक होता है, अपने बच्चों पर होता है, घर के रहन-सहन पे होता है। तो शिक्षित स्त्री का घर बदल जाता है, शिक्षित मनुष्य का घर आमतौर से नहीं बदलता है। इसलिए... इसलिए स्त्रियों की शिक्षा ज्यादा आवश्यक है पुरुषों की शिक्षा से। असल में दोनों ही हैं, तो वह एक बड़ी क्रांति आ रही है। उसमें जब क्रांति आती है तब खराबियाँ भी होती हैं, कठिनाइयाँ होती हैं, बहुत सारी खराबियाँ होती हैं, ऐसी बातें होती हैं जो बुरी लगें, ठीक है लेकिन उसी के साथ अच्छी बातें भी होती हैं। हमें कोशिश करनी चाहिए बुरी बातें न हों और कोशिश इसी तरह से होती है कि हम उस क्रांति को समझें, बिगाड़े नहीं, हम उसको रोकें नहीं, हम अपनी खुशी से अपने सहयोग से उसको आने दें। तब वह ठीक रास्ते पर रहती है नहीं तो बिगड़ जाती है। तो आप देखें ये बड़े-बड़े काम हैं।

मैंने आपसे तो और दुनिया का हाल नहीं कहा। अभी थोड़े दिन में चीन के प्रधानमंत्री यहाँ दिल्ली बातचीत करने आ रहे हैं।²⁰ जो हमारा सीमा का झगड़ा है सरहद का, पेचीदा झगड़ा है।

20. On 19 April; see item 156.

ये तो उचित नहीं है कि मैं उसके बारे में आपसे इस वक़्त बहस करूँ, लेकिन बात ऐसी है जो कि हम सभी के लिए बड़ी आजमाइश की है, हमारे देश के लिए बड़ा भारी इम्तिहान है सारे, हर तरह से इम्तिहान है। एक तो इम्तिहान है असली इम्तिहान कि परिश्रम से काम करके हम अपनी ताक़त बढ़ायें, शक्ति बढ़ायें, जो काम हो रहे हैं। दूसरे ये कि हम डरें नहीं, डर तो एक निकम्मी चीज़ है, हिम्मत से सामना करें, जो भी हो और हाय-हाय न करें।

बाज़ लोग हैं जो कि समझते हैं गुलशोर मचाना, हाय-हाय करना यह ताक़त की निशानी है। अक्सर जो आदमी हाथ पैर नहीं चला सकता वह गुल मचाता है। गांधीजी को तो आप जानते हैं वह तो अहिंसा के भक्त थे, लेकिन उन्होंने भी कहा कि अगर तुम्हारे दिल में हिंसा है तो अच्छा है, उसको निकाल के तलवार ले के चलाओ बजाय इसके कि अंदर ही कुछ गाली दिया करो। हमारे देश में ये बड़े दुःख की बात है कि गाली देने वाले बढ़ते जाते हैं यानी हमारी बहस भी गाली की हो गयी। चीन हमारे मुख़ालिफ़ है, विरोध करें, हम उसका विरोध करें जो कुछ ज़रूरत हो, उसका सामना करें हिम्मत से, लेकिन हम बैठ के चीन को या उनके नेताओं को गाली दें ये तो, क्या कहूँ आपसे माफ़ करेंगी मेरी बहनें, बुढ़िया औरतों का काम है, जवानों का काम नहीं। ये भी कोई तरीक़ा है। एक दुश्मन है, दुश्मन से लड़ते हैं, ये समझते हैं हम गाली देकर उसको दुर्बल कर देंगे, ये तो अपनी दुर्बलता दिखाते हैं। बड़ी-बड़ी प्रदर्शनी होगी, ये होगा, निकलें जुलूस गाली देते हुए व नारे उठाते हुए और अपनी एक तो अपनी दुर्बलता उससे दिखानी और दूसरे अपनी, क्या कहूँ आपसे— अपने को औरों की निगाहों में नीचा करना है। हम किसी को बुलायें चाहे हमारा विरोधी ही क्यों न हो, हम उसको अपना एक मेहमान बनायें, गेस्ट बनायें, हमारे निमंत्रण पर वह आये और फिर हम उसको मुँह चिढ़ायें, ये कहाँ का, कहाँ की नीति है, कहाँ का दस्तूर है ये आप बताएँ, ये क्या सभ्य बातें हैं ये। मैं तो हैरान होता हूँ कैसे लोग हमारे हो गये हैं? मेरी, हमेशा बात को उलट के आप देखा करें। मैं अगर पीकिंग जाऊँ और वहाँ लोग नारे उठायें मेरे विरोध में और गुलत बातें करें, मुँह चिढ़ाएँ और उसकी ख़बर आपके पास आये तो आपको अच्छा नहीं लगेगा, ज़ाहिर है कि नहीं अच्छा लगेगा, क्यों? इसलिए नहीं कि आप मुझे प्रेम करते हैं, लेकिन इसलिए मैं वहाँ गया एक भारत का प्रतिनिधि होके और मेरे खिलाफ़ जो हो वह भारत के खिलाफ़ है, आपको गुस्सा चढ़ेगा।

इसी तरह से हमारे भाई यहाँ सोचते नहीं कि चीन की तरफ से उनके प्रधानमंत्री आते हैं तो अपने देश में बड़े आदमी हैं, दुनिया में बड़े आदमी हैं, हमारे विरोधी हैं तो हम उनका मुकाबला करें लेकिन हम अपने एक धर्म को, कर्तव्य को, अपनी सभ्यता को, भूल के अपनी संस्कृति को भूल के, हम एक क्या कहूँ माफ़ करें, कोई हम भटियारों की तरह से उनके सामने जायें। यहाँ कोई भटियारे तो नहीं हैं। यहाँ मुझे पता नहीं, हम इस तरह से जायें तो ये उनको तो कोई हानि नहीं होती। ये तो हम दुनिया के सामने कुछ नीचे हो जाते हैं, विचार करने की बात है, इससे शक्ति नहीं आती है देश की और अगर लोग समझें कि कोई जवाहरलाल की शक्ति बढ़ायेंगे करके, बाज़ कहते हैं हाँ हम तुम्हारी शक्ति बढ़ा रहे हैं। तो मेरी शक्ति तो बढ़ती नहीं, मैं तो शर्मिंदा हो जाता हूँ, मेरा सिर नीचा हो जाता है क्योंकि मैंने उनको अपना अतिथि बना के, मेहमान बना के बुलाया है और मेरे मेहमान का जो अनादर करे तो मैं शर्मिंदा हो जाता हूँ कि मैं उनकी देखभाल भी ठीक नहीं कर सका और अगर ये बातें हैं कि जवाहरलाल के ऊपर भरोसा

नहीं है कि वह काफ़ी तगड़ा आदमी है तो फिर सोच समझकर दूसरे को चुनो, रखो लेकिन ये बड़ी ग़लत बात है। फ़र्ज़ करो कि एक लड़ाई है, फ़ौजी लड़ाई है और एक आपका बड़ा जनरल है, फ़ौज का अफ़सर है, वह जा रहा है लड़ने, ख़तरनाक लड़ाई है बजाय इसके कि आप उसकी पीठ ठोकें, उसको दिलासा दें, उसकी हिम्मत बढ़ायें, आप हर वक़्त उसकी टाँग पीछे से खींचते रहें और हाथ खेंचे और रस्ती बाँध दें उसकी कमर में तो लड़ाई उसका लड़ना कठिन हो जाता है।

लेकिन यहाँ की कुछ हमारे दिलों की ये नीति एक अजीब है। मैंने उनसे कहा था पार्लियामेंट में कि आपको अधिकार है, हमेशा अधिकार है यहाँ की जनता को, पार्लियामेंट को, कि आप अपना प्रतिनिधि चुनिये किसी काम करने को। अगर आप मुझे चुनते हैं, आपने मुझे चुना तो मेरे ऊपर आपने बड़ा बोझ डाला है, लेकिन मुझे, उसके मायने क्या हुए कि आपकी इच्छा को पूरा करने के लिए आपने एक औज़ार चुना है, मैं आपका एक औज़ार हूँ, आपका काम करूँ, औज़ार आपने मुझे चुना है, एक इंस्ट्रुमेंट आप लोगों ने मुझे बनाया है, आपने इच्छाओं को पूरा करने के लिए और फिर उस औज़ार को उस इंस्ट्रुमेंट को लाके आप उसमें जो कुछ धार हो, उसको मिटा दें और उसको ब्लन्ट करें, ये तो कोई इंसान की बात न अपने साथ है न दूसरे के साथ। ख़तरे के मौक़ों पर ये नहीं होता है, किसी मौक़े पर भी नहीं होना चाहिए, ख़तरे के मौक़े पर खासतौर से, लेकिन हमारे कुछ दिल हैं जो इन बातों में पड़े रहते हैं। ख़ैर, मैं किसी की निन्दा के तौर पर नहीं कह रहा हूँ बल्कि मैं चाहता हूँ आप सोचें, क्योंकि हमारा देश का कुछ आदर है दुनिया में, बहुत बातों से है, लेकिन विशेषकर गांधीजी की वजह से है और गांधीजी के युग में जो भारत ने जिस ढंग से स्वराज की लड़ाई लड़ी— एक सभ्यता से, अहिंसा से, कमोबेश शराफ़त से, कभी हमने अंग्रेज़ को गाली नहीं दी, इक्के-दुक्के ने दी हो मैं नहीं जानता, लेकिन हमारी तरफ़ से हमारे सिपाहियों को देश से कहा गया था, कभी उँगली नहीं उठे अंग्रेज़ के खिलाफ़, कभी गाली नहीं दी, हमें अंग्रेज़ी साम्राज्यवाद से लड़ाई है, अंग्रेज़ से नहीं। अब आप देखें कितने ऊँचे दरजे पर हम आगे बढ़े थे और हमारी विजय हुई और दुनिया भी चौकन्नी हो गयी कि एक नया तरीक़ा निकला, हमारे देश का आदर हुआ जबसे हम स्वतन्त्र हुए, हमने... हम तो दुर्बल लोग थे लेकिन फिर भी हमने कोशिश की कुछ इस पुरानी शान को रखने की, हमने सब देशों से दोस्ती करने की कोशिश की, शांति की कोशिश की दुनिया में और जो दुनिया में बड़े-बड़े ये फ़ौजी ब्लॉक बन रहे थे बड़े-बड़े देश, हमने कहा हम आपसे दोस्ती रखें, किसी से मिलेंगे नहीं क्योंकि मिलने के मायने हैं फिर दूसरे का विरोधी हो जाना। ख़ैर, लोगों को पहले दो-तीन बरस समझे कि हम डरपोक हैं इसलिए नहीं करते, हल्के-हल्के उन्होंने देखा कि हम डर डर की बात नहीं है बल्कि कुछ हिम्मत की बात है और हम अपने रास्ते पर चलते हैं, किसी के दवाब से और ढकेलने से नहीं जाते। हमारे देश का आदर हुआ और है। इस दस बरस की बातों से भी, आमतौर से देश के आदर होते हैं जिनके पास बहुत फ़ौज हो या बहुत पैसा हो। हमारे पास न बहुत बड़ी फ़ौज है, न पैसा है, ग़रीब देश हैं, फ़ौज हमारी अच्छी है लेकिन बहुत बड़ी थोड़े ही है, लेकिन बहुत थोड़े ही है फिर भी हमारे देश का आदर होता है, क्योंकि लोगों ने देखा कि ये लोग एक सभ्य देश हैं, तगड़े देश हैं, गाली-वाली बहुत नहीं देते, लेकिन अपने बात के पक्के हैं, शान्ति से रहते हैं, हमारा आदर हुआ, हमारी सलाह माँगी जाती है और देश माँगते हैं बहुत

सारे। ये सब तो हमने अपनी कमाई जमा की और अब कुछ हमारे भाई उस सारी हमारी सभ्यता और संस्कृति की कमाई को फेंक देना चाहते हैं अपने बर्ताव से, अपनी हवाई गालियों से, अपने नारों से और हमारा कोई अतिथि आये उसके विरोध में डिमांडेशन करें ये बात अच्छी नहीं।

मैंने आपका बहुत समय लिया और आपने शांति से मुझे सुना, मैं आपका बहुत मशकूर हूँ। तो अब आधे दिन के लिए, आधे दिन से भी कम के लिए मैं राजकोट आया। कल सवेरे मैं जा रहा हूँ, कैम्बे जा रहा हूँ और आप जानते हैं कि कैम्बे का नाम भी अब भारत भर में प्रसिद्ध हो गया है, क्यों? क्योंकि कैम्बे में तेल निकल रहा है।²² आजकल तेल सोना-चाँदी और हीरों से ज़्यादा कीमती है और जैसे कि हमें पूरी आशा है कि इस हिस्से में तेल अच्छी तरह से निकलेगा उससे आपके प्रदेश को बहुत लाभ होगा और भारत को लाभ होगा। अभी परसों खबर आई कि एक और जगह खोदा जा चुका था वहाँ भी तेल निकला, पाँचवा कुआँ यह था, अभी तो आजमाइश हो रही है। तो अच्छा है और आप लोगों को मुबारक हो तेल, लेकिन तेल वगैरह तो अब बातें आयेंगी, वक्त से होता ही जायेगा, हिन्दुस्तान की गाड़ी चलती ही जायेगी, उसे कोई रोक तो सकता नहीं। सवाल ये है कि हमारे लोग कैसे हैं? लोग— उनके दिल कैसे हैं, तगड़े दिल हैं, मजबूत दिल हैं, आपस में मिल के रहते हैं या लड़ाकू हैं? आपस में सहयोग से हैं? हमारे समाज कैसे अच्छी तरह से चलते हैं और ये खाने जो हैं जातिभेद के ये मिटते हैं कितनी जल्दी? ये सब बातें हमें करनी हैं। तो हम इस अपने भारत देश के क्राबिल होंगे।

जय हिन्द! मेरे साथ आप भी तो जय हिन्द कहिए तीन बार।

जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

President of the Congress,²² President of the Gujarat PCC,²³ sisters and brothers, I have come here after a long interval. I think I had come here during the elections. A great deal has happened since then in India and the world, for we are living in strange, revolutionary times today. There have been ups and downs in your province also. Earlier, you were a separate state and then Gujarat became a part of Greater Bombay and now even that is going to be divided up.

There have been many events during this period which have been disturbing. But the past cannot be recalled and we must not brood about it. One thing is almost certain. The Bill is in the Lok Sabha and hopefully a final decision will be taken by the end of this month. From the first of May, Greater Bombay will be divided into Gujarat (which will include Saurashtra) and Maharashtra.²⁴ We must let bygones be bygones and try to implement the new plan wholeheartedly.

21. See the next item.

22. See fn 15 in this section.

23. See fn 16 in this section.

24. See fn 17 in this section.

We must divert our minds from our internal squabbles and apply ourselves to the great tasks before us, which belong not to Gujarat or Saurashtra alone but to the whole of India. You must understand one thing quite clearly, which is that India is a very large country, with huge states, different languages and customs and traditions. But a part of India cannot progress unless the whole country does so. I am sure all of us understand this, but do not think deeply enough about it. It is an ancient malady of ours, that we are content to live in our own narrow grooves, concerned more with our own village, street and caste, rather than with the broader picture of India and the world. But this is not correct.

After hundreds of years of bondage, India is once again free and we have the opportunity to progress and advance. India had become very backward and compared to other countries she is backward still. The task before us is to rebuild the country, rebuild her economically and remove poverty. It is a fairly difficult task which cannot be done by passing laws or resolutions. It cannot be achieved even by the effort of the government alone. The government may be able to achieve small things. We can take you into the armed forces. But we cannot uplift the five and a half lakh villages of India by a governmental fiat. That is possible only by the determination and cooperation of the people. The Government can discharge only the superficial duties. What were the duties of the government in the days of the British rule? It was merely the maintenance of law and order and the collection of taxes. These were their two main functions. Apart from its being a foreign government it was not concerned with the society or social problems in any way. It was not bothered about the fact that the society was progressing or becoming backward.

When power came into the hands of the people, the foremost question before us was the uplift of society. For instance, a few years ago when an Englishman asked me at a conference what our problems were, my reply was that we had 360 million problems. That is, we have as many problems as there are people in the country. The two things are not separate in any way. Nor is it merely a question of providing jobs for a few thousand people. After all, forty crores of people cannot serve one another.

There is a story famous in China, that there were so many good dhobis—there were other people also—that they used to earn a living by washing one another's clothes. The moment the government is confronted with social problems, which is true of most governments in the world today, the pattern changes completely. It can no longer be handled by officials alone. You cannot have a huge army of millions of officers. It is only when millions of people work together and are self-reliant and cooperative that the country moves forward.

So, as you can imagine, the entire question changes. Official decisions taken in Delhi, Bombay or Ahmedabad play only a small part. The thing that really counts is the part that the people themselves play in the task of improving their condition. There are several difficulties in this. The economic condition of millions of people in India had deteriorated greatly, particularly in the rural areas, due to centuries of suppression. The people lived in dire poverty and unemployment and the pressure on the land mounted because even those who had other occupations were now dependent on land. Most of the other village industries had come to a standstill during the days of the British rule. So it is not possible to make the people well-off by governmental orders. If it is a question of a few hundreds or thousands, it may be possible to look after them in camps and train them. But what can you do with forty crores of people? Therefore, the question is extremely complicated.

You must have heard of the five year plans and national extension schemes and the huge industries and plants which are coming up all over the country. We are increasing production of steel and other things rapidly. But ultimately, the most important question before the nation is to train human beings. Once that is done, everything else becomes simple, and without trained people we cannot lay the strong foundations of progress. It is obvious that that implies education, because without that the people cannot progress. More than sixty or seventy years ago or perhaps even more—I do not remember exactly—Japan had decided that, they were very backward and decided to modernise the country and advance in the field of science and technology. The Japanese Emperor, the Mikado, issued a fiat that every single individual in the country should be educated, and arrangements were to be made to set up schools and colleges. Merely importing some machines and setting up an industry does not have much of an impact on the world. The important thing is the kind of human beings who are behind it.

So this was done in Japan, you will find that in the countries which have advanced in the world, education has spread very rapidly. I do not say that everybody goes in for very high class education. But a large number of people got basic education and train to become mechanics, engineers or in a thousand other professions. Even agriculture can be improved by education. Education does not mean that it qualifies people only for white-collared jobs. Such education is of no use. It should be practical and useful and the educated should help to improve the villages.

Today there is a tremendous hiatus between the city and the village. Your village is much better-off, but in most villages the houses are made of mud. There has been a slight improvement in the last few years, but it is negligible. On the other hand, there are huge buildings and homes, motor cars, etc., in the

cities. A few days ago, I had said, that in spite of the huge atomic energy plant which has come up near Bombay, India has actually arrived only at the bicycle age, because bicycles have reached the villages. That is the important thing as far as I am concerned. It does not mean that until every individual has a car, no cars should be used at all. That is impossible. But in one sense, we have reached the bicycle age in India. I remember learning to ride a bicycle for the first time when I was seven or eight years old, sixty-two or sixty-three years ago. My father had bought one for himself and one for me. I very seldom ride one now. But I had learnt when the bicycle was a novelty in the country. It has become quite common now, and it is possible that in the next few years, small cars and buses, etc., will be used in large numbers in the country. Other new modes of transport may be invented. But they will become common only when they reach the villages. What a few people in cities use does not have much of an impact on the life of India.

Anyhow, as I was telling you, we cannot stop the growth of cities because urbanisation is essential in many ways. However, the yardstick to measure India's progress is the village. India can progress only as much as her villages do. Real progress of the villages depends not on the superficial amenities but ultimately on the education and training that the people have, their enthusiasm, self-confidence, etc. These are the things by which you can judge the progress of a country.

You must have heard about the community development schemes that we had started a few years ago. Its main aim was to make the villages self-reliant and to teach them to stand on their own feet. For a few years, we had good results and more than three lakh villages were covered. But gradually, it began to be afflicted by the old malaise of depending on the government officials to do everything for them. Even if a few tiles had to be replaced, the villagers looked to the PWD to do so. The government servants also tend to become big bosses, which is absolutely wrong. The principle on which these community development schemes were started was to create an awakening among the people and make them self-reliant. Government officials can help and advise them. This is what we are once again laying emphasis on.

You must have heard that in Andhra and Rajasthan almost all the powers for implementing the community development schemes have been given to the panchayats. This was introduced by the Congress President and it will be adopted here also. The panchayats have been given financial powers to collect taxes and land revenue and to utilise them for administering the villages and making progress. The government will help with trained engineers, doctors, teachers, etc. That is a different matter. But the work will be done by the members of the panchayats. If they fail to do so, it is they who will suffer. But

we do not want that they should come running to officials or ministers with requests and demands. We have transferred the responsibility to them and left it to them to decide what they wish to do to improve the condition of the village. The hierarchy consists of the village panchayat, then the panchayat samiti, consisting of the panchayats of the block, and then the zila parishad. They have even the power to levy more taxes to improve agriculture, put up small industries, build schools, make arrangements for health-care, etc.

So, you can see what a revolutionary step this is. The idea is to make the people self-reliant and to change the ways of officialdom. During the British rule, the officials were all powerful. Even now they are, but the system is changing greatly. We want to change it still further, especially in the rural areas. There will be officials, but their role will change. They will be there to advise and help but the decisions and responsibility will rest with the panchayat samitis. This has taken shape in Andhra and Rajasthan and the results have been very encouraging. The complexion is changing. The people are becoming more self-reliant. Now, they do not go running to the Ministers with their demands. They make mistakes and even squabble among themselves. Yet a new atmosphere is being created, and I have no doubt about it, that this should be done all over the country. You should try to create this atmosphere in Saurashtra too, and gradually the responsibility for the development activities must be shouldered by the gram panchayats. The bigger projects can be handled by the State or Central government. But the small schemes and programmes must be implemented by the members of the panchayats. When this happens all over the country, a great revolution will occur in India and we will be able to claim that we have uplifted the thirty crores who live in the rural areas from the rut into which they had fallen. They should learn to stand on their own feet and be self-reliant.

You are too young to remember all that. But do you know what Gandhiji laid stress on when he started the peaceful battle for freedom in India? The people were downtrodden and especially the peasantry was completely cowed down. The zamindars and their minions, police officials and thanedars used to keep them in a constant state of fear. They had nobody to turn to. If they went to court, they lost their money without getting any legal redress. Their condition was really pitiable, for they went about with bent backs and dull, lifeless eyes. You must have heard about the non-cooperation movement, etc. But the first mantra that he taught the people was to be fearless, to stand erect and hold their heads high. This is quite a simple, ordinary thing which anybody could have told them. But somehow the magic of Gandhiji's personality was such that the peasants came under his spell completely. The lifeless peasant began to hold his head high and became more self-reliant. He gradually lost his fear. A

great transformation occurred in the entire country.

Gandhiji is now no longer with us, and weak men like us are trying to do something. But we have learnt something from him. So, we are trying to teach the people self-reliance, so that they do not go running to the officers and the government with their demands. It is the duty of the officers to serve the people, but dependence on others is absolutely wrong. If each villager realises this and the members of the panchayat are enthusiastic and willing to work, all the five and a half lakh villages will be transformed in no time at all. If the government tries to do everything, it will take years to reach each village. This must be kept in mind. There are many tasks before the government. We have set up a Planning Commission to draw up schemes and projects. We have to make arrangements for innumerable things, like education, health, industrialisation, modernisation of agriculture, etc. I do not mean that there should be big tractors everywhere. But it is not possible to use tractors in small farms. However, the farmers should have good ploughs which can plough the soil deep. Good seeds, good fertilizers, facilities for irrigation, etc., should be available to everyone. These are ordinary things which everyone should know about, yet most farmers do not make use of them. Wherever they have done so, the production has increased enormously. So the government is drawing up plans to implement these ideas.

We need millions of small industries in the country I am not talking of a few big plants. Ten or twenty million industries are not very much. Take Punjab, for instance. In the last ten years, since the coming of freedom, I think nearly forty thousand small industries have come up in this State. It is because the Punjabis are hard-working people who like to stand on their own feet. They make mistakes or fight with their neighbours too. But they are extremely hard-working and so they have managed to make great progress. We want that millions of such industries should come up, particularly in the rural areas, so that their condition might improve. That will prevent the people from running to the big cities looking for jobs and will also reduce the pressure on land. Today there are too many people on the land. I do not say that they should not live in the villages. There should be small industries, handicrafts and small machines should be available so that the stature of the people in the rural areas might improve and unemployment will become less. This is the goal that we should keep before us.

Even now, a great deal can be done in the villages. But once electricity is available, a great deal more will be possible. We want that electrification should spread rapidly, not for illumination in marriages, etc., as it usually happens now, even if electricity is not available for industries. Somehow our priorities are often wrong. In spite of the increased production of electricity there is a

great shortage in the country. But somehow we always find the supply for marriages, etc.

Anyhow, we want that electricity should spread to every single village. It cannot be made available to five and a half lakh villages at once, because it takes time to produce electricity and requires a great deal of expenditure. But we are trying very hard. The moment electricity is available, it opens the doors to industrialisation and there is a complete transformation in the rural way of life. With electricity there is more light and people can work longer. Now there is great darkness in the villages. So with the coming of electricity, gradually the way of life changes, new avenues of employment open up. These things are not open to argument. Our young men indulge in heated debates about the ideology that should be followed. But whether we adopt socialism, communism, capitalism or Gandhism, hard work is extremely important, for without that, no country can progress.

Another thing to be borne in mind is that the advanced countries of the West have become rich and powerful because they served the cause of science. They have invented new machines, new techniques of agriculture and industrialisation. Immediately their production increased enormously because after all, a machine is like the arm of a human being. You read of Ravana having twenty hands. Today a human being has the power of thousands of hands due to the machines. One machine can do the work of a thousand human beings. There are powerful telescopes available through which one can look across thousands of miles.

So you can see for yourselves the miracles wrought by science. It increases Man's power and ability to work. Whether you utilise it for good or evil depends on yourself. You can use a knife, for good as well as to cut your neighbour's throat. But that is not the fault of the knife.

It is very essential to advance in the field of science and adopt improved techniques of agriculture and industrialise the country. Otherwise, we will continue to remain backward. How are we to go about it? We must not merely copy others because we shall stagnate if we do so. We must learn whatever we can from others, from Europe and the United States, but must use our own initiative to go ahead. We are trying through the five year plans and other projects to lay the firm foundations of future progress through education, science, etc. We have established national laboratories all over the country in which many of our brilliant young people are working. We should advance technologically also so that we do not have to keep importing machines. We cannot progress so long as we are dependent on other countries for machines, railway engines, aeroplanes and other things ourselves and produce them in the country. So long as we continue to be dependent on others, we cannot become

self-reliant. I do not mean to say that we should not buy anything from the rest of the world. We can certainly do so, provided we have the capacity to produce the essential goods here in the country. We must do original research and try to advance. The five year plans aim at all these things.

If you have read history, you may perhaps be aware that the very first country where the Industrial Revolution occurred was England. They had several advantages. One was that at the time that they needed capital, as we do today, the British discovered an enormous treasure-house in the form of India. They carried away plenty of gold and silver from India. So the wealth thus drained from here was immediately utilised in the Industrial Revolution that was going on and within a hundred years, England had become the most powerful country in the world.

But more significant is the fact that England had vast resources of iron and coal and the combination of these two things with science and technology transformed the entire country. The people had to bear great hardships but gradually the country grew extremely prosperous and powerful. The Industrial Revolution then spread to Germany, France, United States and other countries too.

So steel and coal are the basic necessities for progress in the modern world. First of all, we must advance in the field of science and technology, for which we need engineers and scientists. Then we need to produce steel. Fortunately, we have plenty of iron and coal. It is only a question of putting up plants to produce steel. We have one steel plant in Jamshedpur which is fifty, sixty years old. But it has not expanded very much. We need to produce much more. Therefore, as you may have heard, in the last four, five years, we have set up three new steel plants and expanded the one at Jamshedpur. Do you know how much we have to spend on them? Each steel plant costs crores of rupees, and the three together have meant an expenditure of 450 crores of rupees. Just imagine what an enormous sum it is. Till they go into production, there is no profit and more and more money has to be sunk. It is only after five or six years when they are completed that they will start producing steel. So until then, we will have to keep investing money without any returns. It is an enormous burden. But we found that India cannot progress without steel and nor can we keep importing it, for it costs a great deal of money.

Therefore, we have put up three new steel plants at Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur, and they are almost ready. Some steel is already being produced. So we have decided to put up more steel plants during the Third Plan, and to start producing the heavy machinery which is needed for them. The Bhilai Steel Plant was set up with machinery from the Soviet Union, Rourkela from Germany and Durgapur from England. But this is not correct. We must set up heavy

industries, machine-making industries in the country.

Then the third thing which is necessary is coal, and the fourth electricity. Power is the basis for all industries. It is only when the foundations are strong that we can build the edifice of new India. Once we set up big machine-making industries, other ancillary industries will come up. Whatever machines we require in the country can be produced here in Rajkot, in Ahmedabad. We will not have to import them. We have started producing a number of small machines in India. There has been great progress in this field during the last ten years. But we want to set up huge machine-making industries.

So I want you to understand that planning does not mean drawing up a list of things that we want to do. It means drawing up a plan of control in which each step leads to the next automatically. We have to prepare in advance for the steps that have to be taken one after the other. We are now drawing up the Third Plan and while that is in progress, we will have to bear in mind the things that need to be done during the Fourth and Fifth Five Year Plans. We cannot afford to squander all our resources on one Plan. Many things take as long as ten years to complete. Therefore we have to keep the entire picture in mind.

On the one hand, it is very essential to increase agricultural production in the country. On the other hand, we need to produce power and steel in order to industrialise the country. Machines must be made and production will have to be increased. At the same time, it is essential to set up millions of little industries all over the country. It is not necessary to import huge machines for this. We should ensure that the small machines which are being produced must spread to every little village. People will have to be trained to do these things because ultimately everything depends on human beings, men and women. Everybody should get basic education and then special training must be given so that we have trained mechanics, engineers and skilled labourers. This is the kind of education that is essential.

Now you will find that the complexion is changing somewhat. Today we need overseers and mechanics and engineers much more than white-collar clerks. We need people who can help in producing new things. Therefore, our educational system is gradually leaning towards polytechnics, engineering colleges and technical institutes, etc. Once we have sufficient number of skilled people, you will find that small machines are reaching all the villages. This will automatically lead to an improvement in agricultural production and other avenues of employment. Proper education enables a human being to do any task that he takes up well. By education, I do not mean mere book learning.

I have tried to explain what the five year plan is all about. Slogans are all very well, but big projects need an enormous investment. There is great profit but it comes later. The more we invest, the faster we can grow. Where is the

money to come from? As I told you, each steel plant costs 150 crores of rupees. It is estimated that the new steel plants that we are planning to put up under the Third Plan will need an outlay of ten thousand crores over a period of five years. Two thousand crores per year is a vast sum for a poor country like India. But if we do not invest now, we will remain poor. Once we make a great effort, we will be able to take a leap across this chasm of poverty in the next ten years or so. Then things will move on their own momentum, as it is happening in England, Soviet Union or Japan. They have crossed the barrier and mechanisation has spread. People are trained and a great deal of power is produced. Then the momentum is automatically there. If we move too slowly we will remain backward. Please remember that whether we increase production in any other field or not, our population continues to grow steadily and rapidly. It has been estimated that the growth per year is two per cent. That is a very high rate. Within ten years, it will be twenty per cent. I do not remember exactly, but I think it implies that every year, the population increases by seventy or eighty lakh, which means that many additional mouths to feed, people to clothe and house, provide education and provide health-care facilities for. This is an enormous burden on the nation. Any increase in production is wiped out by the increase in population. Even a two per cent growth in agricultural production is meaningless because we remain where we are. It is a strange thing that we continue to progress and increase production to find that we are standing still because the population is growing apace.

That implies that our production must go up beyond two per cent, and that includes not only agricultural production but everything else too. Suppose we increase production by four per cent, a great deal of that is spent. There are innumerable things on which money has to be spent. The people's suffering need to be alleviated a little, particularly in the rural areas. There are millions of villages where there is no drinking water available. This is not a good thing. But when it is a question of five and a half lakh villages, immediately the expenditure runs into crores, whether it is providing drinking water or schools, or something else. All of them are very essential but they do not add to the national income. Even if we increase our production by four per cent, two goes into providing for the increased population and the rest in providing some basic amenities for the people. There is no progress, for there is nothing left over to invest in such tasks. Therefore, the production must increase at least by two per cent more which we can invest in building industries or something else, which will give dividends in the future. It is a very difficult task to increase production by six per cent every year. It requires a great deal of hard work. But we want the production to somehow increase by six, or at least, five and half percent. Only then will there be some progress. Otherwise, in spite of tremendous hard work,

we will remain where we were. You must try to understand this.

How is this to be done? It is easy for the government to say that there should be a five or six per cent growth. But it requires enormous sums of money and hard work. Where is that to come from? It is not enough for the Planning Commission to draw up a Plan for the government in Delhi or Bombay to declare that we shall spend ten thousand crores during the Third Plan and increase production by six per cent. The burden will ultimately fall on the people, for it is they who will have to work hard. It is only through hard work that the national wealth can increase. Even if we have enormous sums of money, but the people are lazy, the nation cannot progress. What is really needed is hard work and trained human beings.

All this requires careful planning, because the burden of progress will ultimately fall upon the people of India. I agree that it will have to be evenly spread out, so that they may be able to shoulder it. On the one hand, there is a demand for more steel and more power or irrigational facilities, in villages and towns and industries. On the other hand, people clamour for reduction in taxes. I agree that some of the taxes are very high. But there is no alternative source for raising money, except by taxes or raising loans. We may get a little by way of loans or aid. But it can never be enough. The real burden has to be borne by the country, and that is proper. After all, we are not beggars to go around with a begging bowl. No country can grow in this manner.

It is not as if this applies only to India. Any country which is in the stage of transition from poverty to prosperity has to bear tremendous hardships. Even the British had to put up with them though their task was made easier by the gold and silver that they took away from India. Take the United States, for instance, which is the wealthiest nation in the world today. Till a hundred years ago, the United States was dependent on England, France and Germany for its capital. It is only after the two World Wars, that the complexion changed somewhat, and now the United States is so wealthy that it does not know what to do with its wealth. Please do not think that money can solve all problems. They produce so much wheat that they throw the surplus into the sea.

Anyhow every country has passed through difficult times at some period or the other. It is nothing new to India. But we must invest whatever we have wisely, because if we squander our resources in useless expenditure, we will remain where we are. If we utilise resources wisely in increasing production from land and industries or spreading education, etc., which leads to progress in the country, it is a form of investment, as it is done in any business. Undoubtedly a time will come when the investment will start paying dividends and the country will become prosperous. This is the only way it can be done. There is no magic in it. It is not like gambling on the Bombay Stock Exchange.

That is only a way of transferring money from one pocket to another. It does not add to the country's wealth in any way. Moneylenders may be wealthy but they do not generate new wealth. The goods that a farmer produces from his land or a carpenter or ironsmith, etc., constitute new wealth. This requires hard work and effort. A country is not rich because of its gold and silver. What really counts is the goods that are produced by the hard work of the people from land, industries and other means. This is what we must do and it will certainly impose a heavy burden on the people. There is no alternative. You may say, and rightly so, that the burden should fall on the rich. I agree with you. But even if you squeeze the last penny out of them, it will not make much difference to them, because the rich are in a very small minority compared to the others. We have already imposed very tough taxes upon them. We have floated public loans too. The capital remains safe and by subscribing to them, you will be serving the country. You get an interest also. So there is no obligation on anyone. It is a very good thing and this is how other countries have progressed.

Money goes round and round in a circle. If you invest the money in new tasks or subscribe to government loans, that, in turn, is invested in tasks of progress and gradually the wealth of the nation increases. This is the only way we can do it. We want aid from other countries too, particularly in the next seven or ten years. As I told you, all the others have advanced by borrowing capital. We do not want charity but only loans which we will repay, we are trying to get loans because we want to cover a great deal of territory by the end of the Third Plan, so that we may reach our goals by the end of the Fourth Plan. That means increasing production from land and industries through science and technology so that there is progress thereafter on its own momentum. Once we cross this hurdle, the condition of the people will improve day by day.

We must increase production, for there is no other way. But at the same time we must bear in mind that it should not remain in a few pockets. If that happens, a few will become rich while the rest remain poor, which will be very wrong. This is where socialism comes in, because its fundamental principle is equality. That does not mean that everybody should be alike, because there are bound to be differences in height and stature and intelligence, etc. But there should be equality of opportunity, which is not available today. Earlier the opportunities were even less. Only the very rich like the zamindars and moneylenders and princes could do what they wanted. This is absolutely wrong. Everyone should get equal opportunities. Every child must get equal opportunities so that he may go as far as his strength will permit him.

Therefore, we must keep the picture of socialism before us. Many other things come in but the most important thing is that the wealth produced in the country must spread among the people and not remain in the hands of a few.

Everyone must get equal opportunities which are not available today. It will gradually come about. But it takes time.

Revolutionary things are happening in the country. We are trying to bring about an industrial revolution in India of the kind that occurred in England a couple of centuries ago. We are doing this at a time when the world is living in the nuclear age and the jet age. There has never been a more revolutionary era in the world. Please bear that in mind. It can cause harm as well as good. Atomic energy can do great good to mankind. But if it is used to fight a war, it can spell total destruction too. Both things are possible. Everything depends on man's intelligence and character. Please keep this in mind. India is emerging after a long time from her shackles of poverty and slavery. We are trying very hard to get out of the mire of poverty. But it takes time. You cannot transform a country overnight. But you can see the tremendous changes that have occurred even in the last ten to twelve years. Life in the rural areas have been completely transformed in the last few years. I have roamed all over the countryside, particularly in Uttar Pradesh, for nearly thirty to forty years. Today you no longer see naked bodies or starving humanity in the rural areas, as was very common earlier. So there is some progress. But we want that there should be more rapid progress, for which we will have to work harder, for the more we work, the stronger we will become.

As I told you, we had a political revolution in India when the British rule was removed. Now we are trying to bring about an industrial revolution, an economic revolution. A third revolution is also very essential side by side. That is a social revolution. We need to bring about a revolution in our social organisation, because a society which is in shackles or rigidly bound by traditions cannot grow. Our society is even now shackled in all kinds of taboos and customs. It has suppressed a large section of people for centuries. How can a society grow if millions of its people are in a state of suppression? Therefore, as you know, Gandhiji laid great emphasis on their liberation. He said that there can be no freedom until the Harijans are also given equal rights in society.

The entire caste system is a pernicious one, for it divides the people into separate compartments. There are thousands of castes in the country. It is this which has been responsible for our stagnation. There is nothing like this anywhere in the world. There are class distinctions, but the caste-system is unique to India. People from outside cannot understand what it is all about, because they have never encountered anything like this before. It has been responsible for our downfall in the past. There can be no socialism or democracy if casteism is allowed to flourish.

Segregation in its most rampart form is to be found today in South Africa. The Blacks are treated like subhumans. They need a permit even to move out

of their city. You may have heard about the rebellion that occurred there. Caste system is akin to that. When we pass grand resolutions against apartheid in South Africa, we must think of the atrocities that we have committed towards the Harijans and other so-called lower castes. The South Africans throw this at us and ask what right we have to speak against racial discrimination, when we believe in untouchability. This is absolutely true. The only difference is that this is not part of our policy, and in fact we are trying to root it out, while in South Africa, apartheid is practised as official policy. There is a great difference. But it is a shameful thing and ought to be removed.

Then there is yet another matter. Take Saurashtra, for instance, it is a beautiful state and I feel happy to be here whenever I can. The people are strong and the rural areas are in a better condition than in Uttar Pradesh. But I am amazed to hear that the suicide rate among women is extremely high in this part of the country.²⁵ What does it imply? It implies that there is a major flaw in the social organisation of this place.²⁶ This is not open to argument because the facts are against you. What does this mean? I am amazed, and more so because this is, otherwise, a very liberal and progressive part of India. You find beautiful houses even in the villages. Then what is the rot which has set in in your society, that young women find life in their homes so unbearable that they prefer to commit suicide? This is worth considering. If we cannot keep our house in order, how can we preach to others? What is the point in talking of revolution and socialism and what not? It is strange that we should talk of great things and shout revolutionary slogans. But when you examine the people's way of life, you will find that their thinking is extremely antiquated. Such things will not really help the country. I know that they will soon go with the spread of education. Girls who are educated will not tolerate such things. They should rebel against them. If I were a girl, I would not commit suicide but rebel against oppression. We must not tolerate such things in our society and all the people must involve themselves in rectifying these things. There is no point in waiting for others to revolt. The essential thing is to change the social customs and traditions.

In a different sense, I feel that it is a revolutionary event that our girls are going to schools and colleges. Even in the rural areas, they are attending schools in large numbers. Education is revolutionary, and the education of women more so, because women have a greater influence over their household than men. Therefore, it is more important to educate women than men though both should really get education. There are bound to be problems and difficulties in

25. See fn 18 in this section.

26. See fn 19 in this section.

the way. But at the same time, great good also comes out of it. Our effort should be to lessen the evil and cooperate fully in bringing about a revolution, instead of hindering it. It is only then that it will stay on an even keel. These are the big tasks before us.

I have not talked to you about the international situation. In a few days time, the Prime Minister of China is coming to Delhi to hold talks about the border dispute.²⁷ It will not be proper for me to say very much about that. But the fact of the matter is that this is a great testing time for the entire nation. It is a challenge in every way. We must be strong and capable of hard work to face that challenge. Secondly, we must be fearless because fear is a useless emotion. We must be prepared to face all dangers unflinchingly.

Some people seem to think that it is a sign of strength to make a noise or indulge in self-pity. That is a sure sign of weakness. Even Gandhiji, as you know an apostle of peace and non-violence, used to say that if there is violence in your heart, it is better to give it an outlet rather than let it simmer inside. It is very unfortunate that the number of people who indulge in abuses is growing, so much so that we are forgetting to argue in a civilised manner. If China attacks us, we can face them with courage. But it is not at all becoming to sit and heap abuses on Chinese leaders. You can fight with an enemy but you cannot weaken them by abusing them. That will only show our weakness. Processions are taken out, people shout slogans and abuses. All this merely shows us down in the eyes of others. To incite someone to come, even if he is our enemy, and then behave rudely to him is not a good thing. It is certainly not a civilised way of behaving. I am amazed at the way our people behave these days. Look at it this way. If I were to go to Peking and people shout slogans against me or behave rudely, how will you like it? It is obvious that you will not like it, not because of your love for me but because I go there as India's representative and whatever is done to me is against India. You must realise that a Prime Minister of China is one of the world leaders. If there is enmity, we will face it. But if we forget our duty, culture and civilised behaviour and behave like riff-raff, it will not do him harm, but will certainly lower our prestige in the eyes of the world. It does not make us stronger in any way. You do not add to my strength in any way. I feel ashamed and bow down my head in shame. Disrespect to a guest of ours fills me with shame for not being able to look after him better. If you do not have confidence in Jawaharlal, choose somebody else to take his place. Suppose a general is going out to fight and instead of cheering him on, if you drag him back and tie his hand, it will be impossible for him to fight.

27. See fn 20 in this section.

Some of our parties follow a peculiar policy. I had said in Parliament that the people have the right to select their representative. If I am selected, the responsibility is on my shoulder. But it implies that you have selected me as a tool to fulfill your desire. You have made me an instrument to fulfill your wishes, and if you try to blunt its sharpness, it will not be fair to either side at any time, but particularly in times of danger. But some of our parties indulge in such activities. I do not imply this as a criticism. But I would like you to take this into consideration. India is held in respect for various reasons, particularly because of Gandhiji, and the way in which India fought for her freedom in the Gandhian era, in a civilised way, through non-violence. We did not abuse the British. There may have been an isolated case but by and large, everyone had explicit instructions. Our quarrel was with British imperialism, not with the British. You can see what a high standard we had set for ourselves. The world became aware of the new trend. Even when freedom came, though we were weak, we had made an effort to maintain our honourable traditions. We made an effort to maintain peaceful and friendly relations with everyone, and kept ourselves aloof from the large power blocs into which the world is divided today, because aligning ourselves with one would have meant alienating the other. In the beginning, people thought we were afraid. But gradually the world began to realise that it was not out of fear but courage that we are following this policy. We do not give in to pressures or threats. This led to India being respected in the world. Generally, countries are respected because of their military might or wealth. We have neither. Our armed forces are good but they are not very large. Yet India is held in respect, because people feel that we are a civilised nation, strong and determined, peace-loving, etc. Our advice is sought. Why should we throw away so much goodwill that has been built up, by rude behaviour and empty threats? Demonstrations against our guests is not a good thing.

I have taken a great deal of your time and you have listened to me patiently, for which I am grateful to you. I came here to Rajkot for less than half a day. I shall go to Cambay in the morning. Cambay has become famous throughout India because oil has been discovered here.²⁸ Nowadays oil is more precious than gold, silver or diamonds. We hope that a great deal of oil will be found in this area which will benefit your State, as well as the country. We got news the day before yesterday that drilling had been done successfully in the fifth well. This is still being tested. I congratulate you on this discovery. These things will go on and India will move ahead. Nobody can stop that. The important thing is

28. See fn 21 in this section.

the kind of people we are, the way we behave in a crisis and whether we are capable of living in cooperation and harmony with one another. A great deal depends on how quickly we bring about a social revolution and wipe out the caste system, etc. We must do all this quickly to become worthy of this great country of ours.

Please say Jai Hind with me thrice.

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

3. At Cambay: Public Meeting²⁹

बहिनो और भाइयो और बच्चो,
आप यहाँ बड़ी देर से धूप में, गर्मी में बैठे हैं और परेशान हो रहे होंगे।³⁰ यह समय सभा का तो नहीं है, लेकिन मैं कुछ लाचार हूँ। अभी मुझे वापस जाना है दिल्ली और आपकी तरफ से ये जोर हुआ कि सभा हो और आप लोग सब यहाँ जमा हो जायें, तो मैंने आप की आज्ञा का पालन किया, लेकिन मुझे अच्छा नहीं लगता कि आप सब लोग यहाँ, बहिन और भाई इतनी तेज़ धूप में बैठे हैं। तो इस समय कुछ मैं अधिक आप से नहीं कहूँगा।

आप जानते हैं कि मैं यहाँ किसलिए आया, यों तो आपके इस नगर का, कैम्बे या खम्बात, बहुत दिनों से नाम सुना था। इतिहास में भी इसका हाल पढ़ा था जब ये सब एक प्रसिद्ध बन्दरगाह था और उधर एक हजार से दो हजार बरस पहले यहाँ, यूरोप के बन्दरगाहों से व्यापार होता था, लोग आते थे, जाते थे। तो ये तो एक ऐतिहासिक जगह है। उसके बाद भी यहाँ काम रहा और अब भी काम होता है कुछ, अच्छा काम, लेकिन फिर भी कुछ इतिहास की नदी से अलग हो गयी। फिर अब एक नयी बात हो रही है जिसको आप जानते हैं, जिससे इस नगर का नाम इस समय सारे भारत में प्रसिद्ध हो गया है क्योंकि आपके नगर के इधर-उधर तेल निकलने वाला है और कुछ निकला भी है।³¹

इसमें तो सन्देह नहीं कि तेल निकला है, उसको हम देख भी आये हैं, कुछ सूँघ भी लिया उसको और कुछ हमारे कपड़ों पर पड़ भी गया, बहुत कुछ उसकी बौछार जो निकली। अब प्रश्न

29. Speech at a civic reception organised by the Cambay [Khambhat] Municipality, 4 April 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

30. About seventy thousand people from Cambay town and surrounding villages had collected in the outskirts of the town since midday to hear Nehru. Earlier, on his way to the Cambay oil area drilling site, he visited the Amul Dairy Plant at Anand run by the Kaira District Cooperative Milk Producers' Union. See *National Herald*, 5 and 6 April 1960.

31. Oil was first struck in Cambay in September 1958 and more recently on 1 April 1960.

ये है कि कितना तेल निकलेगा? उसका अंदाज़ा करना बहुत जगह इधर-उधर कुएँ बना के देखे कितना है। शायद इस साल के अन्त तक इसका भी कुछ अंदाज़ा हो जाये। जब अंदाज़ा हो जाता है तब और बातें शुरु होती हैं— उसके ठीक तौर से निकालने का और उसको साफ़ करने का प्रबन्ध, रिफ़ाइन करने का, रिफ़ाइनरी बनती है और ख़ैर जब यह सब हो जाये तो वो चीज़ एक बाज़ार में जाती है दुनिया के। तो तेल का यहाँ निकलना तो आपके लिए, गुजरात के लिए और सारे भारत के लिए एक बड़ी शुभ बात है क्योंकि तेल आजकल की दुनिया में सोने-चाँदी से अधिक क्रीमती है, तेल से दुनिया चलती है, देखने में अच्छी चीज़ नहीं है, न कोयला न तेल लेकिन दुनिया की गाड़ी बहुत कुछ तेल से और कोयले से चलती है। तो इसलिए तेल निकालना हमारे लिए एक बड़ी अच्छी बात है। बग़ैर तेल के आजकल काम नहीं कोई हो सकता है, सब मोटर-बोटर, कारख़ाने बंद हो जायें और कितना तेल हमें और देशों से मँगाना पड़ता है, बहुत पैसे देने पड़ते हैं। अगर हमारे घर में निकले तो बहुत बचते ही जायें। आशा तो हमें है कि भारत के और हिस्सों में भी तेल निकलेगा। एक जगह तो निकलता है आप जानते हैं। असम प्रदेश में तो निकलता है बहुत दिनों से उसको भी हम बढ़ा रहे हैं। तो हम चाहते हैं जितना हमारा ख़र्चा तेल का होता है उससे अधिक हम निकालें ताकि हमें बाहर से नहीं मँगाना पड़े और अगर और भी अधिक हो तो हम उसे बाहर भेजें, उसके एवज़ में और सामान मँगायें।

ये तो एक अच्छी चीज़ हुई है जिससे हमारे योजना बनाने में, ये पंचवर्षीय योजनाएँ आजकल होती हैं, उसमें सहायता मिलेगी जितना अधिक वो निकलेगा। अभी आप देखें कि हम पंचवर्षीय योजना बनाते हैं तो उसमें अधिक तेल का हम लिखते नहीं क्योंकि जब बात एक सोलह आने पक्की हो जाये तभी लिखना ठीक है। हमारे विचारों में तो क़रीब-क़रीब पक्की है लेकिन ठीक मालूम नहीं कितना निकलेगा, इसलिए हम उसमें इसका चर्चा नहीं करते लेकिन आशा तो है।

हमारे देश में इस समय एक बड़ी क्रांति होती जाती है। एक क्रांति हुई थी जब स्वराज मिला, वह राजनीतिक क्रांति थी, अंग्रेज़ी राज्य गया और जनता का राज्य हुआ। दूसरी क्रांति होनी चाहिए, उसी समय से शुरु हुई वह आर्थिक क्रांति, उद्योगों की क्रांति, जो अंग्रेज़ों के देश में बहुत दिन हुए हुई थी, जिसको औद्योगिक क्रांति कहते हैं, इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोलूशन कहते हैं, बहुत दिन हुए हुई थी, उससे अंग्रेज़ों का देश बहुत बढ़ गया था, उसकी शक्ति बढ़ गयी थी और बहुत धनी देश हो गया था और यूरोप, अमेरिका के देश भी ऐसे हो गये थे, हम पिछड़ गये थे, कुछ तो उसमें हमारा ही अपराध था, कुछ अंग्रेज़ी राज का अपराध था, दोनों मिला के हम पिछड़ गये। तो हमें तेज़ी से ये उद्योग की क्रांति करनी है।

उद्योग की क्रांति के पीछे बहुत बातें हैं। उसमें विज्ञान आता है। आजकल की दुनिया विज्ञान से चलती है। विज्ञान से फिर ये सब बातें निकली हैं, चाहे आप यहाँ रेल से आते हैं विज्ञान ने निकाली, चाहे आप टेलीफ़ोन करें, चाहे मैं हवाई जहाज़ से आऊँ, चाहे बड़े-बड़े तोप बंदूक बनें, चाहे आप रेडियो सुनें, ये सब छोटे-मोटे विज्ञान के बच्चे हैं। आजकल की दुनिया विज्ञान की है जिस देश में विज्ञान की तरक्की नहीं करता वह देश पिछड़ जाता है। आपके यहाँ यह तेल की जाँच-पड़ताल हो रही है, वह भी कैसे? विज्ञान से। हमारे, हमारे नवयुवक जो यह विज्ञान, जियोलाजी सीख कर आये हैं, वह देखकर अपनी-अपनी कलों से देखकर बताते हैं कि ज़मीन के नीचे, ऊपर, ऊपर कि नीचे, कैसे पत्थर हैं। जैसे पत्थर होते हैं उससे वे बताते

हैं इसमें प्रायः तेल हो। बगैर देखे उसको पत्थरों की जाँच करके अपने नक्शों से बता सकते हैं। फिर उसकी एक और तरह की जाँच होती है तरह-तरह की बिजली वगैरह से, जिससे और मालूम हो कि किस ढंग के पत्थर हैं। इस तरह से करते-करते वे पास पहुँचते हैं। जब उन्होंने देखा कि इस इलाक़े में वैसे पत्थर हैं जिनमें अक्सर तेल होता है तब वहाँ बैठ कर वे खोदते हैं उसे मशीन से और फिर ढूँढ़ते हैं, निकला निकला, नहीं निकले नहीं निकले, क्योंकि सब जगह तो निकलता नहीं। तो ये भी आखिर आपके यहाँ अगर तेल है। तो आजकल से नहीं हज़ारों बरस से है, लाखों बरस से है लेकिन किसी ने पहचाना नहीं, विज्ञान से निकलता है। तो आजकल की दुनिया विज्ञान की है और विज्ञान से फिर कलें, मशीनें बनती हैं जिससे हमारे सारे जीवन में असर हुआ है दुनिया के, जिससे खेती अच्छी हो गयी है, खेती के छोटे-मोटे औज़ार, कल, निकले हैं, खेती के लिए अच्छी खाद बनी है, खेती के लिए अच्छी चुनना, बीज चुनना, इत्यादि होने लगा है। खेती में जो बहुत सारे छोटे-मोटे होते हैं भुनगे, मछर, जानवर छोटे जो खा जाते हैं खेती को उनको हटाना, उनका नाश करना। तो ये सब बातें अगर करें तो खेती से बहुत लाभ होता है।

दूसरी तरफ उद्योग-धंधे हैं जो कि हज़ारों लाखों तरह से हैं। उससे आदमी को रोज़ी मिलती है और देश में अधिक धन पैदा होता है। धन होता है, जो उद्योग-धंधों से और ज़मीन से पैदा हो वह धन है, सोना-चाँदी धन नहीं होता, वह व्यापार की चीज़ है। तो इस तरह से विज्ञान को सीख कर, विज्ञान के जो बहुत सारे बच्चे हुए, कलें, मशीनें, औज़ार उनके प्रयोग से और देश बहुत बढ़ गये हैं। हमें भी वही करना है और यह बड़ी भारी बात है। बड़ी भारी बात इसलिए कि दो-चार आदमी नहीं करें, ये सारे देश में लोग कुछ समझें, लाखों-करोड़ों आदमी। हमारे सारे जितने बच्चे हैं उनको पढ़ाई का अवसर मिले, पढ़ें, लिखें। अब मेरा मतलब ये नहीं है कि जितने बच्चे हैं सब बड़े इंजीनियर हो जायें, लेकिन आजकल की दुनिया को समझने के लिए हर एक को पढ़ना-लिखना है। इसलिए और देशों में है, वो समय आवेगा जब हमारे यहाँ कोई ऐसा बच्चा नहीं होगा जो अच्छे स्कूल नहीं जाता, अच्छी पढ़ाई नहीं होती, उसके स्वास्थ्य की देखभाल नहीं होती और उसको खाना-पीना ठीक मिलता है, घर रहने को। ये बातें आवश्यक हैं हर आदमी के लिए और इसलिए बड़ी-बड़ी हम पंचवर्षीय योजना बनाते हैं, बनाये हैं जिससे ये काम सोच समझकर भली-भाँति हो, जिससे जल्दी फल मिले।

अब मैं तो नहीं आपको बता सकता यह पंचवर्षीय योजना, यह तो एक लम्बी कहानी है, लेकिन आप समाचार पत्रों में या जो किताबें, पर्चे निकलते हैं उनको आप पढ़ें क्योंकि आपको समझना है कि हमारा देश कहाँ जा रहा है? क्या कर रहा है? हमारे देश की ये जो एक क्रांति हो रही है सब जगह देश भर में, खेती में, उद्योग-धंधों में, तेल में, बड़ी-बड़ी मशीनें बनेंगी, उन सब बातों में। तो क्या सब है यह बात? आपको भी समझना है क्योंकि आपके हाथ में, जनता के हाथ में तो देश की बागडोर है, जनता का राज गिना जाता है। इसलिए आपको समझना है और समझ के फिर अपनी राय देनी है और यह बड़ी बात समझनी है कि कोई देश आगे नहीं बढ़ता बगैर परिश्रम के, मेहनत के, कोई नारे-गुल मचाने से नहीं बढ़ जाता, देश उतना ही बढ़ सकता है जितना वहाँ परिश्रम हो। कभी-कभी सवाल उठता है तनख्वाह का, मज़दूरी का। हम सब चाहते हैं कि लोगों का हाल अच्छा हो, तनख्वाहें सबको अच्छी मिलें, मज़दूरी अच्छी मिले,

लेकिन तनखाह मजदूरी कहाँ से मिलती है? कहाँ से पैसा आता है? आपने विचार किया? कोई विलायत से तो आता नहीं है, जितना देश कमायेगा उतना ही लोगों को मिल सकता है, अधिक तो नहीं मिल सकता, अधिक है नहीं, ख़ज़ाना खाली है, अगर जैसे कि कोई एक कारख़ाना है, जितना कारख़ाना पैदा करेगा अपने परिश्रम से और कलों से, उससे अधिक तो कोई नहीं तनखाह में और मजदूरी में दे सकता, नहीं तो बंद, ताला पड़ जायेगा कारख़ाने में, लेकिन आजकल के जो तरह-तरह के उपाय हैं उससे अधिक पैदा हो सकता है। इसलिए अधिक पैदा होने से अधिक बढ़ सकता है, लेकिन ये बात आप याद रखें कि देश का बढ़ना परिश्रम पर देश के है। हमारे सब लोग, जनता रहती है। करोड़ों आदमी उनके परिश्रम पे हैं और कोई उपाय नहीं है, कोई नीति नहीं है, कोई जादू नहीं है, कोई ज्योतिषी से आप सुनकर उसको नहीं बदल सकते हैं, जितना परिश्रम देश में होगा उतना ही देश बढ़ेगा। अगर आप सुनें कि जापान में या चीन में या रूस में या अमेरिका में लोग बहुत बढ़ गये हैं तो याद रखिये इसके माने ये हैं कि वहाँ के लोगों ने बहुत परिश्रम किया है। ये बुनियादी बात है और ऊपर की बातें हैं। तो हमें भी बड़ा परिश्रम करना है। विशेषकर, आजकल करना है जब कि हम, हमारा देश, हमारी जनता, एक समझो करवट ले रही है एक पुराने ढंग से, पुरानी बातों से निकलकर नयी दुनिया में जा रही है। नयी दुनिया विज्ञान की, नयी दुनिया कलों की, मशीन की, अच्छी खेती की, नयी दुनिया के सब लोग पढ़े-लिखे हों। ये एक बड़ी क्रांति की दुनिया है, इसमें जा रही है। तो जब एक जगह से दूसरी जगह जाते हैं, देश जाता है तो उसमें बड़े परिश्रम की आवश्यकता है, न करें परिश्रम तो वहीं आप फँसे रहें। इसीलिए आजकल आवश्यक हो गया है और सब देशों की कहानी है आप किसी भी देश की कहानी पढ़िए, यही आप वहाँ सुनेंगे कि उन्होंने जोर लगा के, परिश्रम करके, कठिनाई का सामना करके उन्होंने क्रम बढ़ाया और वो उस पार पहुँच गये समझो नदी के। तब उनके लिए आसानी हो जाती है और शुरु से आसानी हो तो कभी उस पार पहुँचते ही नहीं, वहीं के वहीं पड़े रह जाते हैं। हमारे लिए आवश्यक है, हमारे लिए आवश्यक है आगे बढ़ना। एक तो इसलिए कि अगर हम आगे नहीं बढ़ें तो हम वैसे ही ग़रीब रह जायेंगे, हमारी हालत अच्छी नहीं होगी और बल्कि गिरते जायेंगे हम क्योंकि हमारी जनता की गिनती तो बढ़ती जाती है, हमारी आबादी बढ़ती है, बच्चे कितने पैदा होते हैं कि गिनती बढ़ती जाती है हमारे देश की आबादी की, खाने वाले अधिक होते जाते हैं, कपड़ा पहनने वाले अधिक, स्कूल जाने वाले अधिक, यह सब बातें अधिक होती जाती हैं। तो अगर हम अधिक ज़ोरों से पैदा न करें तो सब लोग, हल्के-हल्के देश और ग़रीब होता जायेगा। वह तो है ही। दूसरे ये कि हमारा स्वराज भी नहीं रह सकता क्योंकि ग़रीब देश, शक्ति नहीं होती है, ताक़त नहीं होती, हम दुर्बल होंगे।

अभी आपने सुना हो कि हमारी सीमा पर काफ़ी कठिनाइयाँ हैं। हमारे भारत के हिस्से पर, सीमा पर उत्तर-पूर्व सीमा पर, कुछ हिस्से पर कब्ज़ा चीनी राज्य ने कर लिया है।³² पहाड़ी है ये माना, लेकिन हमारी है, हमारा देश तो है। तो ये बात तो ठीक नहीं है और इससे और ये आवश्यक हो जाता है कि हम अपने देश को तगड़ा करें। आजकल देश मज़बूत वही होता है जो विज्ञान

में आगे है, जिनके यहाँ बड़ी कलें हैं जो सब-सब सामान चाहे फ़ौज का सामान हो, चाहे और खुद हम बनायें अपने देश में तब हम सामना कर सकते हैं। जिस तरह से आप देखें चाहे अपनी भलाई, अपनी खुशहाली, चाहे देश की शक्ति बढ़ाना, चाहे हमारी आइंदा उन्नति क्या हो, हर तरफ़ से इस बात पर आता है कि जल्दी से जल्दी हमें आगे बढ़ना है और उसके लिए पूरा परिश्रम करना है। ये बातें और परिश्रम हम करें तो यह तो नहीं है कि हर अलग आदमी जो चाहे करे, सोच समझ कर करें जिससे लाभ पूरे देश को मिले। इसी को योजना बनाना, प्लानिंग कहते हैं। अलग-अलग करें तो उससे भी थोड़ा बहुत लाभ हो सकता है लेकिन बहुत कुछ लाभ नहीं हो सकता। ये सवाल हैं। इस पर तो बहुत मैं आपसे कह सकता हूँ लेकिन यह हमारे मूल प्रश्न आजकल हमारे सामने हैं। ये तो एक आर्थिक क्रांति हुई जो हम करना चाहते हैं। इसके और अलावा हमें सामाजिक क्रांति करनी है।

हमारा समाज पिछड़ा हुआ है और अगर समाज नहीं उठता, इसी तरह से समाज भी उठेगा लेकिन उसको अलग भी हमें उठाना है, हमारी बहिन, स्त्रियाँ देश की बहुत बढ़ रही हैं लेकिन फिर भी बहुत पिछड़ा है। जिस देश में स्त्रियाँ पिछड़ी होती हैं वह देश नहीं बढ़ता है। ये बात आप समझ लें और स्त्रियों का बढ़ना ज़्यादा आवश्यक है, पुरुषों के बढ़ने से क्योंकि माताओं पर होता है उनके बच्चे कैसे होते हैं, पिता पर कम होता है। अगर स्त्री निकम्मी है, उज्जड़ है, अनपढ़ है तो बच्चे को हानि होती है, बाप अगर नालायक है तो बात खप भी जायेगी, माँ नालायक है तो नहीं खपेगी। इसलिए ये आवश्यक है और मैं अभी कल वहाँ था राजकोट, सौराष्ट्र में, विशेषकर यों तो गुजरात में भी और और जगह भी, स्त्रियों में यहाँ आत्महत्या बहुत होती है, खुदकुशी, सुसाइड। ये सुनकर मुझे इतना आश्चर्य होता है और कुछ क्रोध भी होता है कि कैसे समाज जहाँ यह ऐसी बातें हों, कैसे निकम्मे समाज या गिरे हुए समाज जिसमें ऐसी बातें हों। यह आपके-विचार करने की बात है कि हम एक दुनिया में हमें एक बड़ा मेडल मिले। इसलिए कि हमारे समाज में स्त्री हत्या बहुत हुआ करती है, ऐसा मेडल आप चाहते हैं अपने लिए? गले से लटका कर फिरें, जहाँ दुनिया में आपको कोई देखे और कहे कि हाँ, वहाँ से आते हैं ये, जहाँ स्त्रियाँ अपनी आत्महत्या कर लेती हैं। क्यों करती हैं स्त्री आत्महत्या? माना कि ये उसकी मूर्खता हो, लेकिन इसलिए ही न कि समाज में उसको कठिनाइयाँ होती हैं, उसको परेशानी होती है, उसको दुःख होता है। तो दुःख से बचने को वह कर लेती है। यह तो बड़े बुरे समाज का हाल है। समाज का संगठन जहाँ ऐसा होता है आखिर हमारे घरों में, परिवारों में कैसा प्रबंध है? ये आप जानें, लेकिन आपको विचार करना है कि इससे कितनी बदनामी होती है हमारी दुनिया में, लेकिन इससे जो चित्र हमारे सामने समाज का आता है वह कितना बुरा चित्र है। ये ऊपर आप अहमदाबाद में जायें, बड़े-बड़े महल खड़े हैं, मिल के मालिकों के और यहाँ आप तेल पैदा करें, सब हो और उससे पैसा आवे वह सब बातें फिज़ूल हैं अगर आपके समाज में ये बातें होती हैं। यह आप समझ लें और आम समाज में, आम लोगों में तो इस पर आप विचार करें क्योंकि हमें अगर आगे बढ़ना है, जब तक सामाजिक क्रांति न हो उस समय तक नहीं हम बढ़ते और यह सब बातें चाहें कितनी प्राचीन समय से आप समझो आती हैं— हमारे सामाजिक रिवाज़, सामाजिक ढंग, हमारे जातिभेद, कास्ट सिस्टम, यह आजकल की दुनिया से इसको क्या सम्बन्ध? पहले अगर हो तो हो।

हम समाजवाद की दुनिया कहते हैं, हम प्रजातंत्र की कहते हैं, हम कहते हैं कि समाज में हर एक को बराबर का अधिकार हो, हक़ हो। कैसे बराबर का अधिकार हो? अगर हरिजन दबाया जाये और ये सब अलग-अलग खानों में एक-एक जाति रहे, ये बात तो रहनी नहीं चाहियें, हटानी हैं। तो ये सब बातें हमें करनी हैं, साथ-साथ करनी हैं क्योंकि समय कम है। अगर नहीं करें तो देश दुर्बल हो, तो फिर देश दबाया जा सकता है। दुनिया में ऐसे लोग हैं जो हमें दबाने की कोशिश कर रहे हैं और फिर हम नारे उठा के, गुल मचा के नहीं कुछ कर सकेंगे। इसलिए समय कम है और तेज़ी से हमें अपने देश को मज़बूत करना है, वही बात मज़बूत करने की हो रही है पंचवर्षीय योजना वगैरह जो हो रही हैं और आप उसको समझें, समझें और पूरी उसमें सहायता कीजिये अपने इलाक़े में, अपने शहर में, अपने ग्राम में, तब देश बढ़ेगा।

बस अब आपने भी बहुत धूप खाई है और मुझे दिल्ली जाना है। तो आपके स्वागत के लिए बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

अब आप मेरे साथ जय हिन्द कहिये - तीन बार।

जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Sisters, brothers and children,

You have been sitting here in the sun for a long time and must be tired.³³ This is no time for a public meeting. But I am helpless. I have to return to Delhi immediately and so I gave in to the demand for a public meeting from you. But I do not like the idea of all of you sitting in this terrible heat. So I shall not speak for very long.

I think you know why I came here. I have heard a great deal about Cambay or Khambhat. I have read about its importance in history too. A couple of thousand years ago, this was a famous port and there was a flourishing trade with the European ports. So this is a historic place. Even after that, it has continued to play an active role. But somehow, it has become separated from the mainstream of history. Now it has once again become renowned all over the world because oil has been discovered in this city of yours.³⁴

There is no doubt about it that oil has been discovered. I have been to the site and was caught in a spray of oil which was coming out. Now the question is to gauge how much oil is likely to be found. Wells will have to be dug and perhaps we will be able to have an idea by the end of the year. After that, other things will follow. Arrangements will have to be made to build refineries to

33. See fn 30 in this section.

34. See fn 31 in this section.

refine the oil that is prospected. It is only thereafter that it will come in the world market.

Therefore, the discovery of oil is a very auspicious thing for Gujarat, as well as the whole of India, because oil is more valuable than gold and silver. The modern world runs on oil. Neither coal nor oil are very beautiful to look at. But the world is very much dependent on them. So it is a good thing for us to drill oil for without it all our factories and cars, etc., will come to a standstill. Moreover, we have to import oil and pay enormous sums for it in foreign exchange. We could save that if we could discover oil in our own country. We have hopes that we shall be able to discover oil elsewhere in India too.

Assam is one state where oil has been found long ago. We want that we should extract enough oil to cover our needs, so that we do not have to import from outside. We can utilise that money for something else. The more oil we discover the better it will be for our five year plans, and eventually we may even be able to export oil. You will find that we do not talk very much about oil in the five year plans, because it will be better to wait till we are absolutely sure. We are quite determined to drill for oil. But we do not know exactly how much oil will be found. Therefore, we do not talk about it. But there is hope.

A great revolution is taking place in the country today. The coming of freedom and the removal of the British rule was a political revolution and the reins of power came into the hands of the people. Then another revolution, an economic revolution, started from that moment. The Industrial Revolution, which took place in England long ago made that country enormously wealthy and powerful. Europe and the United States followed suit while we became backward. To some extent we were to blame and so were the British. So we must hurry up and catch up with the rest of the world.

A number of factors were responsible for the Industrial Revolution. The most important one is science. Today's world is entirely dependent on science and things like telephone, railways, aeroplanes, guns and tanks and radio, etc., are its off-shoots. The world belongs to science today. The country which does not progress in the field of science remains backward. The oil prospecting that is going on in your State is due to science. Our young men, trained in geology, use their instruments and equipment to survey the area to find out where oil can be found. Then other tests are done and gradually the area has narrowed down. Wherever particular kinds of rocks are found, drilling is undertaken. Sometimes it is successful, at other times it is not. After all, if there is oil available under the ground it must have existed for thousands of years, but nobody has discovered it so far.

So, today the world belongs to science and machines, and other instruments are its off-shoots. They have had an impact on our entire way of life. Agriculture

has improved and become more mechanised. Good fertilizers, good seeds, small machines, etc., are being used now. Pesticides are being freely used. All these things are of tremendous benefit to agriculture.

On the other hand, millions of industries are coming up which provide more employment and also increases the wealth in the country. The real wealth of a nation consists of goods which are produced from land and industries, etc., and not gold or silver. Those are mere tools of trade. The countries which have advanced in the field of science have progressed enormously. We must also do so. Everyone in the country will have to participate in these tasks. A mere handful cannot take the country very far. All the children in the country must get an opportunity to education and training. I do not mean to say that everyone should become engineers or doctors. But everyone must have the opportunity of understanding the modern world and of getting some education. This is how it is in the other countries. Soon a time must come when there must not be a single child in the country who does not go to a good school or have facilities for health care, enough to eat, a place to live in, etc. These are basic necessities for every individual. But it takes time to provide these things for everyone. We have drawn up the five year plans in order to achieve these goals faster,

I cannot go into all the details of the five year plans because that is a long story. But you must read the newspaper articles and pamphlets which appear because you must understand the direction in which we are travelling and what we are trying to do. You must understand the great revolution that is taking place in the field of agriculture, industries, machine-making industries and what not. The reins of power are in your hands, in the hands of the people. Therefore, you must understand these issues and give your suggestion. You must also understand that there can be no progress without effort or hard work. A country cannot progress by shouting slogans. It can go only so far as the people's willingness to work. Often there is clamour for raising wages and salaries. All of us want that people should become better off and get better wages, etc. But have you ever paused to consider where the money is to come from. It cannot come from outside. The people can get only as much as the country produces. Suppose, for instance, there is a factory. The workers in it can be paid only as much wages as the factory produces. Otherwise, it will have to be closed down.

But nowadays there are innumerable ways of increasing production. So the more you produce, the wealthier we can become. But you must always bear in mind that a country's progress depends on how hard its people work. India's progress depends on how hard her millions work, for there is no magic or alternative to hard work. You often hear of the great progress made by

Japan, China, the Soviet Union or the United States. But you must remember that that shows very hard work. That is the most fundamental necessity. The rest is all superficial.

Therefore we must also work hard, particularly just now when the country and the people are on the threshold of great changes. We are now getting out of the old rut and going in the direction of a new world of science and machines and improved agricultural. For that it is essential for the people to be educated and trained. We are moving towards a revolutionary world and when a country is in an age of transition, hard work is extremely essential. Without that we will never be able to get out of the old ruts. This is true of every country in the world. Whichever country you may read about, you find that the people have worked hard and faced enormous difficulties before they could tide over the crisis. Once this was done, everything became easier. If they had relaxed in the beginning, they would have remained where they were. It is absolutely essential for us to progress because otherwise we will remain poor, and instead of our condition improving we will become more backward. Our population continues to grow and the number of mouths to feed, children to clothe and house and provide schools for, keeps increasing. If we do not increase production, gradually the country will grow poorer and poorer. Secondly, we will not be able to hold on to our freedom either, because a poor nation is a weak nation and lacks strength. So India will become weak.

You may have heard about the problems that we are facing on our borders. The Chinese captured some of our territories in the north-east sector.³⁵ I agree that it is inhospitable mountainous terrain. But after all it is part of India. So this is not right. Therefore, it becomes essential that we should make India strong, and that is possible only by advancing in the field of science and becoming industrialised. We must produce all the equipment and military hardware that we need in the country. Whether you look at it from the point of our prosperity, national interests or of making India strong, or of our future progress, it is imperative that we should progress as rapidly as possible. That requires a great deal of hard work. Moreover it requires careful planning, so that the country can benefit fully from our labours instead of each one pulling in a different direction. The work of individuals can also help but not very much. I can tell you a great deal about this. But the main problem before us today is of bringing about an economic and social revolution in the country.

Indian society is backward, particularly, our women. A country where the women are backward cannot grow. Therefore, it is essential that the women should progress. The influence of mothers on their children is far greater than

35. See fn 32 in this section.

that of their fathers. So if women are backward and illiterate, it will be harmful to the children's growth. It does not matter so much if the father is useless. But the mother cannot afford to be useless. I was in Rajkot in Saurashtra yesterday, where I heard a strange thing, that the rate of suicide among women in Gujarat is very high. I was extremely angry and upset to hear this. What kind of a useless, backward society is ours that such things are permitted to happen. I think we should be given a medal for being in this kind of society which encourages suicide. I agree that partly it is the foolishness of women. But it cannot be denied that they commit suicide because the problems and difficulties they face are insurmountable. This speaks very badly for our social organisation. Apart from the bad name that we earn for ourselves in the world, it creates a very poor impression of our social structure. All your huge houses and drilling for oil, all the wealth in Ahmedabad will be absolutely useless if such things are permitted in our society. We cannot progress unless there is a social revolution in the country. All these social customs and traditions; the caste system, etc., have no relevance to the modern age, even if they may have had earlier.

We talk about socialism and democracy, equal rights for everyone. But how is all this possible if the Harijans are suppressed and each caste lives in a separate compartment? These things must go. So we have to tackle a number of problems simultaneously. If we fail to do so, the country will become backward. There are people in the world who want to see us going downhill. We cannot do anything by shouting slogans. The time is very short and we must make India strong. This is what we are trying to do through our five year plans, etc. All of you must do your best to help in your own area, and city, and village so that India may progress fast.

You have had enough of the sun and I have to leave for Delhi now. Thank you very much for your welcome.

Please say Jai Hind with me thrice.

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

(iii) Maharashtra Tour (9-11 April)

4. At Kavathe Village: Public Meeting³⁶

भाइयो और बहनो,

मैं आशा करता हूँ कि मेरी भाषा आप लोग समझ जायेंगे, हिन्दी भाषा क्योंकि दुर्भाग्य से मैं मराठी नहीं बोल सकता। [हँसी] लेकिन हिन्दी में और मराठी में बहुत अधिक अन्तर नहीं है तो कुछ न कुछ समझ में आ जाता है।

कुछ दिन हुए इस तरफ़ मैं आया प्रतापगढ़ में, एक कार्य में भाग लेने। वहाँ शिवाजी महाराज की मूर्ति बनाई है, आप जानते हैं, उस समय मैं आया था।³⁷ इन्हीं पहाड़ों पर और मुझे अच्छा लगा था उस समय आना क्योंकि ये सब इलाक़े कुछ हमारे देश में ऐतिहासिक हैं, प्राचीन समय से ऐतिहासिक हैं। शिवाजी महाराज के समय तो हुए ही और फिर हमारे इस समय जो स्वतन्त्रता का युग हुआ उसमें भी सतारा ज़िले ने एक बड़ा भाग लिया। इसलिए यहाँ आना अच्छा लगता है और आप लोगों से मिलना, लेकिन इस समय मैं आया आपके यहाँ। मैं जा रहा हूँ कोयना।³⁸ वहाँ जो एक बड़ी योजना है उसको देखने। जैसे कोयना यहाँ योजना है, वैसे देश में इधर-उधर और भी योजनाएँ हैं, क्योंकि हम फिर से अपने देश में एक समझो, बड़ा युद्ध लड़ रहे हैं। किस चीज़ से युद्ध लड़ रहे हैं? किसी देश से नहीं, किसी और जाति से नहीं, लेकिन अपने देश की दरिद्रता और ग़रीबी से युद्ध लड़ रहे हैं, अपनी दुर्बलता से युद्ध लड़ रहे हैं। इसलिए कि हमारे देश भर में सब लोगों का हाल अच्छा हो जाये, कोई ग़रीब नहीं रहे, सबको अच्छा काम मिले, अपने काम, परिश्रम से कमायें और उनका भी भला हो और देश का भी भला हो। ये बात हो सकती है और यह बात होगी ही हमारे देश में, इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं। लेकिन एक महान देश को जहाँ चालीस कोटि लोग रहते हैं उसको उठाना और वहाँ परिवर्तन करना कठिन बात है, इसमें समय लगता है और इसमें परिश्रम करने की आवश्यकता है।

तो जब से स्वराज हमें मिला, उस समय से इस सोच विचार में हम सब पड़े कि एक पड़ाव तो हो गया हमारी यात्रा का, लेकिन अभी दूर जाना है, दूसरे पड़ाव पर चलें और उसपे चलने के लिए हमने योजनाओं को सोचा है, चित्र बनाये, नक्शे बनाये, एक योजना कमीशन बनाया कि कैसे हम किस रास्ते पर चलकर जल्दी से जल्दी हमारे देश का लाभ होगा, जनता का लाभ होगा और जनता की उन्नति होगी। तो उस कमीशन ने आपने सुना होगा, पंचवर्षीय योजना बनायी। आज से दस बरस हुए, पहली प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना। उस पर चले और उससे देश

36. Speech, 9 April 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

Nehru was on a three-day tour of Maharashtra and had reached Poona on 9 April by air. He drove to Koyana Nagar on the same day visiting Kavathe and Karad en route. Before addressing this gathering, he inaugurated a school building of the Jeevan Shikshan Kendra at Kavathe.

37. On 30 November 1957. See SWJN/SS/40/pp. 369-371, item 9.

38. See item 7.

को लाभ हुआ। फिर दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना बनी। अब उसमें से भी चार वर्ष हो चुके हैं दूसरी योजना के और अब तक तीसरी बनाये रहे।

तो ये योजना कैसी होती है? अब इसमें तो बहुत हमें काम करने हैं। हमें अपनी गरीबी, दरिद्रता को दूर करना है तो कैसे करना है? कोई सोना-चाँदी विदेश से तो आ नहीं जायेगा, अपने परिश्रम से हमें देश को धनी करना है। परिश्रम कहाँ होता है? बहुत जगह— खेती में, पृथ्वी पर, पहली बात है कि अधिकतर लोग जो हमारे काम करते हैं कृषि का काम करते हैं खेती का, जो पैदा करते हैं धन, जितना अधिक पैदा करें वो, उतना ही देश में धन हो, उता ही उनके पास हो। फिर बड़े-बड़े कारखानों से पैदा होता है, छोटे कारखाने से, ग्रामोद्योग से और कितने अनेक रूप हैं इसमें पैदा करने के। जिस देश में संसार में लोग परिश्रम अधिक करके अधिक पैदा करते हैं चाहे भूमि से, चाहे कारखाने से, वो देश धनी होता है। वो जादू से और ज्योतिष से धनी नहीं होता, परिश्रम से होता है। तो फिर हमें विचार करना था कि हम कैसे अपने देश में भी ज़मीन से, पृथ्वी से, भूमि से और कारखाने से अधिक कैसे पैदा करें? जैसे और देशों में है उसी के उपाय हम ढूँढ रहे हैं, पंचवर्षीय योजना जो है।

अब उसमें फिर बहुत बातें आ जाती हैं कि आजकल नयी-नयी कलें चलती हैं, नयी मशीन चलती है, छोटी मशीन, बड़ी मशीन, खेती में भी चलती है छोटी-मोटी मशीन, नये हल होते हैं और नये-नये औज़ार। तो उसको चलाना सीखना है और उसको बनाना भी सीखना है कि विदेश से नहीं मँगाये, हम खुद बनायें और खेती में और क्या-क्या करना है? आप जानते हैं, अच्छी खाद हो तो उससे लाभ होता है, फ़र्टिलाइज़र आजकल आता है उससे बड़ा लाभ होता है, अच्छे-अच्छे बीज चुनें उससे लाभ होता है और कित्ती और बातें हैं। आपके इधर तो बहुत कुछ हुआ भी है। क्या आप उसको कहते हैं बंडिंग [bundling], वह भी हुआ है। तो उससे जो हमारे देश में आजकल भूमि से पैदा होता है उससे अधिक पैदा हो सकता है, बहुत अधिक, दुगुना, तिगुना। ऐसा हमने देखा। अगर सारे लोग उस बात को करने लगें, सारे हमारे कृषक और देश की खेती से जो उत्पादन है वो दुगुना, तिगुना हो जाये तो देश तो धनी होने लगेगा जल्दी से जल्दी, जनता भी और देश भी। इसलिए यह बड़ी आवश्यक बात है।

दूसरी यह कि हम कारखाने बनायें, बड़े छोटे सब, उसका अब उपाय हो रहा है और वो कारखाने कैसे चलें या खेती अच्छी कैसे हो? जनता पढ़ी-लिखी हो, सीखी हुई हो, आजकल की दुनिया को समझे वो, कैसी कल चलती है, खेती में भी क्या-क्या उन्नति हुई उसको समझे। इसलिए आवश्यक हो गया कि सबको पढ़ाई, पढ़ना-लिखना सबको, लड़का-लड़की, पुरुष-स्त्री को जल्दी से जल्दी आ जाना चाहिए। इसके माने नहीं हैं कि कोई आदमी स्कूल में पढ़ने जाये, कोई लड़का तो पढ़कर अपनी भूमि को छोड़कर जाये, वहाँ शहर में नौकरी ढूँढे। यह बात ठीक नहीं है उसको तो अपने ग्राम में रहकर ग्राम की उन्नति करनी है, अपनी ज़मीन की उन्नति करनी है।

तो आजकल का संसार शक्ति से चलता है। चाहे कोयले की हो, चाहे बिजली की हो, चाहे कोई नयी हो। इसीलिए कोयला योजना में मैं जो जा रहा हूँ वहाँ बिजली की शक्ति पैदा होगी और पावर आयेंगे, उससे खेती में भी लाभ होगा और कारखाने में भी लाभ होगा। इस तरह से सारे देश में हो रहा है और हल्के-हल्के देश में परिवर्तन हो रहा है और यों तो विकास योजना

है आप जानते हैं। और अब नया ढंग है कि ग्रामों में, सब ग्रामों में पंचायतें हों, पंचायतों के हाथ में अधिकार दिया जायें। हम चाहते हैं कि जहाँ तक हो सके जनता के हाथ में अधिकार हो और वो खुद अपने हाथ पैर सम्भाल कर चले। पुराने महाराजा के समय की बात नहीं है सब लोग ऊपर के राजा और ऊपर के महाराजा कर दिया करें। हमें जब देश में एक बड़ी क्रांति करनी है, तब हमें उसको स्वयं करना है सारी जनता को मिलाकर, नहीं तो इतनी बड़ी क्रांति नहीं हो सकती, कोई अफसर या कोई राजा नहीं कर सकता है। यह तभी हो सकती है जब सारी जनता राजी हो जाये तुम समझो और अपने-अपने ग्राम को उठायें, काम करें। इसलिए अब पंचायतों की तरफ़ बड़ा झुकाव है और पंचायतों को अधिक अधिकार दिये जायेंगे, दिये गये हैं।

दूसरे ये कि खेती में कृषि के काम में एक किसान अधिक कर नहीं सकता, उसकी शक्ति नहीं है, उसके पास सामान नहीं है। मालूम नहीं आपके यहाँ कितनी भूमि होती है एक एकड़, दो एकड़, तीन एकड़, चार एकड़। जो भी कुछ हो एक के पास, वो काफ़ी नहीं है। इसलिए अगर गाँव के लोग सहकारी संघ बनायें, कोऑपरेटिव बनायें, अपनी-अपनी ज़मीन तो उन्हीं की रही, लेकिन बहुत बातों में वो मिलकर काम करें तब उनकी शक्ति बढ़ जाती है, तब ये नयी-नयी कलें सीखना, फ़र्टिलाइज़र लगाना, अच्छे बीज मँगाना, रुपया भी उनको कर्ज़ में बैंक से मिल जाये काफ़ी। जहाँ यह हुआ है, ज़मीन से उत्पादन अधिक हो जाता है क्योंकि हमेशा मिलकर काम करने से शक्ति बढ़ती है। ये सब बातें हैं, ये तो सब आप जानते हैं लेकिन इसको ज़ोरों से करना है, तेज़ी से करना है क्योंकि जित्ती देर हम उसमें लगायें उता ही हम, हमारा देश ग़रीबी में पड़ा रहता है।

हमारे सामने एक और कठिन बात है वो यह कि हमारे देश में प्रतिदिन खाने वाले बढ़ते जाते हैं। अधिक जो बच्चे पैदा होते हैं उससे हमारी आबादी बढ़ती जाती है। बड़ी अच्छी बात है बच्चों का आना तो हमारे, लेकिन अगर बच्चे आयें और उनके लिए खाने को न हो तो अच्छी बात नहीं है और हमारे देश में हमारे देश की आबादी हर साल, प्रतिवर्ष शायद साठ लाख बढ़ती है, आप सोचो। साठ लाख तो इसके माने हैं प्रतिवर्ष साठ लाख अधिक लोगों को खिलाना है, अधिक कपड़े पहनाने हैं, अधिक उनके लिए स्कूल का प्रबन्ध करना है और बाद में काम का करना है। तो अगर हम आगे ज़ोरों से तरक्की न करें और हमारा उत्पादन तेज़ी से बढ़े नहीं तो हम और ग़रीब होते जाएँ क्योंकि पैदा उते ही करें, खाने वाले बढ़ते जायें, सबों का हिस्सा कम हो जाये। मोटी बात है, इसलिए हमें ख़ाली उतना नहीं पैदा करना जितने बच्चे पैदा हों। वो तो करना ही है और उसके करने से भी हम वहीं के वहीं रहते हैं, बढ़ते नहीं हैं, उससे बहुत अधिक पैदा करना है कि हम लोग आगे बढ़ें। यह बात आप समझें।

आजकल आप सारे देश में घूमें, आपमें से कुछ लोग गये होंगे, तो आप लोगों ने देखा होगा कि कैसे क्रांतिकारी चीज़ें हो रही हैं, उलट-पलट हो रहा है। क्रांति से मतलब कोई लड़ाई, लाठी चलाना नहीं, लेकिन ऐसी चीज़ें जिससे जनता का जीवन बदल रहा है। जनता लोग कुछ पहले से अधिक खाते हैं, अच्छी बात है या अच्छा खाना खाते हैं, पहले से अधिक वस्त्र पहनने को होते हैं उनके पास, अच्छी बात है, कितने स्कूल खुल रहे हैं, आपके सतारा ज़िले में सोचो। इन दस-बारह बरस के अन्दर कितने स्कूल खुले हैं। उसी से आप अन्दाज़ा करो कि देश भर में कितने लाखों खुल रहे हैं। बच्चे जा रहे हैं स्कूल में, कितने कॉलेज खुल रहे हैं और वहाँ से

जो नये पढ़कर आते हैं, अधिक अच्छा काम करेंगे, नये काम करेंगे, खेती अच्छी होगी, कारखाने खुलेंगे, इस तरह से देश बदलता जायेगा। ये हो रहा है और इसको आपको समझना है, हर पुरुष-स्त्री, बहन-भाई सबको क्योंकि आप सभी को करना है। यह बम्बई में बैठकर तो नहीं होता, बम्बई और पूना में। ये तो एक-एक गाँव में होना है। तो इसको आप समझें, क्योंकि यों तो दस बारह बरस से हमारे देश में यह स्वराज आया और उसमें बहुत कुछ हुआ है। कुछ बातों में गलती भी हुई लेकिन देश काफ़ी बढ़ा है लेकिन अब ऐसा समय आया है कि ये जो तीसरी योजना है, पंचवर्षीय योजना जिसमें जोर लगा के बहुत आगे बढ़ जाना है। बड़े-बड़े लोहे के कारखाने बन रहे हैं, बड़े-बड़े फ़र्टिलाइज़र के कारखाने और बड़े-बड़े बिजली की शक्ति पैदा करने के, और नयी चीज़ जो अणुशक्ति है उसके कारखाने, कि जनता उठे, इन सब बातों के लिए बना रहे हैं देश में। लेकिन सबसे बड़ी बात जो करनी है वो हमारी भूमि पर जो काम करने वाले हैं— हम अधिक पैदा करें, कृषक लोग अधिक पैदा करें, सबसे मोटी बात है क्योंकि अगर वो नहीं अधिक पैदा करते तो कारखाने वगैरह बनना भी कठिन हो जाता है। यह सवाल आपके सामने है और इसमें हमें सभी को मिलकर करना है।

हमारे देश की एक बड़ी दुर्बलता रही कि हममें अलग-अलग भाग बहुत हो गये। सबसे पहले तो जातिभेद से। जातिभेद से अलग-अलग हो गये। आपस में लड़ा करें, एक-एक जाति दूसरे से, एक-दूसरे को हटायें, उसके ऊपर बैठें। एक, मिलकर काम नहीं हो सकता। दूसरे, बड़ा देश है उसके अलग-अलग प्रान्त, अलग-अलग प्रदेश बड़े-बड़े। तीसरे, कभी धर्म का भेद, कभी हिन्दू, कोई मुसलमान, कोई बौद्ध, कोई जैन, कोई ईसाई, अलग-अलग धर्म हैं। मैं बाहर वालों का नहीं कहता, हमारे देश वालों का। ये सब चीज़ें हममें अलग-अलग दीवार बना देती हैं, अलग करती हैं।

फिर कभी-कभी भाषा को [...] अब इसे बड़े देश में, यह कोई बुरी बात नहीं है, आश्चर्य की बात नहीं है कि हमारी अलग-अलग भाषाएँ हों, बड़ी-बड़ी भाषाएँ हों, हमें उन सब भाषाओं का आदर करना है। आप की भाषा मराठी है, प्राचीन भाषा है, बहुत ऊँची भाषा है, उसका आदर करना है। आपके पास भी भाषा गुजराती है, दूसरी तरफ़ तमिल है, दोनों प्राचीन भाषाएँ हैं, उनका भी हम आदर करते हैं, कोई भाषाओं की लड़ाई तो नहीं है हमारे देश में। वो तो सब मिलकर आगे बढ़ेंगी।

तो हमें यह याद रख लेना है कि अलग-अलग हमारे प्रदेश हैं लेकिन असल में जो चीज़ हमारे सामने है वो एक महान देश है— भारत, हिन्दुस्तान, इंडिया, जो कुछ आप उसे कहें और हम सब लोग उसके नागरिक हैं चाहे ऊपर कश्मीर में हों, चाहे नीचे कन्याकुमारी में, चाहे पूने में, चाहे कलकत्ते में। उसी से हमारी आपकी शक्ति है। अगर हम फिर से मूर्खता में पड़कर आपस में लड़ें तो दुश्मन आ जाये, हम दुर्बल हो जायें। इस समय भी हमारे देश के सामने काफ़ी खतरे, भय की बातें हैं, हमारी सीमा पर, उत्तरी पूर्वी सीमा पर। आपने सुना होगा जो चीन से मिली सीमा है उसमें काफ़ी गड़बड़ हुई है और चीन के लोगों ने कुछ हमारे पहाड़ी इलाकों पर कब्ज़ा भी किया है। यह बात अच्छी नहीं है। इससे हमें होशियार होना है कि हम आपस के छोटे झगड़ों में पड़कर हमारे देश की हानि हो तो हम सब लोग गिर जायें, यह समय कोई झगड़ों का नहीं है। यह समय है एकता का, मिलकर चलने का और परिश्रम करके देश को बढ़ाने का। देश

की शक्ति बढ़े, हम अपने स्वराज को रख सकें और आगे बढ़ें, जनता आगे बढ़े।

अभी आज से दस दिन हुए चीन के प्रधानमंत्री दिल्ली आ रहे हैं।³⁹ इसीलिए कि जो हमारे आपस की बहस है, झगड़ा है उस पर बातचीत करने, और बड़ी कठिन समस्याएँ हैं। तो उसमें तभी ठीक बात हो सकती है हमारी तरफ से अगर देश शांति से, दृढ़ता से और मजबूती से और एकता से इन सब बातों का सामना करे। देश की मजबूती नारे उठाने से नहीं होती है, गुल मचाने से, देश की दृढ़ता होती है नियम से, कार्य करने से और परिश्रम करने से। तो इसीलिए हमें ये सब बातें करनी हैं और आप लोग इस ज़िले के रहने वाले तगड़े ज़िले के। आपसे तो आशा है कि आप पूरी तौर से करेंगे, आपसे तो क्या सारे महाराष्ट्र से और सारे भारत से।

आप जानते हैं थोड़े दिन में, तीन सप्ताह में या इससे भी कम में ये जो बम्बई राज्य बहुत दिन से रहा है इसके दो टुकड़े होने वाले हैं, विभाजन होगा, एक महाराष्ट्र और एक गुजरात। तो इसमें कुछ दुःख भी होता है और खुशी भी होती है। दुःख इसलिए कि पुरानी चीज़ के टुकड़े करना हमेशा दुःख होता है लेकिन अगर इससे जनता की खुशी है तो हम सबों की खुशी है। लेकिन इसके करने से एक आपका, हमारा, हम सभी की एक परीक्षा घड़ी होती है। परीक्षा होती है कि एक नया क़दम जो हम उठाते हैं उसको कितनी सफलता से उठायें, कितने प्रेम से उठावेंगे, कितनी शान्ति से और कितने सहयोग से। तो यह कोशिश करनी है कि हम अलग भी होते हैं, दो टुकड़े भी होते हैं, बम्बई राज्य के, लेकिन फिर भी प्रेम से मिलकर, सहयोग से, एक रहेंगे हम, चाहे दो हो जायें, तब इसमें आपका सम्मान भी बढ़ेगा और दुनिया के ऊपर भी इसका असर होगा और आपको उससे लाभ होगा। तो ये सब बातें हैं बड़ी-बड़ी आजकल।

आजकल हम और आप इस देश में ऐसे समय रहते हैं जब कि देश प्रतिदिन बदलता जाता है एक क्रान्तिकारी समय है सारा संसार, सारी दुनिया, बड़े-बड़े आप जानते हैं एटम बम और क्या-क्या वो चलते हैं। और कुछ दिन हुए एक हवाई जहाज़ चाँद तक चन्द्रमा तक भी पहुँच गया रहा। मालूम नहीं, थोड़े दिन में मनुष्य भी चन्द्रमा पर पहुँच जायेगा, अभी तक तो कोई गया नहीं। तो ये बड़े परिवर्तन का समय है। हमें भी अपने मन को ताज़ा रखना है, पुराने गड़बड़ों में पड़े रहने से हम पिछड़ जाते हैं, आजकल की दुनिया को समझना है, आजकल के विज्ञान को समझना है और अपने को तैयार करना है आगे बढ़ने के लिए। जो देश दुर्बल हैं जहाँ एकता नहीं है, जो पिछड़ गये हैं अपने पढ़ने लिखने में, वो इस दुनिया में उनका कोई आदर नहीं करता और उनका स्वराज भी छिन जाता है। तो इसलिए हमें, आपको, सभी को एक मौक़ा, हमारी परीक्षा फिर से होने वाली है और मैं आशा करता हूँ और मुझे विश्वास है कि उस परीक्षा में हम सब सफल होंगे।⁴⁰

जय हिन्द! अब आप मेरे साथ तीन बार जय हिन्द तो कहो।

जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द !

39. See SWJN/SS/60.

40. Nehru was presented with a purse of Rs 400 for the Prime Minister's Relief Fund at the function, the amount originally intended for garlands for him.

[Translation begins:

Brothers and sisters,

I hope all of you understand Hindi. Unfortunately I cannot speak Marathi. [Laughter] But the difference between Hindi and Marathi is not very much. I am sure you can understand a little.

I had come to Pratapgarh some time ago,⁴¹ to participate in a function to unveil the statue of Shivaji Maharaj. I liked my visit very much, because all these areas are of great historical importance for India since times immemorial. In Shivaji's time of course it became truly historic. Satara district played a major role in the freedom movement too, in our own times. Therefore, I like to come here and meet all of you. The purpose of my visit this time is to go to Koyna, to see the major project that is coming up there.⁴² Many such projects are coming up all over the country. We are once again engaged in a great war. Whom are we fighting with now? We are fighting, not with a nation or a race, but with the poverty and weakness which beset the country. We want the people all over the country to become better off. We do not want that anyone should remain poor. We want that everyone should get proper employment so that they can earn a decent living. In this way, the individuals as well as the country will benefit. All this is possible, and there is no doubt about it that it will happen. But it is an extremely difficult task, to uplift and change a large country like India with a population of forty crores. All this takes time and requires a great deal of effort.

When we got freedom, we had reached one destination. But we had to go very far. So, we drew up plans to reach the next goal. We appointed a Planning Commission to draw up a plan which will benefit the country and the people, and yield quick results. As you must have heard, the Planning Commission had drawn up the five year plans ten years ago. The First Plan was completed and we took up the Second Plan. Four Years have gone by and now we are engaged in finalising the Third one.

What is planning? It implies various things. We want to eradicate poverty from the country. How is that to be done? We cannot get gold and silver from some other country. We must work hard to make India wealthy. We have to work hard in all walks of life. The first priority is to increase agricultural production because the more we produce, the wealthier the country will become.

41. See fn 37 in this section.

42. See fn 38 in this section.

Then we need to set up a large number of industries, small-scale industries, village industries, etc., which will increase production. The country which works hard and produces a great deal from land and industries, etc., is bound to become wealthy. It cannot do so by magic or astrology. What we need is hard work. So we have to look for ways and means of increasing production in the country from land and industries and other businesses as the others are doing. The five year plan chalks out a path for doing all this.

Many factors enter into this. All kinds of new machines, big and small, have been invented. Machines are being used for agriculture also. New ploughs and new implements are available. We must learn to use as well as produce them, instead of importing them. In agriculture, as you know, we need good fertilizers, good seeds and other techniques like bunding and what not. We can double or treble production from land. It has been done in some places. If everyone in the country were to adopt these methods, our agricultural production will increase very rapidly and the country, as well as the people will become wealthy. So this is very essential.

Secondly, we are setting up industries, big and small. We want that the people should be educated in order to understand the times that we are living in, and learn the use of modern machines. Therefore, it is essential that every single boy and girl in the country should be educated. That does not mean that after being educated, they should leave their villages and go to the towns in search of jobs. That is not right. They must stay in their villages and try to improve them. They must help to improve the agricultural production.

The modern world functions on power, whether it is coal or electricity or something else. The project at Koyna, that I am going to visit, is for the production of electricity, which can be used both in agriculture and industries. This is happening all over the country, which is gradually being transformed. As you know, we are trying to give more powers to the village panchayats. We want the reins of power to be, as far as possible, in the hands of the people and that they should stand on their own feet. The times of the Maharajas is gone, when all power was concentrated in their hands. We are trying to bring about a big revolution in the country and unless power rests with the people, we cannot succeed in doing so. Officers or Kings cannot bring about a revolution. It can be done only with the willing consent of the people and their hard work to uplift the villages. So we are laying greater stress on the autonomy of the panchayats.

Secondly, a single farmer cannot achieve much on his own. He simply does not have the capacity or the wherewithal. I do not know what the landholdings in this region are like. It is not enough to have holdings of one or two acres each. Therefore, it is essential to form cooperative societies. Their

title to the land will remain intact. But their capacity increases a hundred-fold by working together. It will then become possible to get new machines and implements, to buy fertilizers and good seeds, to get loans from banks, etc. In this way, their task will become much easier because cooperation increases the people's capacity to work. All of you are aware of all this. But we want to do this fast because the longer it takes, the longer the country will have to remain in a mire of poverty.

There is yet another difficult task before us. The population is increasing day by day in the country. It is a good thing to have children but it is not right that they should not be well looked after. The population of India is increasing by sixty lakhs per year. That means sixty lakh mouths more to be fed, more people to be clothed and housed, to be provided schools and employment. If we do not progress fast and increase production rapidly, we will become poorer because if the production remains static, the portion which falls to the lot of an individual becomes less. This is a broad fact. Therefore production has not only got to keep pace with the growing population but increase much more than that, if we wish to progress. Otherwise, we will remain where we are.

Many of you would have had the opportunity of visiting the other parts of the country. You would have realised the revolutionary changes that are taking place everywhere. A revolution does not mean violence. It means change in the ways of a society. People are now eating better and more, wearing better clothes. Innumerable schools are being opened everywhere, not only in Satara district but all over the country. Children are going to schools and colleges, and will be able to do better in life. New avenues of employment are opening up, and gradually the country is being transformed. I want that every one of you, men and women, must understand this because it is you who have to do these things. Nothing can be achieved sitting in Bombay or Poona. Those tasks have to be taken up in every single village. We have achieved a great deal even in the ten to twelve years since we got freedom. We have also made mistakes but the country has been forging ahead. But now we have reached a stage in the Third Five Year Plan that an extra effort has to be made. We are putting up huge steel plants, fertilizer factories, power plants and nuclear power plants. But what we need to do, above everything else, is to increase agricultural production. If that does not happen, it will be difficult to put up industries. So this is the task before us and everyone must cooperate.

The greatest weakness in India has been the fissiparous tendencies which exist among the people. The caste system has been largely responsible for it, for every caste is at loggerheads with the others. There is no attempt at cooperation. Secondly, India is a very large country with various provinces. Thirdly, there are various religions; Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism, Jainism,

Christianity, etc., in the country. All these factors act as barriers between the people.

Then there are different languages. In a large country like ours, it is neither surprising nor is it a bad thing that there are so many languages. They are all great languages and must be respected. Your language is Marathi, a great and old language which must be respected. Your neighbouring languages are Gujarati and Tamil, both equally old. We must respect all of them. After all there is no quarrel among them. All of them must grow equally.

So we must remember that in spite of all these factors, India is one great country and all of us are the citizens of India, from Kashmir, in the North, to Kanyakumari in the South, from Poona to Calcutta. This is where our strength lies. If we give in again to our weakness and fight among ourselves, we will become weak and vulnerable. Even now, danger threatens us on all sides. You must have heard about the incidents on the north eastern border, where there have been incursions by the Chinese. They have captured some of our posts in the mountainous regions, which is not a good thing. We must be vigilant and realise that we will do harm to the country if we allow ourselves to get embroiled in petty quarrels. This is not the time for such things. This is the time for unity and hard work. This is how we can make the country strong and preserve our freedom.

In ten days from now, the Prime Minister of China is coming to Delhi to hold talks about the border dispute.⁴³ There are complex problems and the talks can be held only in an atmosphere of peace and firmness and unity. A country does not become strong by shouting slogans but by working hard, in a disciplined manner. Therefore we must bear all this in mind. The people of this district are strong and we hope for great things of you, as well as the people of Maharashtra and the whole country.

As you know, in two or three weeks' time, the Bombay State is going to be divided into two, into Maharashtra and Gujarat. It is a matter for happiness as well as pain. There is always pain in breaking up something which has existed for a long time. But our happiness lies in the happiness of the people. This will be a challenge to all of us, in the sense that it remains to be seen how successfully we take this step, whether we can do it peacefully and in a spirit of friendly cooperation. We must make an effort to maintain a spirit of cooperation even after the division takes place. The people of both the states must live together in peace and amity. You will win the respect of the others and it will have an impact on the world.

43. See fn 39 in this section.

We are living in fast-changing, revolutionary times. Atom bombs and all kinds of lethal weapons have been invented; and few days ago, a rocket was even sent to the Moon. Soon Man himself will reach the Moon. So these are times fraught with change. We will have to keep our minds alive. We will become backward if we continue to be in the old rut. We must understand the world that we are living in and the latest scientific developments, and prepare ourselves for the future. The countries which are weak, disunited and backward in modern science and technology can get no respect in the world and soon their freedom too will slip away. Therefore, this is an opportunity for all of us to face this challenge squarely, and pass the test with flying colours.⁴⁴

Jai Hind! Please say Jai Hind with me thrice.

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

5. At Karad: Public Meeting⁴⁵

बहनो, भाइयो और बच्चो,

अभी यशवन्तराव⁴⁶ जी ने याद दिलाया आपको भी और मुझको भी कि सात वर्ष हुए मैं यहाँ कराड में आया था।⁴⁷ मुझे तो ठीक-ठीक याद नहीं था, सात वर्ष हुए और अब इन सात वर्षों में बहुत कुछ ऊँच-नीच हुई, क्योंकि आजकल के समय में तो न हमारा देश, न दुनिया, ठहरी नहीं है, रुकी नहीं है, वह चलती ही जाती है, कभी-कभी चलते-चलते ठोकर खाकर गिर भी जाती है, फिर खड़ी हो जाती है, गिरने से कभी डरना नहीं चाहिए, लेकिन गिरकर उठने की शक्ति होनी चाहिए। जैसे कि जिस जाति को, जिस देश वालों को शक्ति होती है चलने की और गिरकर उठने की, उनको कोई रोक नहीं सकता है, लेकिन जो लोग इतने डरते हैं चलने से कि कहीं गिर न जायें, जो हमेशा लेटे रहते हैं क्योंकि उठने में भय है कि कहीं शायद गिर न जायें तो वो तो कहीं जा ही नहीं सकते, वहीं के वहीं पड़े रहते हैं क्योंकि ऐसे भी लोग होते हैं जो भय के मारे कहीं जा ही नहीं सकते।

तो आजकल का जो समय है, चाहे हमारे देश को आप लें, चाहे सारी दुनिया को लें। एक बड़ी क्रांति का और परिवर्तन का है। कुछ हमारे देश में जो कुछ है थोड़ा-बहुत वो आपने देखा, लेकिन, शायद आपने भी पूरा देखा न हो, क्योंकि सारा देश कोई देखता नहीं है, अपने-अपने

44. See fn 40 in this section.

45. Speech, 9 April 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

46. Y.B. Chavan, Chief Minister of Bombay State,

47. From 28 April to 4 May 1953, Nehru toured parts of Maharashtra affected by scarcity. See SWJN/SS/22/pp. 97-100, 549-551, 561, 563-564.

देश के हिस्से, भाग देखते हैं और संसार को आप देखें कि इती तेज़ी से बदल रहा है कि अगर दो-चार बरस बाद कहीं भारत के बाहर जायें देखने तो बदल जाता है। आपने समाचार पत्रों में पढ़ा कि नयी-नयी शक्तियाँ निकलती हैं— अणु-शक्ति, एटॉमिक एनर्जी, एटम बम और तरह तरह के बम के गोले वहाँ चन्द्रमा तक फेंके गये हैं, वहाँ पहुँच गये हैं, थोड़े दिन में हो सकता है कि पृथ्वी से कुछ मनुष्य भी जायें चन्द्रमा तक। तो आप देखेंगे कि कितने क्रांति की और अजीब बातें हो रही हैं।

हम लोग बचपन में कहानियाँ पढ़ते थे, तरह-तरह की कहानी, कभी परियों की, कभी किसी की, कभी जादू की लेकिन आजकल की दुनिया में जो बातें हो रही हैं वो उन सारी कहानियों से बड़ी हैं, उससे अजीब हैं। यह आजकल के संसार में आप और हम जीवित हैं यानी यह याद रखना चाहिए, क्योंकि लोग भूल जाते हैं— अब अगर आपको और हमें ऐसा संसार पसन्द नहीं है जैसे आजकल है तो हमारा दुर्भाग्य है, हमें धोखा हो गया, कैसे संसार में हम पैदा हो गये लेकिन अब हम और आप बच तो नहीं सकते इस संसार से, जब पैदा हुए हैं। और हमारे देश से आजकल के और जब किसी देश में और संसार में परिवर्तन होता है, क्रांति होती है, तब उससे लाभ भी होता है और हानि भी होती है, दोनों तरफ़ की यह बात है। तो ऐसी हमारी दुनिया है।

हमारे देश में भी पिछले चन्द बरसों में बहुत अन्तर हो गया है और होता जाता है। लोग समझते हैं कि क्रांति के माने हिंसा है, मारपीट है, लाठी चलाना, बन्दूक चलाना। यह तो मूर्खता की बातें हैं। क्रांति के माने हैं समाज का बदलना। समाज के जीवन का, तरीक़े का बदलना। यह क्रांति होती है और लठबाज़ी वगैरह तो मूर्खता की निशानियाँ हैं। इससे कोई क्रांति नहीं होती है।

तो दुनिया में बड़ी से बड़ी क्रांति इस माने में हो रही है और हमारे देश में कि कैसे लोग, पहले उनका रहन-सहन था, वो बदलता जाता है तेज़ी से। बहुत बातों से आप एक बात लें। रेलगाड़ी चलती है, अब रेलगाड़ी से रहन-सहन हमारा बदलने लगता है। हम कहीं यात्रा करें, यहाँ से दिल्ली जाना हो, तो हम एक तीन महीने, चार महीने की यात्रा नहीं करते बैलगाड़ी पर। अब रेलगाड़ी पर दो एक दिन में पहुँच जायें। हवाई जहाज़ हैं उसमें हम चार घंटे में पहुँच जाते हैं। आज मैं दिल्ली से आया पुणे, साढ़े तीन घंटे में पहुँचा। बिजली है और हज़ार चीज़ें हैं जो कारख़ानों से बनती हैं। वो सब हमारे रहन-सहन को बदलती हैं। हमारे देश में यह इत्ता नहीं हुआ है जित्ता और बाज़ देशों में हो चुका है। इसीलिए कुछ हमारा देश पिछड़ा हुआ है। मेरा मतलब नहीं कि हम और देशों की नक़ल किया करें लेकिन और देश खुशहाल हों, धनी हों वहाँ के सब लोग, हमारे यहाँ ग़रीबी हो, दरिद्रता हो, वह भी ठीक नहीं। तो हमें देखना है कि और देश धनी कैसे हो गये। खैर, थोड़े बहुत देश तो ऐसे धनी हो गये कि और देशों पर कब्ज़ा करके, वहीं से उन्होंने कुछ कमाया, जैसे हमारे देश में अंग्रेज़ी राज्य था। लेकिन उस बात को छोड़ें। असल बात यह है कि आजकल की दुनिया विज्ञान की है, साइंस की है, और जिन देशों ने विज्ञान को सीखा और विज्ञान के द्वारा उन्होंने टेक्नोलॉजी, मशीन बनाना सीखा, नयी-नयी बातें सीखीं, नयी बात खेती करने की, नयी बात मशीन बनाने की, नयी बात सब चीज़ों को पैदा करने की, उससे वो धनी हो गये। तो अगर हमें आगे बढ़ना है तो हमें भी विज्ञान से नयी-नयी बातें

सीखनी हैं क्योंकि दुनिया हमेशा एक सी तो रहती नहीं है, वो तो बढ़ती जाती है और जो जाति नयी बातें सीखती है वो आगे बढ़ती है।

बहुत-बहुत दिन हुए, लाखों वर्ष हुए, जब कहा जाता है कि मनुष्य खेती करना नहीं जानता था। लाख वर्ष हुए या पचास हजार थे नहीं जानता लेकिन बहुत वर्ष हुए, वो खेती करना नहीं जानता था, बहुत कठिन था, वो खाली शिकार खेलता था और कहीं न उसका घर था, न ग्राम था, न नगर था क्योंकि अगर एक जगह न रहे तो फिर खेती तो होती नहीं थी, वो तो ज्यादातर शिकार खेलता था या जंगल की बूटी वगैरह खाता था यानी कठिन जीवन था। फिर एक बड़ी क्रांति हुई दुनिया में, खेती करना मनुष्य ने सीखा, बड़ी भारी क्रांति की बात थी यह, एक जगह बैठकर बीज डाल दो उसमें से गुल्ला निकले या जो कुछ निकले उसको खायें।

एक और बात आपको बता दूँ। बड़ी क्रांति की हुई, संसार में पहिया निकला, बड़ी क्रांति की चीज़ थी पहिये का निकलना, पहिया जब तक नहीं था उस समय कोई गाड़ी नहीं चल सकती थी। हाँ, उस समय घोड़े पर चढ़कर कोई जाये तो पहिया निकला। पुराने पहिये, आप जायें यहाँ कहीं-कहीं संग्रहालय में देख सकते हैं, कैसे अजीब पुराने पहिये थे, फिर नये होते गये, बिल्कुल गोल, चिकने-चुपड़े, फिर रथ आये और क्या-क्या आये। ये सब क्रांतिकारी बातें हैं। अग्नि लीजिए, यह भी एक क्रांति की बात है। तो इस तरह से समाज तो हमेशा बढ़ता जाता है। जो समाज रुक जाता है वह वहीं ठिठुर जाता है और पिछड़ जाता है।

तो इस सौ बरस में पिछले समाज, दुनिया बहुत आगे बढ़ी। इसकी निशानियाँ ये सब हैं जो आप देखते हैं। आपके यहाँ तो मोटी-मोटी बातें हैं—रेलगाड़ी है, हवाई जहाज़ है, टेलीफ़ोन है, तार है, रेडियो है और बड़े-छोटे कारख़ाने हैं और आप देखते हैं, लेकिन चीज़ें तो बहुत हैं दुनिया में नयी, और नयी शक्तियाँ और अब सबसे बड़ी शक्ति आयी है अणु-शक्ति, एटम बम। जो संसार को बदल देगी, अब से दस-बीस बरस में।

यह मैंने आपको बताया इसलिए कि हमारा देश जिस काम को करना चाहता है उस काम को तभी कर सकता है जब आजकल के संसार को हम समझें। अगर हम समझें कि हमें कुछ सीखना नहीं है या कुछ लोग समझें, कुछ हमारे नवयुवक समझते हैं कि बड़े ज़ोर से नारे उठाओ तो एक काम पूरा हो जायेगा, तो यह तो कोई अक्ल की बात नहीं है। यह कठिन दुनिया है और उनके लिए है जो तगड़े लोग हैं, जिनके सिर में दिमाग़ है और साथ में योग्यता है कार्य करने की और जो आजकल की दुनिया को समझते हैं, अगर हमारे देश में ऐसे लोग हैं तो हमारा देश आगे तेज़ी से बढ़ेगा, अगर नहीं हैं तो चाहे चालीस करोड़ यहाँ लोग रहें या पचास करोड़ रहें वो पिछड़ा रहेगा और गिरता जायेगा।

गिनती से कोई देश नहीं बढ़ते हैं। भेड़-बकरी की गिनती होती है, मनुष्यों की नहीं होती है। वहाँ उनकी होती है कि उनमें वीरता कितनी है, अक्ल कितनी है, शक्ति कितनी है यह देखा जाता है, जिससे ताक़त आती है किसी देश की। एकता कैसी है, वैसे हमारे देश में तो कोई वीरता की कमी नहीं है और बुद्धि की भी बहुत कमी नहीं रही। हमेशा महापुरुष पैदा हुए हैं, एक चीज़ की बड़ी कमी रही है और वो आपस में मिलकर काम करने की। सब बड़े-बड़े महापुरुष रहे, सब बड़े वीर पुरुष। वो एक-दूसरे पर वीरता अपनी चलाते, दोनों ठंडे हो जाते थे। यह तो हमारे देश का इतिहास है और इसीलिए फिर परदेश से लोग आकर हमारे ऊपर बैठ जाते थे। तो हमें इस

बात से सबक सीखना है इस बात से और कितनी बातें। हमारा इतिहास तो सहस्रों वर्ष का है, सबक सीखने हैं।

अब हमें मौक़ा मिला, हम स्वतन्त्र हुए और हमें तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ना है। तो पहला सबक तो यही हुआ कि हम यह पुरानी जो हमारी बीमारी रही आपस में फूट की, उसको भूल जायें और ये समझ लें कि हमारी शक्ति एक ही बात में है कि सारे भारत के रहने वाले, भारतवासी मिलकर चलें और जो हममें बीच में दीवारें हैं उनको गिरा दें।

कैसी दीवारें हैं? कई तरह की हैं। सबसे बड़ी दीवार तो हमारे देश में है जातिभेद की। हिन्दुओं में विशेषकर, कि बहुत सारी जाति हैं, कास्ट हैं जिसमें अलग-अलग खाने में लोग कर दिये गये हैं और जिसमें पहले ज़माने में और अब भी काफ़ी अन्याय हुआ है। कुछ जातियों को नीच बनाकर उनके ऊपर बैठ गये और लोग, उनको बढ़ने नहीं दिया। ये तो बहुत अन्याय की बात है और आजकल की दुनिया में हम आप कहें हम प्रजातंत्रवादी हैं, हम समाजवादी हैं, उसके क्या माने? कहीं समाजवाद में यह भी होता है कि दूसरे की छाती पर बैठ जाओ? समाजवाद के माने हैं, सभी को बराबर का मौक़ा मिले बढ़ने का, यथाशक्ति, जितनी शक्ति हो बढ़े वो। सब लोग एक से तो नहीं होते, यह मानते हैं। सब कैसे एक से हों, कोई बड़े बुद्धिमान हों, कोई मूर्ख हों। तो एक से तो नहीं होते, लेकिन सब लोगों को एक सा मौक़ा बढ़ने का मिलना चाहिए। तो ये जातिभेद बहुत बुरी चीज़ें हैं और पहले भी बुरा था और आजकल की दुनिया में तो बहुत बुरा है, चल नहीं सकता और देश को रोक दें।

दूसरे हमारे यहाँ ये कभी-कभी धर्म के नाम पर लड़ाई हुई है काफ़ी, धर्म के नाम पर हमारे देश के दो टुकड़े कर दिये गये, पाकिस्तान अलग कर दिया गया, काफ़ी धर्म के नाम से यहाँ झगड़े हुए हैं हिन्दुओं में, मुसलमानों में कभी सिख में, कभी थोड़ा बहुत तो कहीं ईसाइयों में, जो कुछ हो। अधिकतर तो हिन्दू मुसलमानों में और उसने देश को कमजोर किया। तो ये बात हमें समझनी है कि जो हमारे देश में रहते हैं, जो भारतवासी हैं, जो भारत को, हिन्दुस्तान को अपनी जन्मभूमि मानते हैं, उनको पूरे बराबर के अधिकार हैं चाहे उनका धर्म कोई हो, चाहे हिन्दू हो, मुसलमान हो, ईसाई हो, जैन हो, बौद्ध हो, यहूदी हो, सिख हो, पारसी हो, कोई हो। अगर भारत उनकी जन्मभूमि है तो बराबर के अधिकार हैं नहीं तो फिर क्या आप अपने देश को ऐसा किया चाहते हैं। जैसे आप पढ़ते हैं आजकल दक्षिण अफ्रीका को कि देश के रहने वाले कुछ लोग कहे पूरा अधिकार है, कुछ लोग कहे नहीं है यह तो बात नहीं हो सकती न। तो धर्म और राजनीति को अलग रहना चाहिए, हर एक का धर्म जो है वो रखे उसे लेकिन जहाँ धर्म के नाम से राजनीतिक अधिकार कोई चाहता है वो ग़लत बात है। हर एक को बराबर का अधिकार है चाहे कोई धर्म हो, चाहे कोई लोग ऐसे हों, नास्तिक हों, जिनका कोई धर्म नहीं है उनको भी पूरे अधिकार हैं देश में। जो मैंने आपसे कहा जातिभेद धर्म, धर्म के झगड़े बड़े-बड़े हमारे प्रान्त प्रदेश हों, इते बड़े हैं कि और देशों के बराबर हैं उनमें भी कुछ प्रान्तीयता आ जाती है, दीवार खड़ी होती है।

भाषाएँ हैं, हमारे देश में प्रसिद्ध प्राचीन भाषाएँ हैं बहुत सारी, दस-बारह हैं बड़ी, भाषाएँ तो और भी हैं, सुन्दर भाषाएँ हैं, सभी को बढ़ना चाहिए, कोई भाषा इस तरह से नहीं बढ़ती है कि दूसरी भाषा को हटाये तब वह बढ़ेगी, एक भाषा, दूसरी भाषा की जगह नहीं लेती है। आपके

दिमाग में, मन में आप दो भाषा सीख सकते हैं, एक दो तीन चार, जित्ता आप परिश्रम करें। यह नहीं कि एक सीखने में फिर दूसरी भूल जायें, फिर ठीक होगा, पहले या कोई देश। यह नहीं होता है और हमारी भाषाओं का आदर करें। यह नहीं जैसे आजकल भाषा पर भी झगड़ते हैं। कुछ लोग ऐसे हैं जो कि ढूँढते रहते हैं कुछ झगड़े की बात। पहले अंग्रेज़ लोग यह कराया करते थे, हमें दुर्बल करे, अब हम अपनी मूर्खता में करने लगते हैं।

तो ये बातें तो मामूली हैं आप सब जानते हैं लेकिन फिर भी याद दिला दूँ मैं आपको कि जब कोई कठिन समस्या देश के सामने आती या बहुत काम करना हो देश को तब हमारा मन साफ होना चाहिए, हमारे मन में कोई संदेह नहीं होना चाहिए— कहाँ जाना है, किधर जाना है, तेज़ी से जाना है। अगर थोड़ी देर बाद हमें यही समझ में न आये कि उत्तर जायें कि पूर्व जायें, बैठकर सोचें, हर समय सोचते रहें, तो हम आगे कैसे बढ़ेंगे। इसलिए ये मोटी बातें तो हर एक को समझनी ही हैं कि देश बढ़ सकता है एकता से, सहयोग से और निडर होकर। डर से कोई देश नहीं बढ़ता है।

मैंने देखा और अभी पिछले चार-पाँच-छः महीने में विशेषकर जब से हमारी सीमा के प्रश्न उठे। चीनी सरकार ने हमारी सीमा पर आप जानते हैं उसके ऊपर कुछ कब्ज़ा किया पहाड़ों पर। यह हमारी राय में बहुत अन्याय है, बहुत ग़लत बात हुई है, लेकिन जो भी कुछ हुआ, उससे एक तो डरना नहीं है और दूसरे घबराना नहीं है और मैंने देखा कि जब एक कठिन समस्या हो वो समय होता है कि अपनी शक्ति को इकट्ठा करके, जमा करके, उसका सामना करें। कोई नारे उठाने से तो आप नहीं कर लेते, आपके नारे की आवाज़ तो आप तक रह जाती है, दूसरे देश तक तो नहीं पहुँचती। बाज़ लोग हमारे समझते हैं कि इसी से शायद सवाल हल हो जाये, गुलशोर मचाने से, ये तो बचपन के सवाल हैं लेकिन मोटी बात यह है कि जिस तरफ़ से आप हमारे देश के प्रश्नों को देखें हमारे सामने कठिन समस्याएँ हैं। असल प्रश्न जो हमारे हैं देश के—आर्थिक उठने के, इकोनॉमिक तरक्की के, सामाजिक उत्थान के, बड़े प्रश्न हैं, चालीस कोटि लोगों का उठना बहुत बड़ी बात है। तो बहुत परिश्रम की, एकता की आवश्यकता है। तो दूसरी तरफ़ से यह हमारी सीमा पर कुछ ख़तरे की बातें आयी हैं, भय की बातें, उसका सामना हमें करना ही है और उसके सामना करने के माने हैं बोझा उठाना हर एक को, उसका सामना करने के यही माने हैं, एक सभा में प्रस्ताव कर देना नहीं है, बोझा उठाना है हर एक को, यह आपको याद रखना है। लोग भूल जाते हैं, लोग एक तरफ़ से हमसे बड़े जोरों से कहते हैं, ये करो, वो करो, फ़ौज़ दौड़ा दो, दूसरी तरफ़ से जब उनके सामने आती है तो उनके करने के माने हैं कि कोई बोझा उनको उठाना पड़ेगा अधिक तब वो उसको पसंद नहीं करते। इस तरह से तो काम नहीं हो सकता। तो यह चित्र इस समय है।

मैं आपको और चित्र भारत का दिखाऊँ। भारत के चित्र एक तरफ़ से आप देखें तो आप सोचेंगे कि कितने बड़े-बड़े सवाल हैं, कितने कठिन हैं, कैसे चालीस कोटि आदमी बढ़ेंगे और ये सब बातें। दूसरी तरफ़ से अगर आप आजकल के भारत को देखें तो इस बारह बरस में भी जितनी इसने तरक्की की है, जित्ती इसकी, एक नये भारत की जड़ पकड़ी है, बुनियाद हो गयी है कि उसको देखकर प्रसन्न होता है चित्त। हम लोग तो उसमें रहते हैं। बाहर से लोग जो आते हैं और और देशों के, उनको आश्चर्य होता है कि तुम लोगों ने दस बरस में, बारह बरस में कैसे

भारत को बदल दिया, चाहे वो बड़े-बड़े नगर हों, बड़े-बड़े कारखाने बन रहे हैं और बड़ी योजनाएँ हैं या गाँव हों, जो कुछ हो, देहात हो, उनको आश्चर्य होता है और उनको सबसे अधिक आश्चर्य यह होता है जो बाहर से आते हैं कि हम यहाँ आते हैं और इती बड़ी-बड़ी बातें यहाँ हुई लेकिन यहाँ अधिकतर लोग हर वक़्त कुछ दुःखी रहते हैं, शिकायत करते रहते हैं एक-दूसरे की कि भारत कुछ हुआ नहीं, कुछ होता नहीं है, इसी तरह की शिकायत करते रहते हैं बजाय इसके कि ज़रा कभी कर ली, ये भी देखें कि हो क्या रहा है, वो अपनी कोठरी में बंद होके, इधर-उधर बगैर देखे, समझे, ख़ाली चाहे वो आजकल की हमारी गवर्नमेंट हो, सरकार हो या कांग्रेस हो, उसको बुरा कहा करते हैं, यही आजकल की नीति उनकी हो गयी है बगैर देखे क्या दुनिया में हो रहा है, बगैर यहाँ तक देखे कि अपने और अपने देश के ऊपर भी कभी-कभी वे ऐसी बातें कहते हैं कि देश बदनाम हो दुनिया में। यह अच्छी बात नहीं है। ठीक है, कांग्रेस के विरोध में जो चाहे कहें, ठीक है, आजकल की गवर्नमेंट के विरोध में जो चाहे वो कहें। हाँ यह सोचें, यह मैं कहूँगा ज़रूर कि जो कुछ कहें, ज़रा आँखें खोलकर देखभाल कर कहें, आँखों पर पट्टी बाँधकर कहें तो उसका असर नहीं होता है लेकिन जो भी कुछ कहें हमेशा इस बात पर विचार करके कहें कि अपनी मातृभूमि को धक्का न लगे कि उसको कोई ऐसी बात न हो जिससे दुनिया में उसका आदर कम हो और उसकी शक्ति कम हो।

अजीब बातें हैं, आजकल मैंने आपसे कहा कि सीमा के ऊपर एक बहुत पेचीदा मसला पेश हुआ है और बाज़ लोग इस तरह से बातें करते हैं गोया कि हम दुर्बल हैं, हम कमज़ोर हैं, हम क्या कर सकते हैं, न हमारी फ़ौज अच्छी, न कुछ कि दुश्मन की एक हिम्मत बढ़े। इस तरह से किसी देश वालों को अपने देश की निस्बत कहना चाहिए? जो कहते हैं वो ग़लत हैं लेकिन मैं कहता हूँ अगर सच भी होता तो क्या कहने की बातें हैं ये कि अपने देश के लोगों के दिल ठंडे करें और दुश्मन के दिल को ज़्यादा चढ़ायें। ऐसे-ऐसे लोग हमारे हैं। आमतौर से यह नहीं होता, मैं नहीं कहता लेकिन ऐसे-ऐसे लोग हैं, क्यों हैं ऐसे? ऐसे वो अपने पार्टी के झगड़ों में पड़ जाते हैं और ऐसे कुछ उनको रास्ता नहीं, कुछ काम करने को नज़र नहीं आता कि बैठ कर इस क्रिस्म की बातें कहते हैं जो कि किसी तगड़े देश में तो कही नहीं जायें। हाँ जो देश बिल्कुल बूढ़ा, बुढ़िया हो गया, जिसमें जान नहीं रही, वो ऐसी बातें कहेगा। मैं तो हैरान होता हूँ।

मैं देखता हूँ अपने देश को एक जान से भरा हुआ है, मैं देखता हूँ देश बढ़ रहा है चारों तरफ़ से। मैं गाँव में जाऊँ, शहर में जाऊँ, चाहे कहीं जाऊँ, देश बढ़ रहा है, तरक्की कर रहा है, एक-एक क़दम करके नहीं, कहीं-कहीं कूदकर, छलाँग मारकर आगे बढ़ रहा है। अभी-अभी मैं आता हूँ देखकर कि बैठे हुए हैं, छाती पीट रहे हैं, हाय-हाय कर रहे हैं देश में कुछ नहीं होता, कुछ नहीं होता, यह मामला क्या है? ज़रा देश में देखें जाकर, फिरें जाकर, अपने देश को बदनाम करना यह अजीब तमाशा देखा है मैंने। और जो कुछ देश में आपस में झगड़े होते हैं, देश के रहने वाले अपने ही देश को बदनाम नहीं किया करते हैं। यह अच्छा नहीं समझा जाता क्योंकि हमारे देश में ऐसे लोग काफ़ी हैं जिनका विशेष काम यही है कि अपने देश को बदनाम किया करें, अपने देश को दुर्बल कहें, अपने देश को निकम्मा कहें, अपने देश में कहें कि जिते ऐब हैं, ख़राबियाँ हैं, सब हैं। मैं नहीं चाहता कि ऐब और ख़राबियों पर कोई पर्दा डाला जाये, नहीं

उसका सामना हमें करना है, हमें अपने देश में जो दुर्बलता है उसका सामना करना है, उसको हटाना है, कोई पर्दा हम नहीं चाहते लेकिन जो देश में अच्छी बात है, शक्ति है, उसको बढ़ाना है। तो खैर, अब आप देखें कि इस समय मैंने आपको मोटे तौर से तस्वीर बताई क्या-क्या इस समय दुनिया में चित्र हैं। आप देखें अभी आप समाचार में पढ़ते हैं कि अफ्रीका में एक अजीब तूफ़ान मचा हुआ है। अफ्रीका में वहाँ काले आदमी रहते हैं, उनको सैकड़ों वर्ष दबाया है, कुचला है यूरोप के लोगों ने, अब वो उठ खड़े हुए हैं, कई तो उनके देश स्वतन्त्र हो गये हैं, कई नहीं हुए। दक्षिण अफ्रीका में उनके साथ ऐसा बर्ताव होता है कि मामूली जानवर के साथ भी ऐसा नहीं होना चाहिए। अब वो लोग, उन्होंने सिर उठाया तो एक तूफ़ान मच गया है वहाँ।⁴⁸ और अगर यह बात तय नहीं होती जल्दी तो और तूफ़ान बढ़ेगा।

तो गर्ज कि सारी दुनिया में यह ऊँच-नीच तूफ़ान हो रहे हैं। आजकल क्रांतिकारी दुनिया है तो उसमें हमें भी ज़रा होशियार रहना है, तगड़ा रहना है, तैयार रहना है, संगठित रहना है और परिश्रम करना है, बगैर परिश्रम के कोई देश बढ़ता नहीं है। आपके यहाँ बहस हो, बहस होती है कि बहुत सारे वाद हैं, बहुत सारे दल हैं, समाजवाद और साम्यवाद और गाँधीवाद और कौन-कौन वाद हैं, मालूम नहीं। और कुछ उधर ऐसी संस्थाएँ हैं, साम्प्रदायिक संस्थाएँ हैं, तरह-तरह की। खैर, साम्प्रदायिक संस्थाओं की निस्वत तो इस समय मैं आपसे कुछ कहना नहीं चाहता क्योंकि मैं उनको बिल्कुल निकम्मा समझता हूँ यानी आजकल के समय से कोई उनका सम्बन्ध नहीं है। उनमें लोग अच्छे हैं, मैं उन लोगों को नहीं कहता, मैं उनकी विचारधारा का कहता हूँ, आजकल की दुनिया से कोई सम्बन्ध उसका नहीं है और अगर उनकी विचारधारा पर चला जाये, भारत चले तो एक बात पत्थर की लकीर है कि भारत फिर गिर कर तबाह हो जाये जैसे कि पहले हुआ। कोई इसमें संदेह नहीं है फूट हो, झगड़े हों, गिर जाये, तो उसको तो मैं छोड़ देता हूँ, लेकिन और जो विचारधाराएँ— साम्यवाद, समाजवाद, पूँजीवाद ये सब आती हैं, क्या हैं ये? मैं उसमें नहीं जाता इस समय, लेकिन हर एक के पीछे परिश्रम है, हर एक के पीछे आजकल का विज्ञान है, याद रखिये। जो विज्ञान सिखाया जाता है अमरीका में, वही विज्ञान रूस में सिखाया जाता है, कोई दूसरा विज्ञान नहीं सिखाया जाता है क्योंकि विज्ञान विज्ञान है जो डॉक्टरी वहाँ सिखाई जाती है वही डॉक्टरी रूस में सिखायी जाती है। तो आजकल की दुनिया से इन बातों से बहुत कम सम्बन्ध है।

इसलिए हमें इन बातों को समझना है और रास्ता निकालना है कि किस रास्ते पर हम चलें? जैसे हम आये थे, स्वतन्त्र देश हमारा हुआ उसी समय से बड़ा प्रश्न हमारे सामने आया कैसे इसको गरीबी से निकालें, नहीं तो हम दब जायेंगे। एक तो यों भी गरीबी थी और हमारी आबादी हमारे देश के रहने वाले गिनती में बड़े जोरों से बढ़ते जाते हैं और जितनी देश की आबादी बढ़ती है उतने ही याद रखो खाने वाले बढ़ते हैं, कपड़े पहनने वाले बढ़ते हैं, स्कूल जाने वाले बढ़ते हैं, काम दूँढ़ने वाले बढ़ते हैं, सब बढ़ जाते हैं। हमारे देश में प्रतिवर्ष साठ लाख अधिक लोग हो

48. The reference is to the Sharpville killings. See SWJN/SS/58/items 240 & 241 and item 188 in this volume.

जाते हैं यानी अधिक होने के माने ये हैं कि जितने पैदा होते हैं और जितने मरते हैं उनमें से इत्ते अधिक रहते हैं। एक बड़ी अच्छी बात है कि अब बीमारी हमारे देश में इस दस वर्ष में काफ़ी कम हुई है, मलेरिया का तो क़रीब-क़रीब बिल्कुल ही अन्त हो गया है, बड़ी भारी बात है यह, बड़ी जीत हमारी और हमें आशा है दो-तीन वर्ष में यह कॉलेरा और टाइफ़ाइड दो-चार बरस में इनको भी हम निकाल देंगे।

सब अच्छी बातें हैं लेकिन इन सबका नतीजा यह होता है कि खाने वाले अधिक हो जाते हैं [नेहरु जी हैंसते हैं]। खाने वाले ख़ाली ग़ल्ला खाने वाले नहीं, सब बातें— ग़ल्ला, कपड़ा, वग़ैरह, इत्यादि-इत्यादि यानी अगर आप उता ही पैदा करें अपने खेत में या मशीन में जित्ता आज करते हैं और साल भर बाद साठ लाख और लोग हो जायें तो उनको आपके साथ बाँटना पड़े, उसके माने आपके पास कम हो जायेगा, उसके माने देश ग़रीब हो जाता है और पहले से यानी आपको और पैदा करना है देश भर को, उता पैदा करें कि जो साठ लाख और आदमियों के लिए भी हो तो उता पैदा करने पर भी आप वहीं के वहीं रहते हैं, समझे आप यानी आपने परिश्रम से अधिक पैदा किया, उता ही अधिक पैदा किया जित्ता अधिक लोग पैदा हुए हैं तो वो उनको चला गया। आपने परिश्रम भी किया मगर आपके पास कुछ अधिक बचा नहीं, आप वहीं के वहीं रहे पहले ग़रीब थे, वैसे ही। इसीलिए आपको इतना पैदा करना है खेत से, ज़मीन से, कारख़ाने से जिससे नये खाने वालों के पेट भरे और भविष्य की तरक्की के लिए बचे, क्योंकि देश उता ही आगे बढ़ता है जित्ता उसका बचा रहता है, बढ़ने के लिए, करने के लिए। देश का बढ़ना नापा जाता है कि उस देश में कितना पैदा होता है, कितना ख़र्च होता है, जित्ता बचता है ख़र्च से वह अगले वर्ष की तरक्की के लिए होता है। इस तरह से देश बढ़ते हैं वो जो सरप्लस कहलाता है। ख़ैर, ये तो आप जानते हैं कि ये सब पेचीदा बातें हैं। मोटे तौर से आप समझ लें कि ये एक समझने की बात है, ख़ाली हुल्लड़बाज़ी की नहीं है, न यह माला जपने की बात है, हाथ पैर चलाकर परिश्रम की बात है और एक बुद्धि के समझने की कि हमारे देश के सवाल क्या हैं। विज्ञान उसमें क्या उत्तर देता है? विज्ञान बढ़ाना है अपने देश में, हम कर रहे हैं, हो रहा है और सारे देश के लोगों को पढ़ाना लिखाना क्योंकि बग़ैर पढ़े-लिखे लोग तो पिछड़े हुए होते हैं। सब एक-एक लड़का, एक-एक लड़की, पुरुष स्त्री सब पढ़ें और काफ़ी बढ़ता जाता है, मुझे उसमें कोई शिकायत नहीं है, लेकिन अभी पाँच, सात, दस वर्ष में कोई ऐसा न हो जो अनपढ़ हो।

तो इसीलिए हमने प्लानिंग कमीशन बनाया, योजना का कमीशन और आप शायद जानते हों कि वो प्रथम पंचवर्षीय योजना हुई, फिर दूसरी हुई, अब दूसरी में हम हैं और तीसरी अब एक साल भर बाद होने वाली है और उस पर बड़ा विचार हो रहा है, क्या खेती में होता है क्योंकि सबसे बड़ी बात यह है कि खेती से अधिक पैदा हो। हमारे यहाँ सौ में अस्सी आदमी ग्रामों में रहते हैं, ज़मीन पर काम करते हैं, तो बहुत आवश्यक है और उसको हमने बढ़ाना ही है और हमारा देश पिछड़ा हुआ है, मिस्र का देश, हमारे एक एकड़ में जो हम पैदा करते हैं उसका दुगुना, तिगुना वो पैदा करते हैं। कौन सी बात है यह? और देशों में चीन में जाओ अधिक पैदा करते हैं, जापान में जाओ वहाँ और भी अधिक करते हैं। क्यों एक हम पिछड़े हैं? इसमें कोई जादू तो नहीं है हमारे देश में भी जो अच्छे कृषक हैं वो दुगुना, तिगुना पैदा करते हैं औरों से। उसको हमें समझना है और लोग समझते जाते हैं।

अभी दिल्ली में एक प्रदर्शनी हुई खेती की।⁴⁹ और उसमें बहुत लाखों आदमी आये देखने भारत के, और बहुत बातें सीखीं। उसमें भी अब आप देखें, हमने कहा कि एक-एक आदमी सीखे। एक आदमी के पास दो एकड़, तीन एकड़ ज़मीन है, उसके हाथ में शक्ति क्या है। इसलिए यह आवश्यक हो जाता है कि उनके सहकारी संघ हों, सहकारी संघ हो, कोऑपरेटिव, वो गाँव और उससे बड़े भी हो चाहे उससे शक्ति बढ़ जाती है नये विज्ञान को चलाने की दिशा में। ज़मीन तो हर एक की रहेगी, यह तो लोग धोखा देते हैं ज़मीन छीन ली जायेगी, यह तो ग़लत बात है हर एक की अपनी ज़मीन रहेगी लेकिन अपने पड़ोसियों से मिलकर सहकारी संघ बनायें और कुछ खरीदना हो, बेचना हो, पैसा कर्ज़ा लेना हो, ये सब बातें मिलकर हों तो शक्ति बढ़ जाती है। फिर बेचारा मामूली किसान दबाया नहीं जा सकता है। ये बातें करनी हैं। इसीलिए आवश्यक हो गया है इस तरह का बनाना सहकारी संघ।

यह भी हमारी इच्छा है कि हर गाँव की पंचायत मज़बूत और तगड़ी हो। हम नहीं चाहते कि बड़े-बड़े अफ़सरों का राज बहुत हो, पंचायत चले, असलियत में पंचायती राज हो। हाँ, अफ़सर लोग भी हों, वो सलाह दें, सीखे हुए आदमी होते हैं, आखिर इसीलिए अफ़सर बनाये जाते हैं, पढ़ाया-लिखाया जाता है उनको, बड़ा मुश्किल इम्तहान उनसे लिया जाता है। जब इम्तहान पास होते हैं तो उनको बरस, दो बरस और उनको पढ़ाते हैं हम बड़े जोरों से, उसके बाद उनको सिखाते हैं तो जब उनको ऐसा बहुत कुछ अभ्यास हो जाता है तो कुछ सीखे होते हैं, वो जानते हैं, आपको सलाह देंगे, आपकी सहायता करेंगे, लेकिन ज़िम्मेदारी पंचायत की होगी, चाहे ग़लती भी करें तो करें, ग़लती वो सीखें उससे, क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं कि इस देश में एक दो-चार सौ-पचास आदमियों की, ऊपर के आदमियों की अक्ल से देश नहीं चल सकता, लेकिन लाखों आदमियों के बाहुबल से चले और उनकी बुद्धि से, गाँव के जिते पंच हों, हर एक आदमी को कुछ न कुछ देश का बोझा उठाने का मौक़ा मिले। इस तरह से आप चलायें अपने देश को तब आप देखें कि कितनी जल्दी चलता है। यह नहीं कि आप बैठे हुए हैं या बम्बई की सरकार कर दे आकर या दिल्ली के लोग आकर कर दें। इस तरह से देश नहीं बढ़ता है। हाँ, बड़े-बड़े काम हैं दिल्ली वाले करें, बम्बई वाले करें।

अब मैं जा रहा हूँ आपके कोयना की योजना देखने। अब वो पंच लोग तो नहीं कर सकते थे, बहुत बड़ी है, वो ठीक हैं लेकिन बहुत बातें हैं जो आप अपने गाँव में और नगर में कर सकते हैं और करनी चाहियें, किसी तरह भी करें। इसमें सारा आपका क़सूर नहीं है, कुछ हमारा क़सूर है, हमारे क़ायदों का क़सूर है। ऐसे हमारे क़ायदे पेचीदा बने हैं कि छोटे काम में भी देर लग जाती है। एक स्कूल का छप्पर टूट जाये, मैं नहीं जानता आपके यहाँ क्या होता है अगर एक स्कूल के छप्पर में ज़रा छेद हो जाये तो बजाय इसके कि जाके कोई बड़ई उसको सम्भाल दे, हमारे इंजीनियर दस बीस पचास आदमी साथ भेजेंगे बम्बई कि छप्पर में एक छेद हो गया और उस छेद का एस्टीमेट आयेगा, उसका टेंडर जायेगा, कौन उस छेद को बंद करेगा, कितने दाम लेंगे,

49. The World Agricultural Fair was held in Delhi from 11 December 1959 to 29 February 1960. See SWJN/SS/57/item 94.

महीनों गुज़र जायेंगे, मौसम ख़त्म हो जायेगा, पानी आयेगा जो कुछ है, वो ख़त जा रहे हैं कि छेद कौन बंद करेगा। [नेहरु जी हैंसते हैं] मैं नहीं जानता कि आपके यहाँ यह होता है लेकिन आम दस्तूर हमारे काम करने का यह है। अरे पंचायत को जो कुछ करना हो करे, म्युनिसिपैलिटी को करना हो वो करे। इसमें बम्बई को ख़त लिखने की कौन सी ज़रूरत है या इंजीनियर दौड़ रहे हैं या क्या है अपना काम बढ़ाना और औरों के काम में हर्जा करना। तो इन बातों को तो हमने बदलना है लेकिन मोटी बात यह है कि पंचायत ज़ोरों से चले और अपने इलाक़े को चलाये और ये कोऑपरेटिव सहकारी संघ ये ज़ोरों से चले और हम पूरे तौर से मदद करेंगे सहकारी संघ की और पंचायत की भी, दोनों की। और यह आप याद रखें कि सबसे ज़ोरों की बात है खेती से अधिक पैदा करना।

उधर मैं आपसे बड़ी बातों को कहता हूँ बड़े कारख़ानों की, वो तो चल ही रहे हैं, बड़े-बड़े लोहे के कारख़ाने, बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएँ वो तो चल रही हैं और चलती जायेंगी और उनसे लाभ होगा, दोनों तरफ़ से हमें करना है। अगर एक तरफ़ भी ढील हो जाती है दूसरी तरफ़ भी रुकावट हो जाती है। ये बड़ा नक्शा आप अपने सामने रखिये। भारत बढ़ रहा है, बढ़ेगा और तेज़ी से और आपके देखते-देखते भारत का रूप बदल जायेगा, बदल रहा है और यक़ीन है, मैं नहीं जानता मैं दस बरस बाद होऊँ न होऊँ, लेकिन आप तो होंगे दस बरस बाद और आप देखेंगे कि दस बरस बाद भारत का रूप कित्ता बदल गया है लेकिन उत्ता ही बदलेगा जितना आप और हम मिलकर एकता से काम करेंगे और आपस के झगड़े और बहसों में न पड़ें।

अब मैं तो आपके यहाँ रास्ते में रुक गया, मैं तो जा रहा हूँ वहाँ कोयना को देखने, लेकिन आपने इत्ता बड़ा प्रबन्ध किया, मुझे कुछ आश्चर्य हुआ। वो छोटा नगर है आपका, हालाँकि ऐतिहासिक नगर है और हमारे यशवन्तराव जी का तो इससे ख़ास सम्बन्ध है इस नगर से और इस इलाक़े से। दूर से आप लोग आये होंगे। तो अब प्रेम से रास्ते भर में आपने मेरा स्वागत किया उसके लिए आपको बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद।

अब आप जानते हैं कि दो-तीन सप्ताह बाद या उससे कम में बम्बई राज्य का विभाजन होने वाला है, इसके दो बनने वाले हैं। अब इसके पीछे कित्ती बहस, कित्ते झगड़े, यह तो पुरानी कहानी भी ख़त्म हुई, अब एक नया क़दम उठने वाला है, जो नया क़दम उठाये उसको अच्छी तरह से उठाना चाहिए, शान से, प्रेम से उठाना चाहिए, लड़कर नहीं और पुराने झगड़े ख़त्म करके उठाया जाये और हमेशा जब नया क़दम कोई उठता है तो वो एक हमारा और आपका एक इम्तहान हो जाता है, परीक्षा हो जाती है कि अब क्या करते हैं ये, कैसे करते हैं, ख़ाली गुल मचाना जानते थे कि कुछ जमकर चलना। तो मैं आशा करता हूँ यह नया क़दम मज़बूती से उठेगा, अच्छी तरह से, प्रेम से उठेगा और जो बम्बई राज्य के दो टुकड़े होने हैं, वो तो हो जायेंगे। दो प्रदेश होंगे लेकिन फिर भी एक उनमें प्रेम का सम्बन्ध जारी रहेगा।

ज़रा मैं एक बात इन बहनों से यहाँ कह दूँ। यह एक बात जो मैंने कही सारा नक्शा जो है, इससे बहुत बड़ा सम्बन्ध हमारी स्त्रियों का है, महिलाओं का और उसमें पूरा भाग उन्हें लेना है इस सारे देश में जो परिवर्तन हो रहा है, होगा। बस फिर से आपको धन्यवाद और जय हिन्द!

अब मेरे साथ आप भी जय हिन्द कहिए तीन बार।

जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Sisters, brothers and children,
Yashwantraoji⁵⁰ reminded us just now that I had come to Karad seven years ago.⁵¹ I did not remember the exact date. There have been many ups and downs during these seven years. After all, the world goes on. Mankind stumbles occasionally but corrects itself and goes on. We must not be afraid of falling. The main thing is that we should have the strength to pick ourselves up and go on. A nation, a race which possesses this strength is invincible. Those who are afraid of moving and are content to remain prostrate can never get anywhere. There are such people too in this world.

This is an age of revolutionary changes all over the world and in India too. You must have seen a little of what is happening in India today. The world outside is changing so rapidly that within a few years nothing remains the same. You read in the newspapers about the new sources of energy and the weapons which are being used today. There is atomic energy and nuclear weapons and satellites which have reached the moon. It is possible that soon human beings will also travel to the Moon. So you can see the revolutionary changes which are taking place.

We used to read as children mythological tales of fairies and magic. But what is happening in the world today is far more extraordinary than all those tales. We are living in this extraordinary world but often tend to forget it. For those who do not like what is happening, it is unfortunate that they should be born in these times. But we cannot get out of it. Revolutionary changes such as we see all around often do both good and harm. That is the kind of world we live in.

There have been great changes in India in the last few years. People sometimes think that revolution means violence and chaos which is stupid. A revolution means changing the structure of society and its way of life. Violence is a sign of stupidity. It can bring about no revolution.

A great revolution is taking place in the world today and the life-style of the people is changing rapidly. Various factors are responsible. The railways have revolutionised our mode of transport. It is not like travelling in bullock-carts. Aeroplanes go even faster. I came to Poona from Delhi today in three and a half hours. Electricity has made industrialisation possible. All these forces have been responsible for the changes which have taken place in our life-style. India has yet to catch up with the advanced countries of the world. I do not mean

50. See fn 46 in this section.

51. See fn 47 in this section.

that we should copy the others. But we cannot tolerate it that other countries should be affluent and ours poor and crushed by the weight of our misery. So we must try to learn from the others. Some of them have become affluent through their imperialistic policies and by draining away the wealth of their colonies. It happened with us during British rule. But the fact of the matter is that the modern world is built upon science, technology and machines. New techniques of agriculture and new industries have come up. So the West has become extremely affluent, we will also have to learn all this if we are to progress.

It is believed that millions of years ago man did not know how to cultivate land. He depended on hunting for his needs. He had no home or village but led a nomadic life in search of food. It was an extremely difficult life. Then a great revolution occurred and man learnt to cultivate land and grow crops.

The other great revolution which occurred was with the invention of the wheel. Until then no vehicle could be made. So transport was only on horseback. You can see the old type of wheels in museums are completely round and smooth in shape. Then came chariots and what not. Fire was again a revolutionary discovery. All this is old history. This is how a society grows. It becomes backward if it is stagnant.

The world has advanced a great deal during the last hundred years. You see the signs all around you. You have trains, aeroplanes, telephones, wireless, radio, and other small industries. But there are many new forces making their appearance. The biggest of them all is atomic energy which will transform the world in a few years.

I am telling you all this because India can progress only by having a grasp of the world in which we live. It is not very wise to feel that we do not have to learn anything or as some of our youth think that we can achieve a great deal by shouting slogans. This is a tough ruthless world and there is place in it only for those who are willing to work hard and have the ability to do so. India will progress if there are people of quality in the country. If not India will remain backward in spite of its forty crores of population.

A nation's progress does not depend on its numbers. What counts is the quality of the human beings, their courage, intelligence and strength and unity. There is no dearth of courage or intelligence in India. It has always produced great men down the ages, well-known for their courage and spiritual strength. But we have always lost out because of our disunity and again and again lost our freedom to invading hordes. We must learn a lesson from this, from our history which dates back to thousands of years.

Now that we have got a new opportunity since independence we must try to progress quickly. The first lesson to be learnt is that we must root out the

ancient malady of disunity and understand that our strength lies in all of us marching in step with one another. We must knock down the barriers between us.

The barriers are of many kinds. The biggest of them is the caste system among the Hindus which divides them into innumerable compartments. The caste system has perpetuated great injustice upon some sections of society by keeping them crushed and downtrodden. How can there be democracy or socialism so long as we allow the caste system to continue? Socialism means that everyone should get equal opportunities for progress. Everybody is not exactly alike. There are disparities, physical and intellectual. But everyone must get equality of opportunity. The caste system is a pernicious one which cannot be allowed to exist any longer.

Two, we often fight in the name of religion. We have even divided the country into two under the cloak of religion, and Pakistan was carved out. There have been riots between the Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and sometimes even the Christians but mainly among the Hindus and Muslims; and they have weakened the national fabric. We must never lose sight of the fact that every single human being who lives in this country and regards India as his motherland has equal rights irrespective of the fact that they are Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Jains, Buddhists, Zoroastrians, Sikhs or Parsis. Do you want India to become like South Africa where there is so much discrimination against a particular section of society? We cannot allow that. Religion and politics should be kept separate. Everyone must be allowed to practice any religion that he chooses. But to demand political rights in the name of religion is wrong. People of all religions have equal rights.

So, as I said casteism and provincialism pose as great barriers among the people in India. There are many languages in India, all of them with a rich literary heritage dating back to thousands of years. All of them including the dialects must be allowed to grow and flourish. No language can hope to grow at the expense of another. You must make the effort to learn more than one language, not insist that one language should be forgotten in order to learn another. Except for the South Indian languages, there is a close link between all the other languages. They have their origin in Sanskrit. So we must treat all of them with respect, not fight over them as we do today. In fact, there are some people who go out of their way to look for causes to quarrel about. Earlier the British sowed the seeds of disunity among us in order to weaken us. Now we are doing the same thing in our foolishness.

These are ordinary, well-known facts. But I want to remind you that when we face a crisis on some urgent tasks, it is imperative that we should be clear in our minds as to where we are going. There should be no room for any

doubt. We should set a course for ourselves and proceed as quickly as possible in that direction. If there are too many pulls and pressures or doubts, we cannot progress. We must make a determined bid for progress and work together fearlessly in unity. There is no place for fear.

As you know, the Chinese have occupied some of our territory on the borders a few months ago which is very wrong. But there is no cause for panic. I have seen that, in a crisis, we must conserve our strength to face it squarely. We cannot achieve anything by shouting slogans. It is not going to affect the other country in any way. It is childish to think that the problem can be solved in this way.

The fact of the matter is that India is passing through very difficult times. The main problem before us is of economic progress and uplift of the masses. It requires a great deal of effort to improve the standard of living of forty crores of people. Then this new danger has reared its head on the border. It casts a heavy burden upon us. But we have to shoulder it. People often forget this and make demands that we should bring in our army and throw them out. At the same time, they do not like the idea of shouldering any extra burden. That will not do. This is the picture.

Let me show you yet another aspect of India. On the one hand, there are great problems, immense difficulties; how will forty crore people move ahead. On the other hand, you will find that even in these twelve years there has been much progress and the foundations of the edifice of a new India have been laid, and it gladdens our hearts. People who come from other countries are amazed at the transformation which has occurred in these twelve years in the urban as well as the rural areas. But what amazes them even more is that people in India should be so full of complaints and criticism of what is happening here. For some people criticism of the Congress and the government is an occupation. They refuse to see what is happening. Very often they say things which earn a bad name for the country. This is not right. They are free to criticise the government and the Congress though I do feel that they should be a little more objective. But their criticism should be tempered by the thought that there should be no stain on the honour of the motherland. They must not do anything which diminishes the respect of the world for India.

The border issue is a complex one. Some people make out as though we are weak. Such talk will only weaken our country's morale and give a fillip to the enemy. This is absolutely wrong and untrue. Even if it were, it is not something to be broadcast loudly. I am not saying that everyone behaves like this. There are some political parties who can find nothing more constructive to do than indulge in such loose talk. It is only a tired, old and infirm nation which thinks like this. I am amazed because I see a great vitality coursing

through India's veins, and in some places haltingly, in others energetically, I have just seen how people are despondent, self-pitying, and moaning that nothing is happening in this country; and why should this be so. Let them go and travel around and see all that is happening in the country. It is comic and absurd to malign the country in this fashion. There are some people in India today whose chief occupation is to malign the country and say that India is weak and backward and full of weaknesses and shortcoming. I am not one to want to draw a curtain over our shortcomings. We have to face them squarely and root them out. But we must highlight our qualities and strength too.

I have tried to give to give you a broad outline of what is happening in the world. You read of the great storm which has been unleashed in Africa. The Europeans have crushed them for hundreds of years. Today they are rebelling and fighting for their freedom. Many of the African countries have become independent. In South Africa, the Blacks are treated worse than animals. But there has been a great awakening in that continent today⁵² and unless the matter is solved quickly, the storm will engulf Africa.

The whole world is in turmoil today. We must exercise great vigilance and be prepared for any eventuality. We must be organised and ready to work hard. We can get nowhere without hard work. There are debates about the ideology that we should choose socialism, communism, Gandhism. Then there are communalist parties about which I do not wish to say very much because I think they are absolutely good for nothing. They are completely anomalous in these times. There may be good people among them. I am referring to the general outlook which is completely out of tune with the times. It is absolutely hundred per cent certain that if we were to follow their thinking. India will surely be ruined as in the past. There is no doubt about it that the country will be split into fragments. So, let us leave that aside. But whichever ideology you may choose, capitalism, socialism or communalism, each one of them has to be backed by hard work. Please remember that science is the same whether it is in the Soviet Union or the United States of America; science is science, the same medical doctor's course is taught.

We must understand this and evolve a path for ourselves. The moment India got Independence, we were faced with the pressing problem of getting rid of India's crushing poverty. Apart from the fact that India was poor, the population was growing by leaps and bounds which meant more and more mouths to feed, clothe, educate and provide jobs for. The population of India is growing by sixty lakhs every year. The mortality rate has gone down which is a good thing. Killer diseases have also been controlled over the last ten years.

52. See fn 48 in this section.

Malaria has almost been eradicated which is a great achievement. We hope to eradicate cholera and typhoid also in a few years. The result of all this is that the population increases. If we produce just as much as we do today we will soon face shortages and the country would have grown poorer. Therefore, the production has to be stepped up to meet the requirements of the additional population every year. But even so, there will be no surplus in spite of the hard work. Therefore we have to produce enough to feed the population and have something left over for development. India's progress depends on the surplus which is available for investment in new tasks.

Anyhow as you know, these are complex matters which have to be considered carefully. It is not a question of counting beads but of hard work and an intelligent understanding of national problems and the solution that science can provide. We must develop a scientific way of thinking and promoting education. An illiterate population is backward. Every single boy and girl, man and woman must be educated. Education is spreading very fast. I have no complaints. But in ten years' time, there must be no one who has not been educated.

So, we set up the Planning Commission. We completed the First Plan and are about to complete the Second. The Third Plan is being drawn up. The stress will be on increasing agricultural production. Eighty per cent of the population lives in the villages in India and depends on land for its livelihood. Therefore, we must step up production. We are still lagging behind countries like Egypt, China and Japan where the average yield per acre is far more than in India. Why are we backward? There is no magic formula. The farmer in India is extremely hard working, and wherever an effort has been made, production has doubled and trebled. People are beginning to understand new techniques.

Recently, a huge agricultural fair was held in Delhi⁵³ and millions of people came from all over the country to see it and learn something. We have laid stress on cooperative societies as a means of strengthening the hands of the small farmer. Cooperation enables them to adopt scientific methods of agriculture. The title of the farmer to the land remains intact. People try to mislead them in this matter which is wrong. The farmers will get together and farm cooperative societies for purposes of buying and selling, loans, etc. The ordinary farmer will be able to do many things.

We also want that there should be a strong panchayat in every village. We do not want the officials to rule. The panchayats must enjoy greater autonomy. The officers can guide and advise them for they are trained after being selected

53. See fn 49 in this section.

through a difficult examination. So they have the training and experience to be able to guide and advise you. But the responsibility should rest with the panchayats. Even if they make mistakes, they will learn from their experience, we want our democracy to be a broad based one because a nation cannot be ruled from above by a handful of people. The reins of governance must be in the hands of millions of human beings and every individual in the country must get an opportunity of sharing the burden. You will find that the country will progress very quickly then. It is not enough for people from Delhi or the state capital of Bombay to pass orders.

I am now going to see your Koyna project. That is perhaps too big for the village panchayats to handle. But there are scores of things which you can and must do in your own areas. In a sense, the fault is not yours but lies in our rules and regulations which are so complex that even the smallest thing takes a long time. I do not know what happens here but I find that even if the roof of a school building falls, instead of a local mason or carpenter repairing it, the matter goes up to the state government, engineers come down, estimates are made and tenders invited. All this takes months and in the meanwhile the roof remains unrepaired. This is generally the way in which we function. The panchayats and municipalities should deal with these matters instead of sending it up to Bombay. [Nehruji laughs] It unnecessarily creates more work and creates an obstacle in the way of others. We must change our methods of working. The main thing is to strengthen the functioning of panchayats and cooperative societies. We shall help you in both areas. I want you to remember that the main thing is to improve agricultural production.

We are going ahead with the process of industrialisation. Huge steel plants and other projects are coming up and in course of time benefit the entire country. We have to aim at a balanced development. The slightest slackness on one side creates obstacles for the other. I want you to keep this larger picture in mind. India is changing very rapidly and soon there will be a complete transformation. I may be or may not be around then. But you will find India completely transformed in ten years' time. But of course everything depends on our capacity to work unitedly without indulging in petty quarrels and disputes.

I stopped here on the way to Koyna for a short while. So I was amazed to see the arrangements on such a large scale. Yours is a small but historic city. Yashwant Raoji has a special relationship with this town and region. I thank you for the warm welcome that you have given me.

As you know, in a few weeks' time Bombay State is going to divide into two, marking the end of long years of disputes and tension. We are now taking a new step which should be marked with dignity and love. This is a challenge to all of us. We have to show what we are capable of at a delicate moment like

this. I hope that we will take the new step firmly with dignity and that the relations between the two new states which are going to be forced out of the old Bombay province will continue to be cordial and friendly.

I would like to remind the women that they have to play a very important role in national-building. They must pull their weight. All right. Thank you and Jai Hind!

Jai Hind ! Jai Hind ! Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

6. At Pophali: Public Meeting⁵⁴

बहनो और भाइयो,

अभी चार घंटे से इन पहाड़ों के नीचे गुफ्राओं में हम घूम रहे हैं।⁵⁵ वो जो बहुत सारे टनल खोदे गये हैं, आप लोग तो जानते होंगे और आपमें से वहाँ काम करने वाले भी होंगे। तो कैसे ऊपर से तो एक मामूली पहाड़ लगता है, भाग लगता है और उसके अन्दर क्या-क्या हो रहा है, बड़े-बड़े उसमें खोदकर रास्ते बने हैं, बड़े हॉल बने हैं, बड़ी भारी उसमें मशीनें लग रही हैं और नदी आयेगी और बिजली पैदा होगी और फिर बिजली वहाँ से निकलकर आप लोगों के लिए और चारों तरफ़ इधर उसका प्रयोग होगा। इसी कोयना की योजना देखने के लिए मैं आया था। मैंने देखा उसे और मुझे बहुत अच्छी लगी और उससे मालूम हुआ कि हमारे इंजीनियर लोग कैसे कठिन काम उसमें कर रहे हैं और बड़ी अच्छी तरह से, सुन्दरता से कर रहे हैं। [तालियाँ] और ख़ाली इंजीनियर लोग नहीं, सभी लोग जो वहाँ काम कर रहे हैं, कठिन काम है लेकिन अच्छा हुआ है और यह भी याद आप रखें कि इस समय कठिन लगता है वो काम, जो इस दफ़्ते पक्का हो जाये तब वो तो मालूम नहीं, सौ, दो सौ, चार सौ, कई सौ वर्ष तक चले। वो तो बहुत दिन चलने की बात है।

इसी तरह से अगर हम पक्की मज़बूत बात कोई करते हैं तब वो चलती है जो लोग ऊपर से दिखाने के लिए कुछ कर देते हैं वो बात चलती नहीं है और हमारे सामने एक बड़ा जो कार्य है आजकल वो ख़ाली कोयना का नहीं है बल्कि सारे देश को पक्का बनाना है और मज़बूती से देश को इस तरह से, उसकी एक नींव सी डाल देनी, नये भारत की, जिस पर वे बढ़ सकें। यह हमारे सामने काम है।

स्वराज मिला, तो स्वराज के बाद काम यही आया कि अब एक नया, नवीन भारत को हम बनायें, पुराना भारत तो हमारा है ही, पुराना हिन्दुस्तान, लेकिन उसको ज़रा नया रूप दें, उसमें जो दुनिया में नयी-नयी बातें हैं, नयी विद्या है उसको हम भी सीखें विज्ञान की और और और बातों की, जिससे हमारा देश दुनिया में एक अगुआ देश हो जाये, पिछड़ा हुआ नहीं और हम ज़मीन से, कारख़ानों से अधिक पैदा करें और देश के रहने वाले खुशहाल हों, देश की दरिद्रता और ग़रीबी

54. Speech at the underground power house site at Pophali, Koyna, 10 April 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

55. Nehru visited the Koyna Project at the suggestion of Y. B. Chavan, the Chief Minister, see SWJN/SS/57/item 96.

दूर हो जाये। यह बड़ा काम हमारे सामने आया, देश के सामने क्योंकि स्वराज तो बहुत अच्छा होता है लेकिन स्वराज के मायने तो जभी होते हैं जब सब लोगों को लाभ हो उससे। स्वराज हो और पेट में कुछ खाने को न हो तो स्वराज बहुत दूर तक नहीं ले जाता। इसलिए यह बड़ा काम हुआ कि हमारी एक बड़ी क्रांति हुई, राजनीतिक क्रांति। अंग्रेजी राज्य को यहाँ से हटाया गया लेकिन उसके बाद और क्रांति की आवश्यकता हुई, आर्थिक क्रांति और तीसरी क्रांति सामाजिक क्रांति। जब तीन क्रांति होती हैं तब देश खूब तेज़ी से बढ़ता है।

तो पहली क्रांति राजनीतिक क्रांति तो हो चुकी, अब आर्थिक और सामाजिक, ये हो रही हैं, हल्के-हल्के होती जाती हैं और इसीलिए कि देश में परिवर्तन होता जाता है। बड़ा भारी प्रश्न है क्योंकि चालीस कोटि लोगों का है थोड़े से आदमी तो हैं नहीं और जब कोई सामाजिक क्रांति करे या आर्थिक क्रांति करे तो थोड़े से आदमियों की नहीं होती है वो, कि उनको नौकरी मिल गयी या उनको कोई और बात मिल गयी। ये तो सारे देश का करना है और सारे देश का तभी हो सकता है जब सारे देश की जनता उसमें हाथ लगाये, तभी हो सकता है। तो इसीलिए बड़ी-बड़ी योजनायें बनीं, नक्शे बने, प्लानिंग की, योजना कमीशन जो हमारा है उसमें, पंचवर्षीय योजना बनी रही आठ-नौ बरस हुए, दस वर्ष क़रीब-क़रीब। उसके बाद दूसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना चली उसको चार वर्ष हो गये हैं, क़रीब-क़रीब होने वाले हैं और एक वर्ष बाद तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना शुरू होगी।

अब पंचवर्षीय योजना के क्या माने हैं? कोई हमारा काम एक-एक पाँच बरस में रुक तो नहीं जाता, वो तो चलता ही जाता है, देश का काम तो हमेशा चलता है लेकिन अपने सामने कोई एक नक्शा बनायें, कोई एक चित्र बनायें जिससे हम देख सकें कि कहाँ तक हम पहुँचे हैं? किधर और जाना है? कितनी तेज़ी से काम करना है? उससे लाभ होता है कि हानि होती है? यह सब विचार करके आप आगे बढ़ते हैं, क्योंकि इत्ते बड़े काम में हम सीखते हैं, अपने काम करने से सीखते हैं, कोई किताब में लिखा तो है नहीं कि चालीस कोटि देश के लोग कैसे काम करें। तो बड़ी कठिन बात है न। आमतौर से जैसा जो चाहता है करता है और वो ठीक बात है, उसमें कोई ज़बरदस्ती नहीं होनी चाहिए, लेकिन अगर तेज़ी से हम चलना चाहते हैं तो हमें निश्चय करना है कौन-कौन बड़े काम हैं जिसको हम करें और जिससे देश की उन्नति जल्दी हो।

अब काम तो बहुत हैं देश में लेकिन सबसे बड़े काम मैं आपको बताऊँ— एक तो ज़मीन का है, भूमि से क्या पैदा होता है, जितना अधिक पैदा होगा उतना ही देश में धन होगा। हमारे देश में काफ़ी पैदा नहीं होता। एक एकड़ में जितना पैदा होता है हमारे देश में, उसका दुगुना और तिगुना और देशों में होता है। यह बात ठीक नहीं है। इसलिए हमें समझना है कि कैसे हम और अपनी ज़मीन से बढ़ सकें, पैदा करना हमारा बड़ी बात है और हम कर सके हैं। हमने देखा, आपके बम्बई प्रदेश में भी काफ़ी पहले से उन्नति हुई है फ़्री एकड़ में क्या पैदा होता है और उसमें मामूली बात है अच्छे हल आपके पास हों, अच्छी तरह से हल चलाओ, अच्छे और औज़ार हों, अच्छे बीज हों, खाद अच्छी हो, कमपोस्ट हो, फ़र्टिलाइज़र हो यानी किसान काम अपना अच्छा करे। आजकल की दुनिया की विद्या को कुछ समझकर तो उसका दुगुना, चौगुना हो जाता है और सब हमें करना है क्योंकि उसके बग़ैर देश की उन्नति नहीं होगी।

दूसरे हमें बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने बनाने हैं, बड़े-छोटे मज़ले, ऐसे कारख़ाने बनाने हैं क्योंकि

कारखानों में चीजें बनती हैं। चीजें एक तरह का धन होता है देश के लिए। वो भी हमें करना है। अब कारखाने बनाने में, उसके लिए मशीन चाहिए। तो मशीन कहाँ से आये? खुद बनायें हम मशीन। अब एकाध दफ़े हम ले लें बाहर के देशों से, वो ठीक है लेकिन बाद में हमें खुद बनाना है तो हमें मशीन बनानी है। इसके लिए बड़ा कारखाना बनाओ जिसमें मशीन बने। मशीन तो अनेक तरह की होती है। फिर आप लोग मशीन बनाने में, अक्सर मशीनें लोहे की होती हैं और बड़े-बड़े लोहे के कारखाने बने हैं जिसमें जित्ता पहले हम लोहा बनाते थे उसको हमने चौगुना, पाँच गुना कर दिया और और बनते ही जाते हैं और कारखाने में। कारखाना चले कैसे? कौन चलाये, कैसे चले? दो चीजें चलाती हैं कारखानों को— एक तो आदमी, आप जैसे लोग और एक शक्ति, पावर सीखे हुए आदमी, हर एक आदमी नहीं चला सकता, जिसको अभ्यास है, सीखा है वो चला सकता है। इसीलिए सीखे हुए आदमी की आजकल क़दर बहुत है जैसे इंजीनियर हों और जैसे सीखे हुए हों, अच्छे मैकेनिक हों, अच्छे काम हाथ से कर सकें। और शक्ति पावर— बड़े कारखाने आदमी तो नहीं चला सकते, पावर से चलते हैं।

पावर पैदा होती है बिजली की है, कोयले से होती है और तरह-तरह की लेकिन आमतौर से बिजली का बहुत प्रयोग होता है उसमें। अब यह कोयना का जो सब बना है, किसलिए? थोड़ा सा इसमें खेती के लिए भी पानी निकलेगा बाद में, लेकिन विशेषकर यह जो कोयना की योजना है, यह है बिजली की शक्ति पैदा कर देना और बिजली की शक्ति को आप जानते हैं, तारों से ले जाते हैं और जहाँ तार जाते हैं वहीं उसको आप काम में ला सकते हैं, वहाँ कारखाना बना सकते हैं, छोटी बात है, छोटे काम तो आपने देखे हैं, बिजली की रोशनी है, बिजली की कुछ और बातें हैं लेकिन असल में तो उससे और बड़े-बड़े काम हो सकते हैं, बड़ी शक्ति है। कोयले की शक्ति होती है— कोयले की शक्ति से रेलगाड़ी चलती है, रेलगाड़ी का इंजन और ऐसी बहुत बातें हैं।

तो इन बातों को सीखकर करने से हमारा देश बढ़ेगा और इन सबको आपको समझना है क्योंकि आखिर में भारत की जनता के लिए यह हो रहा है और भारत की जनता उसमें जितना बोझा उठायेगी, जितना काम करेगी उतनी ही जल्दी होगा, कोई सरकारी हुक्म से तो ये बातें नहीं हो जातीं, ऊपर से हुक्म आया कि बिजली पैदा हो जाये तो ऐसे तो कहीं बिजली पैदा हो जायेगी, उसके लिए तो बरसातें से परिश्रम हो रहा है और होगा। कोई काम बग़ैर परिश्रम के नहीं होता है।

तो यह आप समझें। जैसे मैं यहाँ कोयना को देखने आया, वैसे अगर आप देश भर में फिरें तो आप देखें कि सारे देश के हिस्सों में बहुत सारे बड़े-बड़े नये काम हो रहे हैं, नया काम कहीं बड़ा, कहीं छोटा क्योंकि काम है क्योंकि सारे देश को बदलना है और सारा देश बदल रहा है— पुरुष और स्त्री और एक बड़ी बात उसके बदलने की यह है कि स्कूल बढ़ते जाते हैं पढ़ाई के लिए, बहुत आवश्यक बात है कि सब लोगों को अच्छे पढ़ने का मौक़ा मिले, पुरुष-स्त्री, लड़का-लड़की, क्योंकि आजकल की दुनिया में विज्ञान है, ये सब बग़ैर पढ़े-लिखे नहीं कोई सीख सकता। ये काम हो रहे हैं और एक माने में हमारे देश में क्रांति होती जाती है। क्रांति के माने लड़ाई नहीं है, क्रांति के माने समाज का परिवर्तन करना। और एक और तरफ़ से आप देखो कि हमारे देश में अधिकतर तो लोग भूमि पर काम करते हैं। ग्रामों में किसान हैं तो उनकी उन्नति उन्हीं के काम से होगी। इसलिए दो-तीन बातें सामने रखी गयीं। एक तो जो पंचायतें हैं वो ज़ोर से काम करें और उनको अधिकार दिया जाये काम करने का, उनके पंचों को, सरपंचों को। अभी

मैं यहाँ पहुँचा तो आपके सरपंच ने मुझे एक फूल की माला दी। अच्छी बात है, तो मैं चाहता हूँ आपकी ग्राम पंचायतें बड़े ज़ोर से काम करें, अधिकार से काम करें और यह नहीं कि जैसे पहले हुआ करता था कि काम तो बड़े-बड़े अफसर आकर करायें और आप लोग अफसर की तरफ़ देखा करें, वो ठीक तरीक़ा नहीं हैं। हम चाहते हैं भारत में हर एक आदमी अपने पैर पर खड़ा हो, अपना काम करे, ख़ाली दूसरे की तरफ़ न देखा करें। आप अपने गाँव को उठाना चाहें मिलकर, किसी अफसर पर ठहरिये नहीं, अपना काम कीजिए, गाँव की उन्नति होगी। ऐसे ही सब लोग गाँव वाले करें देश में तो सारा देश खड़ा हो जाये एकदम से। इसलिए असल पंचायती राज जो है वो बहुत अच्छी चीज़ है।

दूसरी बात यह है कि आप जो खेती में काम करते हैं या कुछ भी करते हैं उसमें अगर आप सहकारी संघ द्वारा करें, कोऑपरेटिव द्वारा करें तो आपको बहुत लाभ होगा क्योंकि मिलकर काम करने से होता है जिसके पास थोड़ी भूमि है उसकी शक्ति नहीं है बहुत करने की लेकिन सौ, दो सौ आदमी मिल जायें तब शक्ति बढ़ जाती है, आप कोई मशीन भी ले सकते हैं, आपको कर्ज़ा भी मिलेगा सरकार से, आसानी होगी, बहुत सारी बातें हैं। इसलिए हमने कहा कि सब गाँवों में ये सहकारी संघ होने चाहियें, और उसके यह माने नहीं, लोग कुछ धोखा देते हैं कि आपकी ज़मीन कोई ले ले, कोई ज़मीन नहीं लेता, ज़मीन तो आप ही की रहेगी, हमेशा रहेगी, लेकिन मिलकर काम करने से आपका और देश का लाभ बहुत होगा, आपकी शक्ति बढ़ेगी और आपके गाँव का रूप बदल जायेगा। तो ये मोटी-मोटी बातें हैं। मैंने आपको बताई।

बातें तो आजकल बहुत हैं क्योंकि हमारे देश में, सारा हमारा देश बदल रहा है, एक नया रूप धारण कर रहा है, अब आप और हम यहाँ रहते हैं तो हमें दिखता नहीं है लेकिन बाहर विदेश के लोग जो हैं वो दूर से देखते हैं तो कहते हैं कैसा बदल रहा है यह देश तेज़ी से, और बदल रहा है, उसकी शक्ति बढ़ती जाती है।

बहुत दिन तक और देशों ने हमारे ऊपर राज किया। अब फिर से हम स्वतन्त्र हुए। अब हमें बढ़ना है। पहले, क्यों और लोगों ने हमारे ऊपर राज्य किया? बात हमें समझनी है। कहीं फिर हम ऐसे धोखे में नहीं पड़ जायें, कोई और राज करने लगे, सोचने की बात है न। अगर आप भारत के इतिहास को देखें तो आप पायेंगे कि हमारे यहाँ तो बड़े वीर पुरुष रहे, सब कुछ रहे लेकिन हमारे लोग आपस में बहुत लड़ा करते थे, लड़ाई लड़ें, आपस में झगड़ा करें, यह हमारी बुरी-बुरी आदत थी झगड़ा करने की आपस में। पहले उस समय राजा लोग होते थे तो राजा लोग लड़ा करते थे और वो आपस में लड़ें, अपने देश को दुर्बल कर दें और विदेश के लोग आ जायें लेकिन राजा लोग तो अब रहे नहीं। तो उनसे तो कोई भय नहीं है लड़ने-झगड़ने का लेकिन फिर भी हमारे यहाँ आपस में लड़ाई बहुत होती है, झगड़ा छोटी बातों पर, बड़ी बातों पर और हमारे समाज का संगठन ऐसा है जो अच्छा नहीं है जाति के ऊपर, कास्ट के ऊपर। यह अच्छी चीज़ नहीं है उसमें हर एक अलग-अलग जाति के लोग अलग रहते हैं, दूसरे की फ़िक्र नहीं, इससे देश की एकता नहीं बढ़ती। तो अब नये भारत में हमें यह जातिभेद को हल्के-हल्के मिटा देना है सभी को बराबर का अधिकार हो और सब आपस में सहयोग कर सकें, चाहे हमारा धर्म अलग-अलग भी क्यों न हो, अलग-अलग धर्म के लोग भारत में रहते हैं लेकिन सब भारत के रहने वाले हैं, भारत माता उनकी सबकी मातृभूमि है, चाहे कोई भी उनका धर्म हो अगर वो यहाँ रहते हैं तो हमें प्रेम से रहना है, लड़ाई झगड़ा नहीं करना है।

कुछ लोग लड़ाई करते हैं, हम इस प्रान्त के हैं, उस प्रदेश के हैं, प्रान्तीयता ले आते हैं, यह बुरी बात है, भाषा पर झगड़ते हैं, यह भी ग़लत है, हमारी सब भाषाएँ देश की सुन्दर हैं, प्रसिद्ध

हैं, उनकी हम सेवा करें। इसके माने यह तो नहीं कि दूसरी भाषा से हम विरोध करें। तो हमें भारत को ऐसा देश बनाना है जिसमें वे आपस के लड़ाई-झगड़े न हों या बहुत कम हों और हम सब लोग एक-दूसरे से प्रेम करें और आदर करें।

आपका जो आदर होता है, आप विदेश में जायें तो किसलिए? इसलिए होता है कि आप भारत के नागरिक गिने जाते हैं। इसलिए नहीं कि आप महाराष्ट्र के या गुजरात के या तमिल के, पंजाब के नागरिक हैं। बाहर के और देश वालों को इससे क्या मतलब है? हाँ, आपके पास जो निशानी होती है वो ये उसमें लिखा होता है कि भारत के गणतन्त्र का यह नागरिक है, इससे आपका आदर होता है, भारत भर का, भारत के हिस्सों का नहीं। इसलिए हमें अपने देश में एकता से प्रेम से मिलकर ज़ोरों से परिश्रम से काम करना है और जित्ता हम आगे बढ़ेंगे उती हमारी शक्ति बढ़ेगी।

आज मैं ये घाटों को पार करके इधर आया। बहुत कम इधर आना होता है तो मुझे खुशी हुई यह मौक़ा मिला। कुछ बरस हुए मैं रत्नागिरी गया था थोड़ी देर के लिए, बहुत थोड़ी देर के लिए, शायद मुझे याद नहीं, कोई चुनाव का सिलसिला था। (सात साल हुए, अच्छा) कुछ देर के लिए गया था⁵⁶ और ख़ैर रत्नागिरी तो यों भी मैं जाना चाहता था। दूसरे लोकमान्य तिलक की वजह से, सम्बन्ध से। तो वहाँ मैं जाना चाहता था। तो आज फिर इस पार आया और आप लोगों से मिलने का अवसर मिला तो मुझे खुशी हुई और आपने प्रेम से मेरा स्वागत किया उसके लिए धन्यवाद। [तालियाँ]

अब यह जो कोयना की योजना है यह तो बन ही रही है, बहुत बन चुकी है कुछ और बाक़ी है थोड़ी सी, तो इसका अन्त होगा, पूरे ज़ोरों से काम इसका होगा और यह भी आपके लिए एक चिन्ह हो जायेगा नये भारत के बढ़ने का, जिससे आपको लाभ हो। जो-जो बातें मैंने आपसे कहीं, याद रखें पुरुष-स्त्री सभी के लिए हैं। आजकल हमारे देश की स्त्रियों के ऊपर विशेष बोज़ा है आगे बढ़ने का, जिस देश में स्त्रियाँ पिछड़ जाती हैं वो देश नहीं बढ़ता। तो चाहे पढ़ाई हो, चाहे कोई काम हो, सब स्त्रियों के लिए आवश्यक हो गया है और होता भी जाता है तब हमारा देश ज़ोरो से बढ़ेगा।

आप जानते हैं कि थोड़े दिन में, एक तीन सप्ताह में यह बम्बई राज्य का विभाजन होने वाला है और इसके दो प्रदेश बनेंगे।⁵⁷ [तालियाँ] तो इसकी भी चर्चा बहुत दिन से रही और कुछ झगड़े भी हुए, मनमुटाव हुआ और अब यह एक पुराना बम्बई राज्य कित्ते दिनों से चला आता है। उसका टूटना भी कोई अच्छा नहीं लगता, लेकिन वो सब झगड़े वगैरह ख़त्म हो गये और एक बात निश्चय है अब उसको अच्छी तरह से, उत्साह से और प्रेम से करना है जो लाभ हो विशेषकर प्रेम से, सहयोग से। यह नहीं कि पुरानी बातें दिल में रखकर पुराने झगड़ों की पुरानी कहानी चलती जाये, ठीक नहीं है। तो इससे हम दिखा दें कि हम बड़े फ़ैसले कैसे करते हैं? प्रेम और मोहब्बत से और सहयोग से और आगे हम देखा करते हैं कि आगे भारत कैसे बढ़े, हम बढ़ें, पीछे की बातों में नहीं पड़े रहते। तो फिर से आपको धन्यवाद। अब मैं कोयना वापस जाऊँगा।

जय हिन्द!

56. During his Maharashtra tour from 28 April to 4 May 1953. See SWJN/SS/22/pp. 157, 549, 563-564.

57. On 1 May 1960.

हाँ, मैं जो यहाँ सब लोग काम करते हैं कोयना में, आप लोग बहुत होंगे, बड़े इंजीनियर और छोटे इंजीनियर और और कारकुन और कार्यकर्ता उन सभी को मैं बधाई देता हूँ, वो जो अच्छा काम हो रहा है यहाँ और आप लोग समझो कि चाहे आपका काम उसमें छोटा सा हो, हर एक का काम अलग-अलग है। सब काम तो किसी एक का नहीं है, सिवाय जो बड़े इंजीनियर लोग हैं उनका। तो आप चाहे छोटा काम भी करो, आप यह समझो कि आप एक बहुत बड़े काम का एक भाग हैं, उसका एक भाग कर रहे हैं, बड़ा काम है, कैसी सुन्दर चीज़ बन रही है, गुफ्राएँ और क्या-क्या और कठिन बातें हैं आप सब लोगों के सहयोग से। तो आप लोग ख़ाली अपनी मज़दूरी के लिए रोज़ काम नहीं करते, लेकिन आप भी नये भारत को बना रहे हैं, यह आप सोचो। तो ये तो बड़ा काम हो गया न, नये भारत को बनाया। अच्छा अब आप मेरे साथ कहिए जय हिन्द!

जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Sisters and brothers,

We have been roaming in these caves and tunnels for the last four hours.⁵⁸ Many of you must be working there. It looks like an ordinary mountain from above and all kinds of things are happening inside. Huge tunnels have been dug and roads built, heavy machinery has been installed. Soon electricity will be produced which will be supplied to people all around. I have come to see this project and liked what I have seen. It is evident that our engineers are working extremely hard and with efficiency. [Applause] Not only the engineers but everyone connected with this project work very hard. It is a tough job which has been done well. You must bear in mind the fact that even though it is difficult now, once it is completed, it will stand for centuries.

Whenever we do something concrete, it proves enduring, not something which is done for effect, in a superficial way. The biggest job before us today is not Koyna, but laying the firm foundations for India's future. We can build the edifice of new India only if we have the infrastructure.

We got Independence and immediately after that we had to embark on the task of building a new India, to clothe this ancient country of ours in a new garb. We must imbibe new knowledge, science and technology, if we wish to progress, increase production in the country and raise the standard of living of the masses by eradicating poverty. This is the big task before us today. Freedom is an excellent thing but it can have meaning and content only if it benefits everyone. Freedom does not hold much significance on an empty stomach.

58. See fn 55 in this section.

We have completed a political revolution by getting rid of British rule from India. But we have the task now of bringing about socio-economic revolution. Only when all these revolutions are complete can India progress.

We are trying to bring about socio-economic changes in the country. It is a gigantic problem since it concerns forty crores of human beings. You cannot bring about a socio-economic revolution by benefitting a handful of people or giving them jobs. It has to be spread out over the entire country and that is possible only if the people are willing to participate. That is why we have taken up planning and set up a Planning Commission. We have completed the First Plan and are now on the Second which is nearing completion. In a year's time, the Third Plan will begin.

What does the term five year plan imply. It does not mean that our work comes to a halt every five years. That goes on. But we have adopted the five year plan period to set targets for ourselves and see how we succeed. It gives us a broad perspective within which we can judge our efforts. We learn from our experiences and mistakes. After all, there is nothing laid down in writing as to how forty crores of people can be uplifted. It is a gigantic task. Normally speaking, individuals must have the freedom to do as they like. There should be no coercion. But if we want to accelerate our progress we must decide what our priorities are.

There are many urgent requirements. But the most urgent one is to increase agricultural production. The more we produce the greater will be the wealth of the nation. Our average yield per acre is far less than what it is in other countries which is not right. We must try to adopt improved methods and techniques of production. Bombay province has made great progress in the last few years. There are certain basic requirements for improving agriculture like good ploughs and implements, good seeds, fertilizers, etc. Production can be increased enormously if the Indian farmer learns to adopt modern scientific techniques. There can be no progress unless we double and treble production.

Two, we have to set up heavy, medium and small industries because they will help us to produce more goods which constitute wealth for the country. We need machines to set up industries. We cannot keep importing them. So we must produce them ourselves by setting up machine-building industries. That in turn means that we must produce steel to make the machines. We have set up huge steel plants and are now producing four or five times more steel than before. We are setting up more steel plants. You need two things for industrialisation. One is power and second trained personnel. Trained and skilled personnel are in great demand today. We need thousands of good engineers, mechanics and other skilled workers. The other thing is power to run the machines which cannot be done manually.

Power is of various kinds, hydro-electric, thermal and now nuclear energy. But the common factor is electricity for all industries. We are taking up projects like the one at Koyna not only to provide water for irrigation but particularly in order to generate power. It is then transmitted through wires and used for domestic purposes as well as in industries. Electricity is a great source of power. Trains run on thermal power.

India can progress only by imbibing the new knowledge brought to light by modern science. Our ultimate aim is to raise the standard of living of the masses in India. We can achieve our goal quickly if the people willingly carry the burden and work hard. It cannot be achieved by a government fiat. You cannot produce electricity by passing an order. It takes years and years of hard work.

You will understand if you toured the country as I have come to Koyna. You should see for yourselves what is happening all over the country. The whole country is in a state of upheaval. One important factor which is bringing about great changes in the country is education. Schools are being built. It is very important that every single human being in the country should get the opportunity for good education. Knowledge of science is imperative in today's world which cannot be learnt without proper education.

All these things are happening and in a sense, a revolution is taking place in the country, not a revolution denoting violence and chaos but social change. The majority of the people in India are dependent on land for their livelihood and live in the villages. Progress in the rural areas is of utmost urgency. But that depends on the people themselves. So we have taken some steps in this direction. One, we have given greater autonomy to the panchayats. Just now, one of your Sarpanch garlanded me. I want that the panchayats should do good work and exercise their powers for the improvement of the villages. You must not look to the officials all the time for everything as you did in the past. We want that every individual in India must learn to stand on his own feet and not be dependent on others. You must not wait for the officers if you want your villages to progress but work for it yourselves, if all the people in the country were to do their bit, India can go very far. That is why panchayati raj is an excellent institution.

Two, you stand to gain a great deal if you were to form cooperatives, whether you work in the fields or factories. Cooperation increases your capacity for production. The small farmer with landholdings of an acre or two cannot do very much on his own. But if two or three hundred people get together to form a cooperative, it immediately increases their capacity to do things. They can buy machines and get loans from the government. That is why we have said that there must be cooperatives in all the villages. Some people mislead the

farmers by saying that their land will be taken away which is not true. Their title to the land will remain intact but by working together in a cooperative, individually and as a nation everybody will benefit and the villages will be transformed. These are the broad issues which you must understand.

India is in the grip of a great upheaval and is donning a new garb. We may not be able to appreciate it at such close quarters. But people who come from outside are amazed at the rapid pace at which changes are taking place in India and the manner in which it is becoming stronger.

India was under the yoke of a foreign power for centuries. Now that we are free once more, we should progress. We must learn a lesson from history and understand the causes of our downfall lest we allowed freedom to slip away once again. Indian history shows that there has been no dearth of brave warriors and heroes in this country. Yet we were cursed with the vice of disunity. The princes and kings in the olden days were constantly at loggerheads and consequently weakened the country so much that foreign invaders easily conquered us. Now we no longer have rulers and principalities. So, there is no fear of internecine warfare. Yet we have not learnt to get out of our habit of fighting among ourselves. Moreover, the structure of our society with its caste system keeps people in separate compartments. People live in narrow grooves without any thought for others. We must gradually rid the country of the caste system and ensure that everybody enjoys equal rights. People must learn to live in amity and cooperate with one another. No matter what religion we follow, we are all citizens of India with a common motherland. We should not indulge in petty quarrels and disputes.

There is a great deal of provincialism and linguism in India. People fight over the issue of language and province which is wrong. All our languages are beautiful and we must cherish and foster all of them. We must build a nation which is free of narrow prejudice and bitterness where people live together in mutual respect and amity.

We are respected abroad as citizens of India, not as residents of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madras or Punjab. People outside are not bothered about these considerations. Our passports show that we are citizens of the Republic of India and so we are respected. We must foster feelings of unity in the country and work hard. The harder we work, the more quickly we will progress.

I am glad to have this opportunity of coming here today because I am very seldom able to come beyond these ranges. Some years ago, I had come to Ratnagiri for a few hours in connection with the elections.⁵⁹ I wanted to go

59. See fn 56 in this section.

there because of my old relation with Lokmanya Tilak. I am happy to have the opportunity of meeting you. I thank you for the warm welcome you have given me. [Applause]

The Koyana project is nearing completion. It is a symbol of progress in new India and will bring prosperity to all of you. I want you to remember all that I have told you. The women of India in particular have a special responsibility because, if they are backward, there can be no progress. It is very important that women should come forward in every area. Only then can there be real progress.

As you know in a few weeks, the Bombay province is to be divided into two. [Applause]⁶⁰ It has been talked about for a long time and feelings have run high. It is not nice to think of the breaking up of the Old Bombay province. But all that is in the past. Now we must go ahead with this step in a spirit of cooperation and amity. It is not right to allow ill-will and old grudges to fester. We must show to the world that we are capable of taking bold decisions and implementing them in a spirit of goodwill and cooperation. I thank you once again before returning to Koyana.

Jai Hind!

I congratulate all the workers, engineers, officials, mechanics and others on the excellent work being done here. Even if you play a small part, you are part of a great task. Everyone has different functions. But a beautiful project is nearing completion. You must bear in mind that you are doing something not only to earn a living but towards building the edifice of new India.

Please say Jai Hind with me three times.

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

7. At Koyana: Public Meeting⁶¹

बहनो और भाइयो,

भारत में मैंने बहुत भ्रमण किया है और विशेषकर जहाँ-जहाँ ये हमारी नदियों की योजनाएँ हैं वहाँ मैं गया हूँ। मुझे अच्छा लगता है वहाँ जाना क्योंकि वहाँ मैं देखता हूँ कि कैसे परिश्रम से भविष्य के बड़े-बड़े काम होते हैं। लेकिन पहले मैं कभी यहाँ कोयना नदी की योजना में नहीं आया था। कल रात को पहली बार आया और कल और आज मैं कुछ देखा।

60. See fn 57 in this section.

61. Speech, 10 April 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

तो, एक तो बात कि यह योजना और योजनाओं से भिन्न है, बिल्कुल अलग है, इससे बड़ी योजनाएँ हैं जैसे भाखड़ा-नांगल की और और भी लेकिन वो इस ढंग की नहीं हैं और कोयना नदी एक छोटी सी नदी है जो यहीं घाटों से निकलती है लेकिन फिर उसकी शक्ति बहुत बढ़ जाती है थोड़े दिन के लिए, जब वर्षा होती है। उधर भाखड़ा-नांगल को देखो, वहाँ जो नदी आती है सतलुज नदी, वो हिमालय पार करके तिब्बत के मानसरोवर झील के पास से आती है और बड़ी जोरदार नदी है और ऐसी और भी नदियाँ हैं। तो अगर नदी को नापा जाये तो यह कोयना नदी की योजना छोटी है, कोयना नदी ही छोटी है। अगर ये जो डैम बन रहा है इसको नापा जाये तो ये भी और बांध से छोटा है लेकिन फिर भी इसमें एक विशेषता है जो कहीं और नहीं है, जिसको देखकर मन पर बहुत असर होता है और कभी उसको एक दफ़ा देखकर कोई भूलेगा नहीं। क्या विशेषता है? यों तो जहाँ भी जाइये आप, आप देखें कि कैसे मनुष्य अपने परिश्रम से बड़े-बड़े काम करता है, अकेला मनुष्य नहीं मिलकर। उसी तरह से यहाँ भी बड़े-बड़े काम हुए हैं और हो रहे हैं और कुछ आप लोग भी यहाँ जो बैठे होंगे, बहुत लोग नाप ले रहे होंगे लेकिन कैसा अजीब दृश्य है कि हम यहाँ पहाड़ों पर बैठे हैं, देखते हैं और इन पहाड़ों के अन्दर टनल बनते हैं, गुफायें बनती हैं, बड़े-बड़े कारखाने बनते हैं, नदी ले जाई जाती है बड़े-बड़े ट्यूब में, सब बातें भूमि के नीचे होती हैं, ऊपर नहीं कहीं दिखता।

अच्छा हुआ कि मैं आज यहाँ आया क्योंकि जब यह सब बन जायेगा पूरे तौर से तब शायद ये पूरा देखने से छिप जायेगा, बहुत कुछ जिनको देखना है उनको पहले ही देखना है। [तालियाँ] तो पहले तो मैं यहाँ के जो इंजीनियर और और काम करने वाले लोग हैं सब, ऊपर से नीचे तक जो इस कार्य में लगे हैं उनको बधाई दूँगा क्योंकि वह ऐसे एक अच्छे काम में लगे हैं कि जिससे बहुत लाभ होगा जनता को और देश के एक हिस्से को।

आजकल एक गिनती करो आप लोग कि देश कितनी उन्नति करता है? तो एक उसकी नाप है कि देश में कितनी बिजली की शक्ति पैदा होती है, यह नाप हो गयी है बहुत सारी और नाप है लेकिन कितनी बिजली की शक्ति इलेक्ट्रिक पावर कोई देश करता है उससे लोग समझ जाते हैं कि उस देश की उन्नति कितनी हुई है, ठीक है क्योंकि बिजली की शक्ति से पचासों हजार काम होते हैं— कारखाने चलते हैं, गाँव में जाकर ग्रामोद्योग हो सकता है, बड़े कारखाने, छोटे कारखाने, कितने काम होते हैं, बिजली से एकदम से जान पड़ जाती है उस इलाक़े में जहाँ बिजली की शक्ति आये क्योंकि एक महान शक्ति है वो। आपकी शक्ति क्या है? एक मनुष्य की शक्ति क्या है? जैसे एक मनुष्य में उसका बाहुबल है, उसके शरीर में जितनी शक्ति है उता ही काम कर सकता है वो। एक बड़ा तगड़ा आदमी होगा, दो आदमियों का काम करेगा, तीन का करेगा बस, लेकिन जहाँ आप बिजली की शक्ति को ले आयें, उसको अपना सेवक बना लें तो उससे आप एक हजार आदमी का काम करा लें, दस हजार आदमी का काम करा लें। कितनी बढ़ जाती है आपकी शक्ति। आप हमारे पुराने इतिहास और कहानियों में पढ़ते हैं कि रावण के दस सिर रहे और बीस हाथ। कोई दस सिर और बीस हाथ की बात नहीं है, यहाँ तो हजार हाथ आपके हो जाते हैं जब बिजली की शक्ति होती है [तालियाँ]। और इसी तरह से हजार हाथ ले लेके तो और देश हमारे आगे बढ़ गये, हम पिछड़ गये। इसलिए हमें भी बहुत सारे हजार बाहें निकालनी हैं और वो इसी तरह से बिजली की शक्ति से और और कामों से होते हैं और उस

शक्ति को हम देश के कामों में लगायें, जनता के कामों में लगायें तो जल्दी बहुत बातें हो जाती हैं।

आप यहाँ हज़ारों आदमी काम कर रहे हैं इस कोयना की योजना में लेकिन आपके काम में भी मशीन है, बड़ी मशीन है, बड़ी छोटी मशीन है। अगर ये मशीन नहीं होती तो शायद आप लोग सब मिलकर इस काम को नहीं कर सकते थे। मशीन ने आपके आपकी सहायता की। मशीन भी एक औज़ार है जैसे आपके पास एक हथौड़ी हो, आरी हो, वैसे ही बड़ी मशीन हो गयी, बड़ा औज़ार हो गया। तो आजकल की दुनिया में मनुष्यों ने बहुत सारी नयी मशीन, नये औज़ार निकाले हैं और उसी के साथ जो प्रकृति की शक्तियाँ हैं, छिपी शक्तियाँ हैं उनका प्रयोग किया है। क्या प्रकृति की शक्तियाँ हैं? आप सब जानते हैं, एक मामूली शक्ति लीजिए जिससे रेल का इंजन चलता है। क्या है ये? पानी की भाप है। आप सब हमारी बहनें, हमारे भाई जानते हैं कि पानी गर्म करो तो उसकी शक्ति बढ़ जाती है, ढक्कन उछलने लगता है जब पानी उबलने लगता है, उसी पानी की भाप की शक्ति से रेलगाड़ी चलती हैं, इंजन चलता है सोचो तो। इतनी बड़ी शक्ति हो जाती है और हर घर में वो शक्ति है। ख़ाली उसको, एक डेढ़ सौ वर्ष की बात है एक आदमी रहा, उसने सोचा कि शक्ति को कैसे पकड़े और पकड़ कर उसने उसके बाद में रेल का इंजन बनाकर चला दिया उसको। तो वो एक मामूली पृथ्वी की शक्ति थी।

दूसरी लो, बिजली लो। अब यह बिजली भी तो कोई नई चीज़ नहीं है। यह तो बहुत पुरानी है। अरे आकाश में हमेशा से है यह लोग देखते आये और कुछ लोग उससे डर जाते जब बिजली कड़के, बादल कड़के, कुछ लोग उसकी पूजा करने लगे, कुछ लोग जो ज्यादा अक्लमंद रहे उन्होंने समझने की कोशिश की कि बिजली क्या है और उसको ढूँढ़ते-ढूँढ़ते उन्होंने उसको पहचान लिया, और इत्ता पहचाना कि उन्होंने देखा कि वो भी उसको बना सकते हैं रगड़कर बड़े जोर से करके, और बहुत तरह से उन्होंने उसको ढूँढ़ा था। एक आपको बताऊँ जिससे आपको दिलचस्पी हो। अमरीका में एक महापुरुष थे, उन्होंने इस बात की जाँच की कि बादल में बिजली कैसी है, उन्होंने पतंग उड़ाई, बादलों में पतंग उड़ाई तार की, तो तार पर बिजली उतर आई वहाँ भी, तो उसकी जाँच की। इस तरह से जाँच करते-करते, ढूँढ़ते-ढूँढ़ते मनुष्य को बहुत सारी बातें मालूम हो गयीं, उसकी विद्या बढ़ती गयी, उसका इल्म बढ़ता गया और फिर बिजली हमारे क़ाबू में आ गयी और यह भी एक प्रकृति की शक्ति मनुष्य के हाथ में आ गयी।

जब आप यहाँ नदी को रोकते हैं किसलिए कि हम बहते हुए पानी के जोर को, बहते हुए पानी की शक्ति को पकड़ें और उसको गिराते हैं नीचे जोर से और वो फिर एक दूसरी चीज़ को घुमाता है और उसमें से बिजली पैदा होती है और उसे बिजली को तारों से हम भेजते हैं। बात तो सीधी सी है, लेकिन उसके करने में देखो कितना परिश्रम, कितनी मुसीबत, पहाड़ के अंदर खोदो, पहाड़ के अंदर बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने बना दो, बड़े-बड़े सात-आठ मील रास्ते हैं और क्या-क्या किया। इस तरह आप देखेंगे कि मनुष्य की बुद्धि कितने काम कर सकती है, कोई उसका अंदाज़ा नहीं है। हाँ, बुद्धि को बढ़ाने का मौक़ा होना चाहिए, मौक़ा होना चाहिए और मौक़ा मिलता है तो नयी-नयी बातें हम जमा करते हैं, नयी बातें निकलती हैं, उससे लाभ होता है, उसी को विज्ञान कहते हैं कि नयी-नयी बातों को ढूँढ़ना, प्रकृति की बातों को समझना। अब इसी प्रकृति की बातों को समझते-समझते वो बड़ा बम बना— एटम बम, जिसको कहते हैं— अणुशक्ति और उसी को

समझते-समझते अब लोग कहते हैं कि हम तो वहाँ चन्द्रमा के पास जायेंगे उड़कर। सोचो, कैसा संसार बदलता जाता है हमारी आँख के सामने। आप लोग यहाँ बहुत सारे नवयुवक बैठे हैं, लड़के-लड़कियाँ, आपके जीवन में पंद्रह वर्ष बाद, बीस वर्ष बाद, तीस वर्ष बाद इस सारी हमारी दुनिया का रूप बदल जायेगा और मालूम नहीं और और दुनिया में कौन मनुष्य पहुँच जायें उस समय तक कैसे? वही पृथ्वी की छिपी हुई शक्तियों को समझकर। इसलिए हम आजकल जो रहते हैं जिस दुनिया में वो बहुत क्रांतिकारी दुनिया है, सब बदलती जाती है चारों तरफ़ से, ऊपर से उसका थोड़ा सा रूप चाहे वैसे ही रहे। हालाँकि रूप भी बदलता है लेकिन अंदर से बदलती जाती है जैसे कोयना का रूप ऊपर से चाहे वैसे ही रहे, नीचे से सब बदलता जाता है, दूसरा होता जाता है।

तो इस बात को हमें समझना है, जो लोग इस बात को नहीं समझते, जो देश नहीं समझता वो पिछड़ जाता है, और देश आगे बढ़ जाते हैं क्योंकि और देशों के हाथ में नयी-नयी शक्तियाँ आ जाती हैं। तो इसलिए अगर हमारे देश को बढ़ना है तो हमें भी इन शक्तियों को समझना है, विज्ञान को समझना है और विज्ञान से जो जो बातें निकलती हैं उनको समझना है और अगर हम विज्ञान को समझते हैं तो हम खुद नयी-नयी बातें निकालेंगे और लोगों की नक़ल करने की कोई बात तो नहीं है, यह आवश्यक हो गया। और पहले तो यह बात कि जो पिछले सौ, दो सौ, डेढ़ सौ बरस में विज्ञान की बहुत सारी बातें सीखीं, उससे हम लाभ उठायें।

आप एक बात लो, बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने तो आप लोग देखते हैं लेकिन खेती को ले लो। खेती में और देशों में हमसे अधिक पैदा करते हैं लोग, मामूली चीज़ ग़ल्ला, गेहूँ, धान जो हमारे यहाँ पैदा करते हैं वो वहाँ की [एक] एकड़ ज़मीन में यहाँ से अधिक करते हैं। कैसे अधिक करते हैं? इसलिए कि उन्होंने समझा है, यह आजकल की नयी बातें समझते हैं, उन्होंने देखा कि किस ढंग से अच्छे हल चलाना, कहीं-कहीं तो आप जानते हैं वो बड़े-बड़े ट्रैक्टर चलाते हैं, ट्रैक्टर छोड़ो लेकिन अच्छे हल चलाते हैं, गहरा खोदते हैं, अच्छे बीज चुनते हैं, अच्छी खाद लगाते हैं, किस ढंग से खाद लगायें, फ़र्टिलाइज़र लगाते हैं, ज़मीन जहाँ ऊँच-नीच हो जैसे यहाँ है उसमें वो बडिंग दग़ैरह करते हैं। ऐसी बातें हैं जो आप लोग तो जानते होंगे जो कृषक हों, उससे जित्ता पैदा भूमि में होता था, उसका दुगुना, तिगुना पैदा करने लगे लोग और हमारे देश में भी बहुत सारे ऐसे कृषक हैं जिन्होंने ये नया ढंग देखकर अपनी पैदावार बहुत बढ़ा ली है। अगर हम इतना कर लें, हम भी बढ़ा लें अच्छी तरह से, सब लोग बढ़ा लें तो देश का धन दुगुना, तिगुना हो जाता है, आपका हो जाता है और देश का हो जाता है और बहुत कुछ हमारे काम सरल हो जाते हैं। ये बात आप समझें।

इसी तरह से हमें कारख़ानों में उनसे भी धन पैदा करना है, कारख़ाने भी चलते हैं नयी-नयी मशीनों से। मशीन को हमें बनना है तो ये सब बातें हमें करनी हैं, सीखनी हैं और सीख रहे हैं। आपके यहाँ कोयना में बहुत सारे इंजीनियर लोग काम करते हैं। इंजीनियर के माने क्या हैं? जिन लोगों ने विशेष सीखा है, इंजीनियरिंग का काम करना, वो सीखकर आये तब कर सकें। आजकल की दुनिया उन लोगों के हाथ में है जो सीखे हुए लोग हैं, जो विज्ञान और और बातें सीखी हैं तो उनकी शक्ति बढ़ जाती है उनके देश की शक्ति बढ़ जाती है तो हमने अपने देश में स्वराज किया, जनता की शक्ति से, जनता के संगठन से। अब स्वराज आने के बाद बड़ा काम हुआ

कि जनता की भलाई कैसे हो? जनता कैसे उठे? और देशों की तरह से खुशहाल कैसे हो जाये? क्योंकि गरीब हों हमारे यहाँ, कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है इस देश में एक मनुष्य या एक स्त्री के भी गरीब होने की। क्यों हों? कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है कि एक बच्चा भी हमारे देश में ऐसा हो जिसकी देखभाल अच्छी नहीं होती, खाना, पीना, वस्त्र पहनना, घर, पढ़ना, लिखना एक-एक बच्चे को अच्छे से अच्छा मिलना चाहिए। [तालियाँ] क्योंकि हमारे बच्चे तो सबसे बड़ा देश का धन होते हैं। जो भी काम होता है, चाहे मशीन करे, कुछ अन्त में आदमी करता है, आदमी की बुद्धि करती है, आदमी की शक्ति करती है तो बच्चों की देखभाल का उनके माता-पिता का तो काम है ही, लेकिन सारे देश का काम है कि सब बच्चों की देखभाल ठीक हो और होना चाहिए लेकिन कठिनाई यह है कि बहुत सारी बातें हमारे देश में होनी चाहियें, तो समय लगता है उसका प्रबन्ध करने में, एकदम से तो हो नहीं सकता क्योंकि हमारा देश इतना लम्बा-चौड़ा है, चालीस कोटि लोग रहते हैं यहाँ और बढ़ते जाते हैं रोज़। तो बड़ी कठिनाई है उनका प्रबन्ध करना। ऐसे का प्रबन्ध करने के लिए भी तो करोड़ों लोगों की ज़रूरत हो जाती है। उनको हम सबको पढ़ायें तो हिसाब लगाया है हमने कि हमारे देश में पूरे तौर से पढ़ाई हो, स्कूल कॉलेज, सबकी, बच्चों को तो सभी को पढ़ना ही चाहिए और स्कूलों में से बहुत लोग ऊपर जायें, कालेज में पढ़ें, तो हमने हिसाब लगाया है कि इसमें पढ़ने वाले और पढ़ाने वालों में दस करोड़ आदमी लग जायेंगे। सोचिए आप। हमारे देश भर की आबादी का चौथाई हिस्सा, पच्चीस प्रतिशत पढ़ने में और पढ़ाने में लग जायें अगर सब लोग, उसमें ठीक-ठीक काम हो। इतने तो पढ़ाने वाले हमारे पास हैं भी नहीं, सीखे हुए और इसमें कित्ता खर्चा होता है? गरीब देश कैसे लाये? जो काम हम करना शुरू करते हैं, उसमें कोई कठिनाई हो जाती है, रुपया पैसा खर्च होता है। कहाँ से आये वो? तो हम इसी चक्कर में पड़ जाते हैं कि पैसे न होने से हम बहुत काम नहीं कर सकते और काम नहीं करने से अधिक पैसा नहीं बनता। तो ये चक्कर पड़ जाता है और यह गरीब देशों में होता है। इधर जनता में यह इच्छा होती है और ठीक इच्छा है कि हमारी हालत अच्छी हो, हमारी अधिक कमाई हो, हमें तनख्वाह अधिक मिले, हमें मज़दूरी अधिक मिले। ठीक है बात, कोई गुलत बात तो नहीं लेकिन कठिनाई यह होती है कि वो आये कहाँ से? एक देश में जितनी देश की आमदनी होती है, जितनी कमाई देश की होती है, उता ही देश खर्च कर सकता है न। अगर उससे अधिक खर्च हैं देश में तो देश का दिवाला निकल जाये। उता ही हो सकता है तो देश अगर चाहे कि लोगों की अधिक आमदनी हो तो देश की कमाई अधिक होनी चाहिए तब हो।

देश की आमदनी कैसे अधिक होती है? आप यहाँ की भूमि से अधिक पैदा करें देश की आमदनी बढ़ती जाती है, हम कारखानों से करें देश की आमदनी बढ़ेगी। इसीलिए हम चाहते हैं कि छोटे-बड़े कारखाने सारे देश में, दस, बीस, पचास नहीं, करोड़ों हों, लाखों करोड़ों सब जगह, छोटे ग्रामोद्योग, बड़ा कारखाना हो, उनमें पैदा हो वो देश का धन बढ़ता है, जितने कारखाने उतना धन हो। इससे सब लोग बढ़ते जाते हैं लेकिन अगर पहले ही से कहें कि नहीं दो हमें, अधिक दो तो कुछ बचता ही नहीं देश का काम चलाने के लिए। यह आप सोच लीजिए। मैं इसलिए कहता हूँ कि लोग समझते नहीं और एक ऐसी-ऐसी माँगें पेश करते हैं जो कि भली हो सकती हैं, मैं नहीं कहता बुरी हैं लेकिन देश की शक्ति में नहीं हैं वो माँगें। कल हो जाये, परसों हो

जाये। इसीलिए हम चाहते हैं और पहले से उसको पूरा करो तो कुछ बचता ही नहीं देश की तरक्की के लिए, क्योंकि देश की उन्नति कैसे होती है? वो होती है नये-नये काम करने से, नये-नये काम जिससे देश का धन बढ़े, नये-नये काम करने में नया-नया पैसा लगाना पड़ता है, नया-पैसा, मेरा मतलब नये पैसे से है, ये रुपया नया पैसा नहीं है बल्कि मेरा मतलब यह है कि जो मामूली आज का खर्चा है आपके घर में, जित्ता आप खर्चते हैं, अगर कोई नयी बात आप करना चाहें तो खर्चना पड़ेगा उसमें, फिर बनाके आप और [...] इसी तरह से देश में जो मामूली खर्चा है देश को चलाने का वो चलता जाता है जैसा है बुरा-भला लेकिन हम उसको अगर आगे बढ़ायें देश को तो हमें नयी-नयी बातें करनी होती हैं जिसमें नया धन खर्च होता है। जिस देश में नये खर्च करने के लिए पैसा होता है, वो देश हल्के-हल्के तरक्की करता है। अगर नये खर्च करने को सरप्लस पैसा न हो तो देश नहीं तरक्की कर सकता, वहीं का वहीं रहता है। तो फिर अगर हम करें तरक्की इस तरह कि चाहें तो हमें नये-नये काम करने हैं। कैसे नये काम? कोयना— यह भी एक नया काम है, इसमें पैसा लगता है। कहाँ से पैसा आता है इसका? इसका पैसा और और वो काम देश में हो रहे हैं, पैसा आता है जो बचा रहता है देश के मामूली खर्च से। आप समझिये जो बचा रहता है, जो सरप्लस होता है उससे कोयना हो सकता है, यह बात ठीक है कि कोयना एक दफ़े बन जाये तब इससे देश की आमदनी होगी, तब बहुत आमदनी होगी और जो इसमें पैसा लगा उससे बहुत अधिक लाभ देश को होगा। इसीलिए आप इसको बताते हैं।

बड़े-बड़े लोहे के कारखाने बन रहे हैं देश में हमारे क्योंकि लोहा आवश्यक वस्तु है। अब लोहे के कारखाने बनाने में बड़ा रुपया खर्च होता है, सौ करोड़ रुपया, डेढ़ सौ करोड़ रुपया, समझो तो एक गरीब देश इत्ता खर्च लेकिन एक दफ़े वो बन जाता है तब उससे बड़ी आमदनी होती है क्योंकि देश में एक बड़ी आवश्यक वस्तु है— लोहा, हर एक को चाहिए, चाहे किसान हो, चाहे कारखाना हो, चाहे घर हो, चाहे कुछ हो। इसलिए हमें रुपया बचाना पड़ता है नये काम करने को, इसलिए टैक्स लगाया जाता है कि नये काम करने को पैसा मिले, इसलिए जनता से रुपया कर्ज लिया जाता है, कर्ज लिया जाता है, सरकारी बॉन्ड निकलते हैं आप जानते होंगे या डाकखाने से निकलते हैं क्योंकि रुपया आये तो उससे नया काम करें, एक इन्वेस्टमेंट हो उस रुपये की, नये काम में लगाया जाये जिससे देश का लाभ होगा और जित्ता अधिक हम यह करें उत्ता ही देश आगे बढ़ेगा और देश की आमदनी बढ़ेगी और सारी जनता की आमदनी बढ़ेगी।

मैंने आपको समझाने का यत्न किया कैसे होता है। अगर सारा रुपया हमारा खर्च हो जाये तनख्वाह में और मजदूरी में तो फिर बचे नहीं, तो न कोयना हो, न और कुछ हो। बस हम कभी बढ़ें नहीं, वैसे के वैसे ही रहें। इसलिए यह आवश्यक हो जाता है कि हम सारे देश में हम कुछ बचायें, उसको चाहे आप डाकखाने के बॉन्ड्स में ले लें, सर्टिफिकेट में या कोई और क्योंकि वो रुपया तो आपका रहेगा, आपका रुपया भी रहेगा वो और उस पर आपकी सूद भी मिलेगा और उसी के साथ देश के बड़े-बड़े काम होंगे। अंग्रेजों का देश है, अमरीका देश है, रूस देश है, बड़े धनी हो गये हैं। कैसे हुए? इसी तरह से, अपने परिश्रम से, अपनी बुद्धि से और रुपया बचाकर जिसको लगाकर आप बाद में बढ़ें।

अब उनके लिए तो बड़ी आसान बात है रुपया बचाना क्योंकि धनी देश हैं, धनी आदमी

बचा सकता है, गरीब कैसे बचाए। यह कठिन समस्या आ जाती है। गरीब के पास अगर रुपया बचाने को होता तो गरीब नहीं होता वो और यही बात है देश की। एक देश गरीब है तो गरीब देश बचाये कैसे? जब देश गरीब है तो बचाये कैसे? लेकिन नहीं बचाये तो गरीबी से छुटकारा नहीं मिलता, पेंच पड़ गया न। क्या किया जाये? तो यही पेंच हमारे देश के सामने है और हमारे देश जैसे जो देश हैं उनके सामने है।

आजकल की दुनिया में अलग-अलग देश हैं— यूरोप है, अमरीका है, अफ्रीका है, एशिया है, तरह-तरह के हैं। कई देश कहलाये जाते हैं पूँजीवादी देश, कुछ देश कहलाये जाते हैं साम्यवादी, कुछ समाजवादी, कुछ का कोई वाद नहीं है, वो खाली मूर्खतावादी देश हैं [हँसी], हर तरह के, जहाँ कुछ होता नहीं है तो वैसे के वैसे ही पड़े हैं।

तो ये तो आप सुनते हैं, लेकिन सच पूछो तो अगर संसार के दो टुकड़े किये जायें, अलग-अलग भाग किये जायें तो दो ढंग के देश हैं आजकल। एक तो वो देश जो कि अपने परिश्रम से, अपने विज्ञान से जो कि बड़े धनी हो गये हैं, खुशहाल देश हैं और वो देश जो कि धनी नहीं हैं, ये दो मोटे हैं, अब इन दो मोटे जो गिरोह हैं उसमें भारत कहाँ है? ज़ाहिर है हमारा धनी देश तो है नहीं, गरीब देशों में अब तक उसको गिना जाता है लेकिन उसी के साथ हमारे यहाँ पिछले कुछ बरसों में परिश्रम से इतनी-इतनी बातें हो गयीं ज़मीन पर भी और कारखानों में और इतनी बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएँ हो गयी हैं जिससे हमने एक नींव डाल दी है एक नये भारत की, एक बुनियाद है, नींव है, नये भारत की। तो हम उस जगह हल्के-हल्के आते जाते हैं जब कि हम कूदें, एक छलाँग मारें तो गरीबी से निकलकर कुछ अच्छे हाल में पहुँच जायें, कैसे? अपनी शक्ति से, कोई गरीबी से दूसरे के दान से तो नहीं निकलता। हम अपने देश में ज़मीन से और कारखाने से इत्ता अधिक पैदा करने लगे सब सामान जो हमें आवश्यक हो कि जनता को फैले वो और जनता की हालत अच्छी हो।

तो हमने काफ़ी उन्नति की है विशेषकर इन दस-बारह वर्ष में लेकिन वो उन्नति ऐसे कामों में अक्सर की है जिससे लाभ इस समय इत्ता नहीं होता, कल परसों हो। हम तो लोहे के कारखाने बनायें, एकदम से थोड़े ही वहाँ से कोई सोना-चाँदी निकलने लगता है लेकिन बाद में सोने-चाँदी से अधिक चीज़ें उसमें से शक्ति निकलती है। हम कोयना बनायें खर्चा-खर्चा आजकल हो, लेकिन कोयना बन जाये तो उसमें से बिजली पैदा होती है, बिजली से कारखाने चलते हैं, उनसे चीज़ निकलती है। इस तरह से हमारे देश में धन लगा है बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाओं में, जिनका फल अब भी कुछ मिल रहा है और अधिक कुछ बरस बाद मिलेगा। तो हमने काफ़ी उन्नति की लेकिन जित्ते आगे बढ़े उस रास्ते पर उत्ता ही परिश्रम करना पड़ता है। यह तो समझो कि एक नदी पार करनी है, नदी तैरकर पार करनी है तो अब नदी के बीच में, मझाधार में पहुँचो और हम ठहरकर बैठे रहेंगे तो मझाधार में कोई बैठ नहीं सकता है, वह गोता खा जायेगा, वो उस पार पहुँचना होता है, हमें नदी के उस पार पहुँचना है, एक तरफ़ नदी के गरीबी है, दरिद्रता, दूसरी तरफ़ खुशहाली, उस तरफ़ उस पार हमें पहुँचना है अपने परिश्रम से, अपने बाहुबल से। एक दफ़े पहुँच जायें तब कुछ हम आराम कर सकते हैं थोड़ा बहुत। तो हम तो बीच में हैं।

पंचवर्षीय योजना एक हुई, दूसरी हुई, अब हो रही है तीसरी, शुरु होने वाली है। ये क्या है? ये सब हम बढ़ रहे हैं नदी को पार करने के लिए, उस पार जाने के लिए, लेकिन कोई

पूछे कि तुम क्या करोगे इस तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में और उसमें बहुत कुछ लिखा है, तीसरी में ऐसा हो, कारखाने ऐसे हों, पढ़ाई इत्ती हो, स्वास्थ्य का प्रबन्ध इत्ता है, सब बातें उसमें लिखी हैं, लेकिन आखिर में तो हम उत्ता ही कर सकेंगे जिती हमारी जनता करने को तैयार है, जनता की शक्ति से उत्ता ही, उससे अधिक नहीं कर सकते। ये कोई जादू और ज्योतिष नहीं है ये तो शक्ति है जितनी जनता में, बुद्धि हो और शारीरिक बल है, और बड़ी भारी बात वो शक्ति मिलकर चलती है। शक्ति मिलकर बहुत शक्ति हो जाती है। आखिर चालीस करोड़ आदमी अगर एक-एक की शक्ति बहुत कम हो, लेकिन मिल जाने से बड़ी शक्ति जो होती है तो यह आवश्यक हो जाता है कि हमारे देश में हम लोग एकता से मिलकर शांति से काम करें। वो उसका फल होता है।

हमारे स्वराज की लड़ाई में महात्मा गाँधी हमारे बड़े नेता थे। वो हमेशा सिखाते थे शांति से काम करो, अहिंसा से, आपस में सहयोग करो, मिलकर, एकता से। ये सब बातें आपको याद हैं और जित्ता हमने उनकी बात को माना, उती देश की शक्ति बढ़ी और एक बहुत बड़ा संगठन बना यह कांग्रेस महासभा का, बड़ा संगठन बना, सारे चाहे हिमालय पर जाओ, चाहे कन्याकुमारी, दक्षिण में या कहीं जाओ, वो संगठन रहा, वो संगठन तो एक नमूना था जनता की शक्ति का और उसी से शांति के रास्ते पर चलकर एक दूसरे को सहयोग करके हमारी शक्ति देश की इत्ती हो गयी कि अंग्रेजी साम्राज्य को यहाँ से हटना पड़ा और कैसे हटना पड़ा? सभ्यता से हटना पड़ा। यह बड़ी बात थी हमारे इस स्वराज के तंग्राम में क्योंकि जब हम सभ्य रास्ते पर चलते थे तो उसका फल भी सभ्यता से हमें मिला। तो ये हुआ।

अब हमारे सामने स्वराज की लड़ाई तो नहीं है अंग्रेजों से। अब हमारी लड़ाई जो है वो तो हमारी अपनी दुर्बलता से है, अपनी कमजोरी से है, अपनी मूर्खता से है, जो कुछ कहें और अपनी एक पुरानी बीमारी से है। वो बीमारी हमारी पुरानी है आपस में लड़ने की, यह बड़ी पुरानी बीमारी है। तो इसको हमें दबाना है और हमें नहीं मानना है, चाहे वो बीमारी धर्म के नाम से कभी उठती है, कभी जातिभेद है जिसने देश को इत्ती हानि पहुँचाई, कभी हमारे प्रान्त प्रदेश हैं अलग-अलग उनमें बहस होती है, कभी भाषा के नाम से। ये सब बातें ग़लत हैं।

भाषा को आप लें। हमारी बड़ी सुंदर भाषाएँ इस देश में हैं, कई भाषाएँ हैं, बड़ा देश है तो इसमें कोई बुरी बात तो नहीं है, सब भाषाओं को बढ़ाना चाहिए। एक भाषा का दूसरी भाषा से काफ़ी उसका सम्बन्ध है वो सम्बन्ध बढ़े, सब बढ़ें, कोई उसमें आपस में लड़ाई की बात तो नहीं है। तो हमें ये सब चीज़ें जो हमें अलग करती हैं इस झगड़े में नहीं पड़ना है और उन चीज़ों को बढ़ाना है जिससे आपस में सम्बन्ध बढ़ें और हमारा सारा देश मज़बूत हो जाये, शक्ति की चीज़ जिसको कोई दबा नहीं सके, जिसका कोई मुक्काबला नहीं कर सके, तब हमारी शक्ति हो और हम इस ताक़त को लगा दें इस शक्ति को देश के बढ़ने में तो देश तेज़ी से बढ़ेगा, उत्ता ही देश बढ़ेगा जित्ता आप और हम मिलकर परिश्रम करें। यह तो एक नापी तोली बात है जित्ता आप परिश्रम करें बुद्धि से उत्ता ही देश बढ़ेगा। हम जोर लगाकर परिश्रम अधिक करें कुछ बरसों तक तो हम फिर देश को नदी के उस पार पहुँचा देंगे। फिर अपने आप बढ़ने लगेगा।

यह प्रश्न हमारे सामने हैं बड़े-बड़े। इसीलिए हम बड़ी-बड़ी योजनाएँ बनाते हैं कि कौन रास्ता है, कौन तरीक़ा है जिससे हम तेज़ी से बढ़ें। तो उसमें बहुत कुछ ये किया, विज्ञान और मशीन

सब आती हैं लेकिन उसके नीचे सबसे बड़ी बात, सबसे पहली बात यह है कि हम भूमि से क्या पैदा करते हैं? सबसे नीचे कृषक, किसान आ जाता है। उसका कर्तव्य है कि ज़रा नयी दुनिया की बातें सीखे, नये हल चलाये, नये अच्छे बीज लगाये, नया फ़र्टिलाइज़र लगाये, नयी खाद हो और नया पैदा करे, अधिक पैदा करे, पहले से बहुत अधिक, उसका लाभ हो, देश का लाभ हो। ये बातें हमें करनी हैं।

इसमें आप देखो कि बहुत अधिक बहस नहीं है इस नीति की, उस नीति की। बड़ी बहस होती है समाजवाद, साम्यवाद और जाने क्या-क्या, पूँजीवाद पर हमारे शहरों में, नगर में बड़ी बहस होती है। ख़ैर, बहस करें उसमें कोई बात नहीं है लेकिन हर वाद के पीछे परिश्रम है याद रखें। बग़ैर परिश्रम के चाहे अमरीका हो, चाहे रूस हो, अलग-अलग देश हैं लेकिन दोनों के पीछे परिश्रम है जनता का, तब वो बढ़ता है, यह तो हमें करना ही है और इस तरह से हमें अपनी शक्ति बनानी है और जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा कि दुनिया के दो भाग हैं। एक समझो ग़रीब दुनिया, एक अमीर दुनिया। अमीर दुनिया तो थोड़ी है, हम इस समय ज़रा दोनों के हल्के-हल्के बीच की धारा में पहुँच जाते हैं, बीच की लाइन में यानी हमने इत्ती अपनी शक्ति बना ली है और इत्ती अपनी एक जड़ मज़बूत कर ली है देश की कि हमें आशा है और तेज़ी से हम तरक्की करेंगे। एक दम से तो हो नहीं सकती ये सब बातें लेकिन हम समझते हैं कि कोई दस वर्ष के अंदर हम उस पार हो जायेंगे। [तालियाँ] और दस बरस के यह माने न समझो कि हम अमरीका जैसे हो जायेंगे, ग़लत बात है मेरा मतलब यह है कि दस वर्ष में हमारी शक्ति इत्ती हो जायेगी कि हम अपनी शक्ति से तेज़ी से बढ़ेंगे, औरों के पास हाथ पैर फैलाने की आवश्यकता नहीं होगी जैसे आजकल किसी क्ऱदर होती है।

तो अब यह तो एक लम्बी कहानी है मैं कहाँ तक आपको बताऊँ, लेकिन आपको समझनी है क्योंकि यह काम ख़ाली कोई सरकारी अफ़सरों के करने का तो नहीं हैं। ये तो सारी जनता को समझना है और अपने-अपने इलाक़े में करना है तब काम चले। इसलिए पंचायतें, ये पंचायत के पंच लोग अपना काम समझकर अपने यहाँ करें, सरकारी अफ़सर के लिये बैठे न रहें।

हम नहीं चाहते सरकारी अफ़सर बहुत दख़ल दें पंचायत के काम में, हाँ सलाह दें, मदद दें क्योंकि सरकारी अफ़सर बहुत कुछ बातें जानते हैं जो आप नहीं जानते हैं, लेकिन काम आपका है अफ़सर का नहीं है, अफ़सर को पीछे रहना चाहिए और पीछे से सेवा करनी चाहिए और मंत्री को भी पीछे से सेवा करनी चाहिए और जनता को समझना चाहिए कि इस महान कार्य को उसे अपने कन्धे पर उठाना है, अपने-अपने गाँव को, अपने नगर को।

दूसरी बात आपने सुना होगा आजकल चर्चा है यह सहकारी संघ का, सहकारिता का। बहुत चर्चा है, हम चाहते हैं कि गाँव-गाँव में ऐसा संघ बने कोऑपरेटिव, उससे आप लोगों की शक्ति बड़ी बढ़ जाये। अरे ज़मीन तो हर एक की अलग-अलग रहेगी, ज़मीन तो नहीं मिल जाती लेकिन मिलकर काम करने से जो कुछ ख़रीदना है, मोल लेना है, उसको मिलकर लें, जो बेचना है उसे मिलकर करें, तो जो लोग बीच में लाभ उठा ले जाते थे बहुत कुछ साहूकार लोग, बनिये साहूकार, वो लाभ फिर आपका हो, जनता का हो, बीच के लोग हट जायें। इसीलिए वो बीच के लोग वो बड़े-बड़े रहे, ज़मींदार लोग रहे, ताल्लुक़ेदार उनको हमने हटा दिया। तो बीच के लोगों को हट जाना चाहिए। एक तरफ़ जो काम करना है, कृषक अपनी ज़मीन पर उसको जो कुछ लाभ होना

है, होना चाहिए अधिक से अधिक। दूसरी तरफ़ जो सामान और लोगों को मिलना है, बिकता है, उनको ठीक तरह का मिलना चाहिए और दोनों का लाभ हो अगर बीच के लोग निकल जायें। तो बीच के लोग ठीक तौर से जभी निकलते हैं जब ये सहकारी संघ हो और अगर आपको सरकारी मदद की आवश्यकता हो तब सहकारी संघ द्वारा मिल सकती है आसानी से, अलग-अलग कहाँ तक किसको दें, खो जाती है आपकी शक्ति।

ये सब छोटी-छोटी बातें हैं, बातें बहुत हैं समझने की क्योंकि आजकल भारत तरह-तरह के काम से, तरह-तरह के विचारों से भरा हुआ है और बड़े-बड़े काम हो रहे हैं। हाँ, कभी बड़ी-बड़ी शिकायत भी हो रही हैं, बड़ी-बड़ी बहसें भी हो रही हैं, ठीक है उससे कुछ हमें घबराना नहीं, हमें तो अपना कर्तव्य करना है, अपने-अपने कर्तव्य करें और परिश्रम करें और उसका फल तो आवेगा ही। मुझे इसका विश्वास है पूरा विश्वास है।

तो फिर से अब मैं आपको बता दूँ, एक ओर तरफ़ आपका ध्यान दिला दूँ कि आजकल की दुनिया कुछ भयंकर दुनिया है ये एटम बम और क्या-क्या और बड़ी-बड़ी लड़ाई झगड़े का हर वक़्त डर रहता है, ऐसे भयंकर लड़ाई झगड़े जिसमें संसार नष्ट हो जाये, ऐसे-ऐसे हैं, पुरानी लड़ाई नहीं रही अब। एक तरफ़ तो यह है इसीलिए हमारी नीति रही है कि दुनिया में शांति हो और भारत का इसीलिए आदर होता है और दुनिया में, हमारी तो ये नीति रही लेकिन हमारी सीमा पर, ये उत्तर पूर्व सीमा पर आपने सुना होगा कुछ चीनी लोगों का आक्रमण हुआ और कुछ हमारे पहाड़ी इलाक़े इस समय चीनी कब्ज़े में हैं। बात अच्छी नहीं है और इससे हमें बड़ा दुःख है और इसकी निस्वत यों तो बहुत कुछ बातचीत हुई है, अभी आ रहे हैं चीन के प्रधानमंत्री, अभी एक दस दिन में आ रहे हैं, नौ दिन में, बातचीत करने। ख़ैर, वो जो कुछ होगा वो तो होगा लेकिन इससे हमें और याद रखना चाहिए कितना आवश्यक हो गया है हमें अपनी शक्ति को देश की बनाना और अपनी एकता रखनी है आख़िर में। यों तो आजकल की दुनिया में बड़े-बड़े हथियार हैं, कुछ हैं लेकिन सबसे बड़ा हथियार जो देश का होता है वो उसकी एकता उसकी जनता की और उसकी हठता मज़बूती दिल की, जिस देश में लोग सब ऐसे रहते हैं, जो मिलकर रहें और जो घबरायें नहीं और सिर कभी न झुकायें अन्याय के लिए, उस देश की हमेशा जीत होगी।

जय हिन्द! अब मेरे साथ आप लोग तीन बार जय हिन्द कहिए।
जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Sisters and brothers,

I have travelled a great deal in India, particularly to the river valley projects. I like to visit them because I can see men hard at work towards building a new future. But I have never visited the Koyna project before this. I came last night and have seen something of it since then.

For one thing this project is totally different from the others. There are bigger projects like the one at Bhakra-Nangal and others. But none are like this.

The Koyna river has its origins in these hill ranges. Though a small river, it becomes extremely turbulent during the monsoons. Bhakra-Nangal is built on the mighty Sutlej which flows down the Himalayas from near the Mansarovar Lake in Tibet. There are other big rivers and compared to them, Koyna is a very small river and the project is small too. The dam which is being built here is very small. But there is one thing special about it which is not to be found anywhere else and makes a great impact. Nobody who sees it once will ever forget it. What is that special quality? Things are happening here also and many of you sitting here must be a part of those activities. But what is special about this place is that tunnels are being built in the mountains, the river water is carried through huge pipes and nothing is visible on the outside. Everything is happening underground.

I am glad I came here today because perhaps when the project is finished, it will be completely hidden from sight. [Applause] So first of all, I would like to congratulate the engineers and other workers right down the line who are engaged in this task. They are doing something which will greatly benefit the people and a part of India,

One of the yardsticks of judging a country's progress these days is the amount of energy it produces. There are other ways of judging progress too. But this is a fundamental criterion. Electricity is required for all industries, heavy machine and small, cottage industries etc. Electricity sparks off a new life in any region where it is available. It is a great source of power. A human being has a limited capacity for work. A very strong man may be able to do the work of two or three people. That is all. But the moment you harness electricity, it can perform the work of thousands of human beings. We read in mythological tales about Ravana possessing ten heads and twenty hands. With electricity, you acquire the strength of thousands of hands. [Applause] That is how other countries have gone so far ahead of us while we remained backward. So we too must harness these new sources of energy in the service of our country and our people.

Thousands of human beings are employed on this Koyna project. But you have machines too and perhaps you could not have gone very far without them. Machines have helped you. They are tools like any other, spade or hammer only bigger in size. Modern man has invented new tools and machines and harnessed sources of energy hidden in nature. All of you know what they are. The ordinary steam power has led to the invention of railways. Now everybody has seen steam spouting from water when it is heated. It makes the lid dance when the water boils. That steam power has been harnessed to great effect. It is only 150 years or so ago that its potential was recognised by Man.

Take electricity. That is also nothing new. Lightning has been observed in

the skies for thousands of years. But people used to worship it in fear. It is only when some intelligent human beings impelled out of curiosity set out to understand what it was all about that they found they could produce electricity through friction. The story of how electricity was discovered is a very interesting one. It was an inquisitive man in America who discovered accidentally while flying a kite that electric current can be transmitted. So the quest for new knowledge has gone on and as information grew, there was advance in the way of life. Electricity was brought under control and has added greatly to man's capacity for work.

We are building dams on rivers in order to generate electricity through turbines. The electricity which is generated is then transmitted through wires. It is a simple matter. But look at the amount of labour it involves. We have to dig tunnels and carve a way out of mountains for miles. Man can achieve great things by his intelligence. There is no limit to it provided his intelligence finds an outlet. Once the opportunity is available. Man accumulates vast storehouses of knowledge. This quest for new knowledge of nature is what is known as science. Now, atomic energy has been discovered which has led to the atom bomb. Man wants to go to the moon. The whole world is changed before our very eyes. In thirty years' time, the world would have changed beyond recognition. Nobody knows where mankind would have reached by then. All this has been possible because man has learnt to recognise the potential hidden in nature. We are living in revolutionary times today and there is great turmoil and change all around. Everything is changing in form and content.

We must understand this. The nation and the people who fail to do so become backward while others go ahead. The advanced countries of the world have accumulated great power. We too must understand modern science and the new sources of energy hidden in nature. Once we begin to have a grasp of science, we will ourselves be able to make new discoveries. We do not have to copy anyone. So the most urgent priority before us is to understand modern science and take advantage of the new inventions and discoveries.

You see the huge modern industries. But even if you take agriculture, you will find that in other countries, production of food grains is far higher than in India. That is because they use new techniques of production, new tools and implements. In many places tractors are used to plough the land. But even their ploughs are good. They use good seeds, fertilizers and do bunding to conserve water. These are small improvements which can immediately lead to greater production. Even if we can double or treble our average yield per acre India will become better off and many of our tasks will be simplified. You must understand this.

Similarly, we need to produce new wealth from our factories. Factories need machines which we have to produce. We are trying to do all these things. There are a number of engineers with years of special training working here in Koyna. The world today belongs to human beings with special skills and training in science and technology. A nation's strength today depends on such people. We got Independence through the organised strength of India's masses. Now the biggest task before us is to improve the condition of the masses and eradicate poverty from the country. Why should any man or woman be poor? There is absolutely no need for even a single child to go uncared for.

Every one of them must get enough to eat, clothes to wear, shelter, health care and education. The children are the country's greatest asset. Even if we have machines, ultimately the work has to be done by human beings. Therefore, apart from the responsibility of the parents, children's welfare is the nation's responsibility too.

The problem is that there are so many things which need to be done simultaneously in India that we do not have the necessary resources. We cannot do everything at once. India is a vast country with a population of forty crores which keeps increasing day by day. It is very difficult to make arrangements for everyone. It would mean an infrastructure of millions of teachers to educate all the children in the country. It has been estimated that including higher education the number of teachers and taught would be in the region of ten crores if every single child was educated. Just imagine one fourth of our population would be engaged in either teaching or studying if all the arrangements are made properly. But we do not have so many trained teachers. It requires a great deal of money which we do not have.

This is the vicious circle that poor countries face. Lack of resources means that we cannot go in for rapid development which means that we continue to be poor. We want to improve the living conditions of the masses. Expectations are rising and people demand larger wages which is not a bad thing. But the problem is where to get the money from? A nation can spend only as much as the income it generates. Otherwise, it will go bankrupt. So if people want higher wages, production must be stepped up.

How is new wealth to be generated? If we increase agricultural production, the national wealth will increase. If we produce more from our industries, the national wealth will increase. That is why we want to set up hundreds and thousands of industries big, medium and small, all over the country. The more rapidly we go in for industrialisation, the greater the national wealth will become. But if people demand higher wages without increasing production, there will be nothing left over for development. That is why I repeat that people do not seem to understand this when they make all kinds of demands. They may be

reasonable demands. But the country does not have the necessary resources to fulfil those demands. If we try to fulfil then progress will come to a halt. We cannot undertake new tasks of development which require investment. We can manage the day to day expenses of running the country. But development means new investments which will generate new income. Only then can there be progress. If there is no surplus for investment, there can be no development. We will remain where we are. Koyna is a new project. It requires large investments. Where is the money to come from? It has to come out of the savings from the national income. It is true that once the project is completed, it will generate new wealth for years to come. The nation will benefit far more than the amount it invests today. That is why we undertake those projects.

We are setting up huge steel plants all over the country. Steel is an essential commodity. Steel plants require vast sums of money. Each plant costs a hundred or hundred and fifty crores of rupees to build. It is a very large sum for a poor country. But once it comes up it will generate a great deal of wealth. Steel is necessary for every sector of development whether it is agriculture or industries or house-building or something else. So, it is necessary that we should save for investing in new tasks of development. The government has to levy taxes to collect money for development. Public loans are floated. You must have heard of government bonds and postal saving certificates. The capital derived in these various ways is invested in development. The more we invest, the greater will be the progress in the country. The people's income will also go up.

I have tried to explain what the problem is. If we spend all our surplus in wages, there can be no Koyna or anything else. We will remain where we are. So it is very essential that we should save. Individuals must save whatever they can in government bonds or postal certificates. Your capital remains intact and earns an interest. At the same time you will be participating in great national tasks. The West has advanced and become affluent by their hard work, skill and savings.

It is easy for affluent countries to save and have a surplus. It is a big problem for the poor. If they had a surplus, they would not be poor. It is true of individuals as well as nations. But unless they save they cannot be free from the vicious circle of poverty. This is our dilemma, a dilemma which all underdeveloped countries face.

Different ideologies are followed in different countries of the world in the United States, Europe, Africa and Asia. Some are capitalist while others are socialist or communist. Some countries have no other ideology except foolishness. [Applause] Nothing even happens in those countries. They remain in a rut.

However, the fact of the matter is that the world can be divided broadly into two categories. One consists of the countries which have become affluent through their hard work and with the help of modern science and technology. The other is of the underdeveloped countries. Where does India stand? It is obvious that India is not an affluent country. It is still regarded as an underdeveloped country. But in the last few years we have worked hard towards increasing agricultural production and industrialisation and laid the foundations of a new India. Koyna and other such projects are all part of that foundation. We are gradually reaching a stage from which we can take a flying leap out of the mire of poverty. We have to do it ourselves. We cannot expect anything from others. We must produce enormous quantities of essential goods and ensure their equitable distribution for the betterment of the people.

There has been considerable progress during the last ten-twelve years. But it is in areas which do not yield an immediate profit. We are putting up steel plants which will benefit us years later when they go into production. It costs us a great deal of money to put up a project like the Koyna dam. But we will be able to generate electricity which will help us greatly in industrialisation. We are investing in projects with long term benefits. We have progressed a great deal. But the more we progress, the harder we have to work. It is like swimming across a river. We cannot stop until we reach the other side. We will drown if we try to stop midstream.

We have completed two Five Year Plans and the Third is due to begin. We are progressing on the path towards prosperity. The Third Plan envisages greater industrialisation and arrangements for health care and education to more people. But ultimately, we can do only as much as the people are willing to do. We cannot do anything more. It is not a question of magic or astrology. It requires the unity and strength of the masses, physical and mental strength and the capacity to work in harmony. If forty crores of people were determined to work together, it would make for tremendous strength. So, it is extremely important that we should work together unitedly and peacefully.

Mahatma Gandhi laid great stress on unity and nonviolence and cooperation among the people. To the extent that we paid heed to his teachings, India grew in strength and was united under the banner of the Congress party. It spread from the Himalayas to Kanya Kumari and became a symbol of the strength of the masses. We became strong enough to challenge the might of British imperialism and ultimately India became free. The entire process was conducted in a civilised manner and the outcome has been happy.

Now we are no longer fighting against a foreign power. Our battle today is against our own weaknesses and failings and our ancient vice of disunity. We must try to control this habit of ours and not countenance it in whatever guise

it rears its head, as communalism, casteism or provincialism or linguism. It is absolutely wrong.

Take the question of language, for instance. All our languages are beautiful with a rich literary heritage. We must strive to promote all of them. There must be greater interaction between the various languages. Why should there be friction?

We must try to avoid anything which separates us and causes friction, and instead promote unity and cooperation in order to make the country strong and stable. India must become a power which nobody can suppress. If we can pit all our energy into the task of progress, India will march ahead quickly. It is a well known fact that the harder we work, the quicker India will progress. If we work really hard for a few years, we can reach the take-off stage. After that things will progress on their own momentum.

These are some of the crucial issues before us today. We have adopted planning to ensure quick progress. Science and technology are of great importance. But above all the most urgent priority is to increase agricultural production. It is the duty of every farmer to adopt new techniques of agriculture like the use of good seeds and fertilizers, better tools and implements, etc. An increase in agricultural production will benefit the country's economy all-round.

There is no real room for argument about this. There are heated debates over the ideology that should be adopted socialism, communism, capitalism. Well, there is no harm in that. But you must bear in mind that any ideology that we choose has to be backed by hard work. The United States and the Soviet Union following diametrically opposite ideologies have advanced by dint of sheer hard labour. This is how we can have to build our economy.

As I said the world is divided into two categories, the affluent nations and the poor. We are gradually reacting somewhere in between. We have laid the foundations which leads us to hope that we will progress rapidly. It will not happen immediately. But we feel that in ten years, we will be over the hump. [Applause] Please do not think that in ten years, we will become like the United States. All I am saying is that in ten years time we will have the infrastructure to go ahead rapidly on our own momentum. We will not have to look elsewhere for help as we have to do today.

This is a long story. You must understand that the task before us cannot be done by officers alone. It is the people who must shoulder the burden in order to succeed. The panchayats must do their work without waiting for the government.

We do not want the government officials to interfere in the working of the panchayats. They can guide and advise because they have special training and experience. But the work must be done by the panchayats. The officials must

remain in the background and serve the people. That goes for the ministers too. The people on their part must realise that they have to shoulder the great responsibility of nation-building.

You must have heard about cooperation which is being talked about. We want small cooperatives to come up in every village. The farmers' title to their land will remain intact. But cooperation will enable them to avail of greater facilities and equitable prices in the matter of buying and selling. The middle man's profit will go to the farmers. We got rid of the zamindars and talukdars who were all middlemen. Both the producer and the consumer benefit by not having a middle man draining away the profits. Cooperatives are the answer to this. Farmers can get loans through the cooperatives. If they try to stand alone, their energies are wasted.

These are some of the things that you should understand. India is forging ahead and great changes are taking place all around. Debates and arguments rage, complaints are often heard. But we must not be detained by them but continue to do our duty. I am convinced that hard work will bear fruit.

Let me remind you once again that we are living in a dangerous world today. The fear of war and the presence of deadly nuclear weapons make it very unsafe. They can lead to total destruction at anytime. India's policy has been to promote peace in the world which is why we are held in respect. But the Chinese have attacked us on our north-eastern frontier and some territory in the mountain areas are under their control. It has grieved us deeply. Talks have been held on the subject. The Chinese Premier is coming here in ten days for talks. Anyhow, whatever happens, we must remember that it has become more than ever necessary to make India strong economically and maintain unity among ourselves. There are great weapons in the world. But ultimately the most powerful weapon of a nation is unity among its people and strength of character. The people who are strong, united and unflinching in adversity, who do not bow down to aggression or injustice will always come out victorious. Jai Hind!

Please say Jai Hind with me thrice.

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

8. At Satara: Public Meeting⁶²

बहनो और भाइयो,

आपने अभी सुना कि मैं शायद तेईस वर्ष बाद सतारा आया।⁶³ बड़ा समय है वो और मुझे खुद कुछ आश्चर्य होता है कि इत्ते दिन तक मैं यहाँ क्यों नहीं आया और विशेष कर इन पिछले दस-बारह वर्षों में। खैर, वो बात तो हो गयी और आज यहाँ मैं आया तो मेरा चित्त प्रसन्न होता है कि ऐसी ऐतिहासिक जगह, तगड़ी मज़बूत जगह, जिसका सम्बन्ध इतिहास में भारत के स्वतन्त्रता के संग्राम से बार-बार रहा है, मैं आज आया। आपने अपने मानपत्र⁶⁴ में भी इसकी चर्चा की है और यह भी कहा है मानपत्र में कि यहाँ कोई फ़ौजी मिलिटरी तालीम सिखाने का शिक्षा का केन्द्र होना चाहिए। तो इसके बारे में तो मैं कह नहीं सकता। आप जानते हैं हमारा सबसे बड़ा केन्द्र भारत में पुणे के पास है जहाँ बहुत एक सुंदर जगह, हमारे सब नवयुवक आते हैं, चाहे वो आर्मी के हों, चाहे नेवी के हों, चाहे एयरफ़ोर्स के हों।⁶⁵

लेकिन एक बात आप विचार करें कि आजकल की दुनिया में देश की शक्ति कैसे बनती है? हम फ़ौज, मिलिटरी इत्यादि की चर्चा करते हैं लेकिन आजकल की फ़ौज आवश्यक है, मैं मानता हूँ लेकिन आजकल की फ़ौज का भी चित्र बदलता जाता है। आजकल की फ़ौज में अधिकतर टेक्नीशियन होते हैं, मेकेनिक्स होते हैं, साइन्टिस्ट्स होते हैं। आजकल के हथियार ऐसे हैं, चमकते-भड़कते तलवार, बंदूक नहीं रहे, वो तो बच्चों का खेल हो गया है। आजकल दूसरी चीज़ हो गयी जिसमें दूसरी तरह की शिक्षा भी देनी, सीखनी होती है।

तो अब हमारा विचार है और आपका है कि हम अपने देश को मज़बूत करें, स्वतन्त्र हुआ तो इसकी शक्ति बढ़ायें, क्योंकि यह मोटी बात है। सब जानते हैं कि कोई देश, कोई जाति स्वतन्त्र रहती नहीं, अगर उसमें काफ़ी शक्ति न हो और शक्ति कैसी? वो भी उस समय की शक्ति, प्राचीन समय की शक्ति नहीं, उस समय की शक्ति के माने हैं कि जो उस समय की विद्या हो उसको, पूरी उसको मालूम हो। कौन हमारे देश में, आप राजस्थान को लीजिए, राजस्थान की कहानियाँ बहुत प्रसिद्ध हैं। वहाँ के राजा और महाराजा और महाराणा और महारावल प्रसिद्ध हैं। कौन नहीं जानता महाराणा प्रताप की कहानी? वीर पुरुष, वीरता में कोई कमी नहीं लेकिन फिर भी राजस्थान गिरा और बाहर के लोगों ने उसको हरा दिया, क्यों? वीरता में कमी नहीं रही लेकिन उस समय की दुनिया को नहीं समझे वो, दुनिया बढ़ गयी, नये-नये हथियार आये और वो पड़े रहे महज़ अपने क्या कहूँ मैं, अपने पुराने ढंग में, ढर्रे में। कैसे राजस्थान वाले हारे? इसलिए कि जो इनके विरोध में हथियार आये, पहली बार उसमें एक तोप थी। उधर तोप थी इधर तोप

62. Speech, 10 April 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

63. Nehru visited Satara, as Congress President, probably during the election campaign in 1937. See also SWJN/FS/8/pp. 42-43, item 34.

64. The civic address was presented to Nehru by the President of the Satara City Municipal Borough, Dr P.K. Kolhatkar.

65. The reference is to the National Defence Academy, Khadakvasla.

नहीं थी, तब तोप का सामना नहीं कर सके। उसी तरह से जब-जब अंग्रेज़ यहाँ आये, अंग्रेज़ कोई बड़ी वीरता से नहीं आये लेकिन अंग्रेज़ों के पास हथियार, नये हथियार थे और भारत के लोग पुराने अपने नशे में चढ़े चलते थे। इसलिए बदलती हुई दुनिया में जो देश नहीं बदलता वो पिछड़ जाता है, वो दुर्बल हो जाता है, कमज़ोर होता है।

आजकल की दुनिया में सबमें बड़ी बात क्या है? ज़रा भी आप विचार करें तो कहें कि आजकल की दुनिया में सबमें बड़ी चीज़ विज्ञान है, साइंस है और साइंस से जो और बहुत सारी बातें निकली हैं। हमारे देश में तो हम पिछड़ गये थे, इसलिए अंग्रेज़, फ्रेंच, पोर्तुगीज़ कौन-कौन आ गये। इसलिए कि हम साइंस में पिछड़ गये। इसलिए कि साइंस के हथियार, साइंस की शक्ति, साइंस की और बातें हमारे देश में नहीं थीं, हम पिछड़ गये और और देश धनी हो गये, अंग्रेज़ और यूरोप के देश धनी हो गये। तो हमें पहले ये बात समझ लेनी है कि आजकल की दुनिया में हमें अगर मज़बूत होना है तो उस दुनिया को समझना है और ख़ाली समझना नहीं है उसमें अगुवा होना है, विज्ञान में और और बातों में आगे होना है। इसी तरह से हम अपने देश की रक्षा कर सकते हैं और इसी तरह से हम अपने देश को खुशहाल और धनी बना सकते हैं। यूरोप के देश विज्ञान के द्वारा धनी हो गये और हम भी हो सकते हैं। कोई भी उसको देख सकता है। हाँ, उसमें कठिनाई है, उसमें बहुत परिश्रम करना पड़े। यह बात सही है कोई देश आगे बग़ैर परिश्रम या बलिदान के नहीं बढ़ा है यह तो इतिहास हमें सिखाता है।

बहुत सारी चर्चा होती है, बहस होती है, कौन नीति पर हम चलें? पूँजीवाद कि साम्यवाद या समाजवादी कि गाँधीवाद या कौन वाद? ठीक है, उस पर विचार करना चाहिए और विचार करके अपनी नीति को हमें समझना चाहिए। हमने विचार करके, आप जानते हैं, बहुत कुछ तो जो महात्मा गाँधी ने शिक्षा दी, बहुत सिद्धान्तों की, हम उसको सही समझते हैं और आम नीति, हमने कहा कि हमारी समाजवाद की होनी चाहिए। कोई ऐसी नीति नहीं जो एक बहुत बँधी हुई हो, पत्थर की लकीर हो वो नहीं, लेकिन आमतौर से हमने समाजवाद को पसंद किया जिसके माने ये हैं कि हमारे देश में सब लोगों को बराबर का मौक़ा उन्नति का मिले, आजकल नहीं हैं यह बातें, उसमें समय लगेगा। यह हमने ध्येय, ये लक्ष्य हमने अपने सामने रखा, लेकिन सच बात तो यह है कि आप चाहे समाजवाद रखो या साम्यवाद या पूँजीवाद, या कोई वाद, उसके पीछे विज्ञान है और आजकल की नयी दुनिया, मशीन की दुनिया और परिश्रम, ये सब बातें हैं। आप ये देखें जो विज्ञान अमरीका का है, वही विज्ञान रूस का है साम्यवादी देश का। विज्ञान में कोई फ़र्क़ नहीं है जो केमिस्ट्री और फिज़िक्स और जियोलोज़ी रूस की है वही अमरीका की है, कोई उसमें अन्तर नहीं है। मैं आपको बताता हूँ कि लोग समझते हैं बड़ा फ़र्क़ है। असल में आजकल की दुनिया विज्ञान की और विज्ञान के जो बच्चे हैं उसकी है, विज्ञान के जो एप्लीकेशन्स हैं उनकी है और वो चाहे पूँजीवाद हो, चाहे साम्यवाद, चाहे समाजवाद, कोई वाद हो, उसी के ऊपर चल सकते हैं, नहीं तो पिछड़ जायेंगे। यह हमें समझ लेना है। इसलिए हमारे लिए आवश्यक हो गया कि हम एक तरफ़ से अपने सिद्धान्त जो हमने सीखे हैं, अपने साहित्य से, अपने संस्कृति से, अपनी सभ्यता से उनको याद रखें। जो गाँधीजी ने हमको बताया उसको याद रखें क्योंकि उसी से हमें स्वराज मिला। लेकिन उसी के साथ हम याद रखें कि आजकल का संसार तो विज्ञान से चलता है और जो देश विज्ञान को नहीं समझता वो पिछड़ गया देश,

वो दुर्बल हुआ और वो अपनी दरिद्रता को दूर नहीं कर सकता। इसलिए अब स्वराज आया तब हमारा पहला काम हुआ कि हम इस बात पर विचार करें कि अब देश में एक क्रांति आयी, हो चुकी, राजनीति की क्रांति हो चुकी, अब आर्थिक क्रांति लायें और सामाजिक लायें जिससे सारा समाज उठे।

तो उसमें हमने तरह-तरह की योजना कमीशन बनाये, प्लानिंग कमीशन बनाये, इसलिए कि विचार करें तो किस ढंग से हम जल्दी से जल्दी आगे बढ़ें और पंचवर्षीय योजना एक हुई और फिर दूसरी हुई और वो अब भी चल रही है और तीसरी का अब हम विचार कर रहे हैं और अगर आप चाहें जानना कि इनमें क्या-क्या हुआ तो आप पुस्तकें पढ़ें या उससे भी अच्छी बात है कि आप ज़रा भारत की यात्रा करें।

आजकल भारत दर्शन में बहुत लोग फिरते हैं। अच्छी बात है, एक तो इसलिए कि आप अपने देश के अलग-अलग चित्र देखें, अलग-अलग रूप देखें, हमारे देश के अनेक रूप हैं और जो समझता है कि एक ही रूप है वो फिर सारे देश को नहीं पहचानता। आप महाराष्ट्र में रहते हैं, एक सुन्दर यशस्वी हिस्सा है भारत का, लेकिन सारा भारत तो नहीं है, भारत का एक भाग है, और हैं कित्ते—तमिल देश है, तेलुगू देश है, कन्नड देश है, बंगाल देश है, कित्ते देश नहीं, प्रदेश हैं वो सब मिलकर भारत होता है। ये अच्छा होता है कि अपने देश के अलग-अलग रूप पहचानें। फिर वो देश आपका खाली सतारा ज़िला और सतारा नगर नहीं है, आपका खाली महाराष्ट्र नहीं है, आपका तो सारा भारत है, आपके एक-एक आदमी। अब महाराष्ट्र कोई आपका ही तो नहीं है, मेरा भी है, सभी का हमारा है। तो इस तरह से हमें समझना है, अपने इस महान देश को क्योंकि जित्ता हम विचार करें अपने-अपने भाग का खाली और सारे देश को मन में नहीं रखें तो वो देश को कुछ दुर्बल कर देता है। इसी से हमारा देश पहले भी दुर्बल हुआ, अलग-अलग हम सोचते थे, पूरे देश का चित्र अपने सामने नहीं रखते थे। तो हमें पूरा रखना है तो अगर आप भारत दर्शन की यात्रा करें तो यह आप देखें।

और एक और बात आप देखें कि कैसे भारत के अलग-अलग भाग में जहाँ आप जायें, एक खलबली मची है, उथल-पुथल है, नये-नये काम हो रहे हैं। अगर ग्राम में जाइये तो ग्राम में नये काम हो रहे हैं, एक नया जीवन आ रहा है, नगर में जाओ तो नये-नये कारख़ाने बन रहे हैं, नये स्कूल, नये विद्यालय, नये अस्पताल, नये पुल, तरह-तरह की नयी चीज़ें सब जगह बन रही हैं। एक मालूम होता है कि हमारा पुराना देश भारत अब एक नया रूप धारण कर रहा है या कहो एक नये वस्त्र पहन रहा है अपने प्राचीन शरीर के ऊपर जिससे उसका सारा रूप बदल जायेगा। तो ये सब चिन्ह हैं, ये सब निशानी है एक क्रांति की, जो देश में फैल रही है सारी जनता में और खाली एक रूप की नहीं, खाली एक वस्त्र की नहीं, लेकिन जिससे जनता का रहन-सहन बदले, नये-नये काम आते हैं, नयी शक्तियाँ आती हैं, नये-नये तरीक़े चीज़ें पैदा करने की होती हैं, हमारे ग्राम में हमारी भूमि पर हल अच्छे चलते हैं, फ़र्टिलाइज़र आये, अच्छे बीज आये, खाद आये, छोटी-छोटी मशीन आये नये नये, अधिक पैदा करने लगे किसान, उससे फ़र्क़ हो जाता है।

हमारे देश में अभी आपने देखा एक हमारे भाई को एक शील्ड मिला बड़ा सा, और भी इनाम मिले। इसलिए कि शायद बम्बई राज्य में सबसे अधिक धान उन्होंने पैदा किया। कित्ता किया?

149,⁶⁶ एक सौ उनचास, एक कम पचास मन एक एकड़ में पैदा किया। अब यह बहुत है, कोई सदेह नहीं और यह तो मैं नहीं कह सकता कि सब लोग जित्ते किसान हैं सब इत्ता ही पैदा करें। कठिन है, लेकिन इससे आप देख सकते हैं कि हम किता पैदा करते हैं, किता कम, और किता अधिक हो सकता है तो सब जगह हल्के-हल्के अधिक होने लगा है इत्ता नहीं और जित्ता हम इसमें आगे बढ़ते हैं, हमारे देश की शक्ति बढ़ती जाती है क्योंकि देश के बढ़ने के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि हमारी खेती से आमदनी काफ़ी हो और उससे बच रहे, बचे तो उससे फिर हम और कारख़ाने वगैरह बना सकते हैं। अगर खेती से नहीं काफ़ी बचे तब कारख़ाने कहाँ से बनायें? कहाँ से पैसा आये?

तो आप देखेंगे, आप देश का भ्रमण करें कि कैसे सब जगह अब हल्के-हल्के हमारे किसान लोग नये रास्ते पर आ रहे हैं और हमारे ग्रामों का रूप बदलता है।

फिर आप देखेंगे कि बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने बहुत बड़े और बीच के, आप देखेंगे बड़ी-बड़ी नदियों की बड़ी योजनायें, जैसे मैं अभी देखकर आया हूँ कोयनानगर में कोयना की योजना। मैंने भारत में बहुत सारी योजनायें देखी हैं और सबसे प्रसिद्ध हो गयी है दुनिया में भाखड़ा-नांगल की पंजाब में, वो बड़ी भारी है लेकिन मैंने जब कल और आज कोयना देखा तो इसमें कुछ बातें हैं जो भारत की किसी और योजना में नहीं है और बहुत सुन्दर काम हुआ है और आपने भी बहुतों ने शायद देखा हो, जो बात विशेष याद रखने की है वो यह कि जो इत्ता काम वहाँ हुआ है वो गुप्त रूप से हुआ है, वो छिपा हुआ है, वो पहाड़ की अंतड़ियों में है, ऊपर से पहाड़ तो वैसा का वैसा ही दिखता है आपको, लेकिन उसके अंदर जाओ तो बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने बन गये हैं, आठ-नौ मील सड़कें हैं और कितनी चीज़ें हैं अंदर तक जाके। [हँसी] एक समझ में आता है कि कैसे इस प्रकृति में, नेचर में किती शक्ति है।

जो कुछ हमारे हाथ में शक्ति आती है वो प्रकृति से हम लेते हैं। जो लोग प्रकृति को अच्छी तरह से समझने लगते हैं वो उसकी शक्ति को काम में ला सकते हैं। विज्ञान क्या है? साइंस क्या है? प्रकृति की शक्तियों को समझना। अंग्रेज़ यूरोप वाले विज्ञान के पीछे पड़कर प्रकृति की शक्ति समझने लगे। इससे उनकी शक्ति बढ़ गयी क्योंकि प्रकृति में तो इत्ती शक्तियाँ हैं कि हमारे मन में भी नहीं आ सकती बात और ये सब जो आप देखते हैं - यह बिजली है, यह प्रकृति की शक्ति है या रेल चलती है स्टीम से, प्रकृति की शक्ति है, जित्ता-जित्ता आदमी उसको पहचानने लगता है उत्ती शक्ति उसके हाथ में आ जाती है।

तो यहाँ कोयना में एक तरह से यह चित्र सामने आ जाता है कि किती गुप्त और सुप्त शक्तियाँ हैं प्रकृति में अगर हम उनको ले सकें और जहाँ लेते हैं वहाँ हम उनसे बड़े-बड़े काम कराते हैं। कोयना में तो बिजली को, इलेक्ट्रिक पावर पैदा करने को यह हुआ है। हाँ, कुछ खेती के लिए पानी भी जायेगा, लेकिन विशेषकर यह बांध इसी के लिए है और बिजली फैलेगी और बिजली एक नाम हो गई है, एक निशानी हो गई है देश की तरक्की की।

66. The words in brackets seem to be addressed to somebody nearby, not to the audience.

हाँ आप देखें, आप जानना चाहें किसी देश में किती उन्नति हुई है तो आप एक दो प्रश्न पूछिये, आपको मालूम हो जायेगा। एक तो प्रश्न पूछिये आप वहाँ कि कित्ता लोहा पैदा होता है और दूसरा प्रश्न कित्ता इसमें बिजली है, बिजली की शक्ति पैदा होती है, पावर कित्ता पैदा होता है? बस ये दो प्रश्न हैं, उसके बाद आप बता सकते हैं कि वह देश कहाँ हैं, बढ़ा हुआ है कि पिछड़ा हुआ है, शक्ति है उसकी कि दुर्बल है, खाली इन दो बातों से। किती बिजली का पावर है और कित्ता लोहा पैदा करता है क्योंकि लोहे और बिजली से और चीज़ें बनती हैं। इसीलिए हमने बड़े-बड़े लोहे के कारखाने बनाये, बना रहे हैं और इसीलिए अंग्रेज़, अंग्रेज़ जो बहुत बढ़ गये थे, उनका देश आज नहीं दो सौ वर्ष हुए, क्यों बढ़े? इसलिए कि उनके देश में दो चीज़ें थीं—लोहा और कोयला। यों तो बहुत दिन से थीं लेकिन उन्होंने उसको पहचान लिया और विज्ञान से समझे कि कैसे उसको काम में लायें। तो उससे उसकी शक्ति बढ़ गयी और बढ़ती रही। फिर बाद में बिजली आयी।

उससे भी उन्होंने लाभ उठाया। तो हमारे लिए इस देश में बहुत काम करने हैं लेकिन लोहा और पावर, बिजली की शक्ति, ये आप याद रखें बहुत काफ़ी आवश्यक हैं। क्या-क्या आवश्यक चीज़ें हमारे अन्दर हैं? पहली बात, सबसे पहली बात हमारी भूमि से क्या पैदा होता है? ये हमारे किसानों के लिए, सबके लिए बिल्कुल पहली बात है क्योंकि अगर भूमि से हम जो पैदा करते हैं उसको बढ़ायें नहीं तो हमारा देश फिर आगे नहीं बढ़ता। तो इसलिए पहली बात तो वो है और भी बात हम कर सकते हैं क्योंकि आपने देखा हमारे भाई आये थे जिनको इनाम मिला कि जो कोशिश करे, समझे वो आगे बढ़ेगा और आजकल ठीक कोशिश वही कर सकते हैं जो कि कुछ आजकल की दुनिया समझें, पढ़-लिख सकते हैं। इसलिए यह आवश्यक है कि हमारे सारे बच्चे, लड़के-लड़कियाँ बढ़ें, पढ़ना-लिखना सीखें। इसके बग़ैर हम नयी-नयी बातें सीख नहीं सकते। पढ़ना-लिखना सीखना, सीखने के माने ये नहीं हैं कि जो पढ़े-लिखें वो अपनी खेती छोड़कर जाके शहर में जाकर बाबू बनें, ये माने नहीं हैं उसके। माने ये हैं कि वो अपने ग्राम में रहें, ग्राम की उन्नति करें और अच्छी खेती करें और उसमें ग्रामोद्योग बढ़ायें, कारखाने बनायें। हम नहीं चाहते कि बम्बई नगर बढ़ता ही जाये हमेशा के लिए, कलकत्ता बढ़ता जाये, यह ठीक नहीं है तो सबसे पहली बात तो खेती की है।

दूसरी बात, दो तीन आ जाती हैं जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा लोहा आवश्यक है, कोयले को निकालना भी आवश्यक है क्योंकि कोयले को जलाने से शक्ति निकलती है लोहा और कोयला। तीसरी चीज़ है मशीन बनाना, बड़ी मशीन बनाना, मशीन-बिल्डिंग क्योंकि जब तक हम बाहर देशों से मशीन मँगायें उस समय तक काम कैसे चलेगा, उनके हाथ में हम बँधे रहेंगे, हमें अपने देश में बड़ी मशीन बनानी है, तब तेज़ी से कारखाने चलेंगे। चौथी बात पावर है, यही बिजली की शक्ति, बिजली की हो या कोयले की हो, दोनों मिला के और उसमें अब थोड़े दिन बाद ये भी आ जायेगी—अणुशक्ति, एटॉमिक एनर्जी की शक्ति काम करने के लिए। ये चीज़ें आवश्यक हैं और इन सबके पीछे लोगों को पढ़ना आवश्यक है, शिक्षा उनकी क्योंकि शिक्षित देश ही बढ़ते हैं। ये बातें चार-पाँच हैं।

अब कैसे करें? यों तो हम सब बातें करना चाहते हैं लेकिन इन बातों के करने में पैसा खर्च होता है, बड़ा पैसा खर्च होता है। कहाँ से लायें? पैसा आता कहाँ से है? कोई दूसरे देश

से तो आ नहीं जाता, हमें अपनी कमाई से पैदा करना है। धन क्या होता है? धन कोई सोना-चाँदी थोड़े ही होता है, सोना-चाँदी तो व्यापार की चीजें हैं या आभूषण बना लो गले में लटकाने को, कोई सोना-चाँदी खाया-पिया नहीं करता है। सोने चाँदी से कहीं ज्यादा, कहीं अधिक आवश्यक चीज़ लोहा है इस दुनिया में। सोने-चाँदी के बग़ैर काम चल जाये, लोहे के बग़ैर दुनिया नहीं चलती।

तो धन क्या होता है? धन वो होता है जो आप पैदा करते हैं, अपने परिश्रम से नयी चीज़ पैदा करें, पुरानी नहीं। आप खेती से पैदा करते हैं धान, गुल्ला वो धन है, नयी चीज़ है, किसी और की जेब से आपने नहीं लिया, नयी चीज़ वो उत्पन्न हुई। कोई आदमी कारख़ाने में कोई चीज़ बनाये या कोई बढ़ई है वो लकड़ी को लेकर मेज़ कुर्सी बनाये इत्यादि, वो धन है, उसने नयी चीज़ बनायी, किसी और से नहीं लिया, अपने परिश्रम से लकड़ी का और परिश्रम के जोड़ से धन पैदा हुआ। ऐसी लाखों चीज़ें हैं आप जानते हैं। एक साहूकार के पास जो धन है; धन तो है वो, इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं लेकिन वो कोई नयी चीज़ पैदा करने का धन नहीं हुआ, किसी और ने धन पैदा किया, उसका हिस्सा साहूकार को मिल गया। फ़र्क़ हुआ कि नहीं। एक तो ये कि नया धन पैदा होता है। एक में दूसरे की जेब से अपनी जेब में रखूँ तो धन नया नहीं हुआ, वो पुराना ही धन हुआ, लेकिन उसका बँटवारा ही हो गया। तो हमें अधिक धन पैदा करना है देश में, तब हम खुशहाल हों। अधिक धन के माने हैं अधिक हमें खेती से, भूमि से पैदा करना है, अधिक कारख़ाने से पैदा करना है। कारख़ाने— सब तरह के बड़े कारख़ाने, छोटे ग्रामोद्योग, गाँव के कारख़ाने, कारीगरी, इन सब तरह से। जो-जो तरीक़े हैं उनसे हम पैदा करें, जित्ता अधिक पैदा करेंगे उतता हमारे पास धन है यानी जो चीज़ आपके लिए आवश्यक है उस चीज़ को हम खुद पैदा करें। वस्त्र पहनते हैं आप, वस्त्र हम पैदा करें चाहे घर में रखे से, चाहे कारख़ाने से, वस्त्र पैदा करें। जो-जो हम खाते हैं हम पैदा करते हैं जित्ता अधिक पैदा करेंगे उतता ही हमारे देश के पास धन हो जायेगा।

हाँ, फिर एक और बात उसमें याद रखनी है कि अधिक पैदा करना आवश्यक है लेकिन ये न हो कि जो हम करें वो थोड़ी सी जेबों में रह जाये। तो थोड़े से आदमी बड़े धनी हो जायें और अधिकतर न हों, यह बात ठीक नहीं है। इसीलिए समाजवाद यहाँ आता है। समाजवाद, कि जो पैदा हो उसका किसी क्रूर ठीक-ठीक बँटवारा हो। अब इसके माने ये थोड़े ही हैं कि हर एक मनुष्य को हम समझते हैं कि सब ऐसे हैं। एक से मनुष्य नहीं होते हैं, अनेक रूप हैं बड़े आदमी होते हैं, हर एक आदमी शिवाजी महाराज नहीं हो जाता है, इस तरह से बड़े लोग हुए हैं। यह तो फ़िज़ूल है कहना कि सब एक से हैं लेकिन हर एक को बराबर का मौक़ा मिलना चाहिए बढ़ने के लिए। समझे आप, उसको अवसर मिलना चाहिए, आजकल नहीं मिलता। आजकल हमारे कित्ते बच्चे हैं गाँव के, और जगह उनको कौन बड़ा मौक़ा मिलता है। तो इसको हमें करना है, हल्के-हल्के होगा कि हर एक को बराबर का मौक़ा मिले।

मौक़े के क्या माने? खाना ठीक मिले, वस्त्र मिले, घर रहने को ठीक हो, पढ़ाई का प्रबन्ध ठीक हो, स्वास्थ्य का प्रबन्ध ठीक हो और उसके बाद काम का प्रबन्ध ठीक हो। मौक़े हुए। अब जित्ती उसमें अक्ल होगी, जितनी शक्ति होगी वो बढ़ेगा। आगे पुरुष हो, स्त्री हो मौक़ा अगर मिल चुका है अगर नहीं मौक़ा मिला तो अच्छे से अच्छे आदमी, बच्चे दब जाते हैं। बेचारे बड़े

होनहार हों लेकिन उनको मौका नहीं मिला। इसके माने ये हैं कि देश में एक-एक हर एक को और विशेषकर बच्चे, लड़के-लड़कियों को ठीक मौके मिलने चाहियें और फिर यथाशक्ति वे तरक्की करेंगे, ऊँच-नीच बहुत देश में नहीं होनी चाहिए कि कुछ बड़े धनी लोग और कुछ बड़े गरीब। यह बात ठीक नहीं है। अब कुछ फ़र्क हो तो हो। कोई झाड़ू से बराबर तो नहीं करता है कोई बैठकर।

तो इस तरह का चित्र हमारे भविष्य का है और ये सब बातें हो सकती हैं क्योंकि आजकल की दुनिया में विज्ञान ने हमें इतनी शक्ति दी है कि हम बहुत पैदा कर सकते हैं। पहले कहा जा सकता था सौ बरस हुए, दो सौ बरस हुए कि और उसके पहले कि यह असम्भव है सब लोगों को हम खुशहाल कर दें, गरीब गरीब रहेंगे लेकिन अब यह शक्ति दुनिया को आ गयी है कि सब लोग खुशहाल हो सकते हैं। हाँ, अगर वो परिश्रम करें, अगर आपस में लड़ाई लड़कर अपने को तबाह नहीं करें क्योंकि आखिर में कोई देश बढ़ता है तो परिश्रम से बढ़ता है और उसका कोई उपाय नहीं है। तो हमारे देश का यह तो एक चित्र हुआ। दूसरी तरफ़ ज़ाहिर है कि हमारा देश जभी परिश्रम कर सके, जभी बढ़ सके, जब वहाँ शांति रहे। अगर दुनिया में लड़ाई हो, जंग हो तो सारे हमारे उपाय ठंडे हो जाते हैं बढ़ने के। अगर हमारे देश में कोई आक्रमण हो तब भी हमारा कर्तव्य होता है, धर्म है कि हम अपने को बचायें, लेकिन हमारा कुछ ध्यान उस तरफ़ ज़्यादा आवश्यक हो जाता है और और बातों में जो हमें इस समय बहुत करनी हैं, उससे कुछ ज़रा खिसक जाता है। लेकिन हर देश का पहला कर्तव्य तो होता है अपनी स्वाधीनता को रखना, अपनी मानवता को रखना, अपने को बचाना। अगर अपने को कोई बचा नहीं सकता देश तो वो तरक्की क्या करेगा और किसके लिए करेगा। इसलिए ये तो पहला कर्तव्य होता ही है और इसलिए मैं आपको बताता हूँ, मैं नहीं कहता कि कोई हमारे ऊपर बड़े, नये हमले होने वाले हैं लेकिन आप जानते हैं कि हमारी सीमा पर पिछले कुछ महीनों में, साल-दो साल में आक्रमण हुए पहाड़ी सीमा पर और यह बात अच्छी नहीं है। हम आशा करते हैं और कोशिश करेंगे कि ये बातें शांति से निश्चय, तय हो जायें। ठीक है, लेकिन इससे हमें एक चेतावनी मिली है कि जो देश, जो जाति ज़रा भी ढीले पड़ जाती है, भूल जाती है कि पहला कर्तव्य उनको देश की रक्षा करनी है, वो गिर जाती है। इसलिए हमें होशियार रहना है हमें होशियार तो रहना है लेकिन अपनी ताक़त बढ़ाने के लिए भी। आखिर में ताक़त बढ़ती है, खाली नारों से तो नहीं कि आप जुलूस निकालें सतारा में ऊपर नीचे, ताक़त बढ़ती है आजकल की दुनिया में विज्ञान से और खुशहाली से। हमारे देश में विज्ञान के सामान हों, कारख़ाने हों, जो आवश्यक चीज़ें हैं वो हम बनायें, जो आवश्यक हथियार हैं वो हम बनायें अपने आप। बहुत कुछ तो हम करते हैं, दूसरे के ऊपर न देखना पड़े तब हमारी ताक़त बढ़ती है।

फ़र्ज़ करो आजकल हवाई लड़ाई होती है। हवाई जहाज़ बड़े आवश्यक हो गये हैं और हवाई जहाज़ हमारे यहाँ नहीं बने। हमें जाके अमरीका से और इंग्लैण्ड से लेना पड़े तो फिर हमारी ताक़त कहाँ है? जिस समय चाहे वो, दूसरा देश उसको रोक दे, हम वैसे के वैसे ही रह जायें।

बाज़ लोग समझते हैं कि हमें और बड़े देशों के साथे में रहना चाहिए। साथे में रहकर उनकी हमें सहायता मिलेगी। अब हम तो इन सब देशों से मित्रता रखते हैं सब देशों से। हम किसी से लड़ाई नहीं लड़ना चाहते लेकिन मेरी बात यह समझ में नहीं आती कि जहाँ कोई देश को,

विशेषकर ऐसा बड़ा देश जैसे भारत है किसी और देश के साथे के साथे में रहे या उससे बँध जाये कोई फ़ौजी समझौते में। तो यह हमारे लिए इससे लाभ कैसे हो सकता है? मुझे तो यह बहुत अनुचित लगता है। बात मालूम होती है हमारे देश की शान के खिलाफ़ बात मालूम होती है और ऐसे बंधन से हमारी स्वतन्त्रता नहीं बढ़ती और ऐसे बड़े देश के लिए यह करना कोई कहे तो, ऐसे कोई कहता है तो मेरे बात समझ में नहीं आती। इसीलिए हमारी नीति रही है कि हम सब देशों से मित्रता करें, लेकिन अपने पैर पर खड़े रहें और अपने रास्ते पर अपनी राय पर चलें, किसी से फ़ौजी समझौता नहीं करें, और देशों में हुआ है यह, और देशों की खुशी वो करना चाहते हैं करें। अगर आप इस पर विचार करें तो जो लोग कहते हैं ऐसे फ़ौजी समझौते कर लेने को वो अपनी दुर्बलता से कहते हैं वो या अपने देश की दुर्बलता समझकर कि हम अपनी रक्षा नहीं कर सकते, बाहर वालों से कहो हमारी रक्षा करें। जहाँ आपने इस विचार को अपने मन में आने दिया कि हम अपनी रक्षा नहीं कर सकते, दूसरे लोग हमारी रक्षा करें उस समय आपकी आधी स्वतन्त्रता चली गयी क्योंकि आपके और हमारे मन में यह बात होनी चाहिए कि कोई भी शक्ति हो, शक्तियाँ बड़ी-बड़ी हैं, हमारी शक्ति से ज़्यादा और हमारा उसमें कोई अभिमान करने की बात नहीं है। हैं बड़े देश आजकल दुनिया में जिनकी शक्ति हमसे बहुत अधिक है, कोई संदेह नहीं लेकिन उसके माने नहीं हैं कि बड़े से बड़े देश की शक्ति के सामने हम सिर झुकायें। आखिर शक्ति देश की वो होती है, जनता की, एक तो एकता की और यह दृढ़ता की कि हम सिर नहीं झुकायेंगे चाहे कित्ती ही बड़ी शक्ति क्यों न हो। हम अपने देश को, रखने के लिए देश की स्वतन्त्रता हम आखिरी बलिदान देंगे चाहे सारे लोगों का अन्त हो जाये। याद रखिये जिस देश में ऐसे विचार होते हैं उनके ऊपर कोई जीत नहीं सकता।

हमारा देश बार-बार हारा, क्यों हारा? हमेशा आपस की फूट की वजह से, आपस की लड़ाई की वजह से, दुश्मन की चालाकी की वजह से, वो हमारे एक आदमी को दूसरे से लड़ा देता था। अब इस मूर्खता में हमें नहीं पड़ना है, मिलकर हमें रहना है, मिलकर तैयार होना है और ये जातिभेद वगैरह जिन्होंने हमें दुर्बल किया उसको छोड़ना है और न धर्म की लड़ाई करना, धर्म के नाम पर, धर्म लड़ने की चीज़ नहीं है, धर्म तो प्रेम की चीज़ है। हमारे देश में जो जो धर्म हैं वो देश के हैं। हिन्दू धर्म तो है ही अधिकतर, लेकिन करोड़ों मुसलमान हैं वो भी हमारे देश में हजारों वर्ष से हैं। ईसाई हैं, बौद्ध हैं, जैन हैं, पारसी हैं, सिक्ख हैं, जो हमारे देश में पैदा हुआ, इसको मातृभूमि समझता है वो हमारे देश का है और बड़े देश के परिवार का है हमें उसे अपनाना है।

जातियाँ हैं; सब हमारे देश की हैं लेकिन जातिभेद ने हमारे देश को दुर्बल कर दिया, ऊँच नीच निकाला, समाजवाद में और प्रजातन्त्र में जातिभेद नहीं रह सकता है क्योंकि जातिभेद ऊँचता और नीचता की निशानी है और अलग-अलग हमें कर देता है, हमें दुर्बल करता है और तरह-तरह की ऐसी बातें हैं जो अलग-अलग करती हैं, वो हमें निकालनी हैं और हमें याद रखना है कि इस दुनिया में हमारा जो आदर होता है, हमारी जो शक्ति है वो भारत के मिलकर चलने से है, जहाँ भारत के लोग अलग-अलग सोचने लगे, भूल गये औरों को तो वो कमज़ोर हो जाते हैं और उनका आदर नहीं होता। आप आज जायें कहीं भारत के बाहर किसी देश में तो आपको वो पासपोर्ट ले जाना होगा जिस पर आपका चित्र और आपका नाम इत्यादि लिखा होता है और

लिखा होता है, क्या लिखा होता है उसमें? उस पर लिखा होता है कि यह आदमी भारत के गणतन्त्र का नागरिक है। यह उस पर नहीं लिखा होगा कि आप बंगाल से आ रहे हैं या महाराष्ट्र से या गुजरात से या तमिल प्रदेश से या मैसूर से, ये नहीं, खाली यह कि आप भारत के गणतन्त्र के नागरिक हैं और उसी की वजह से आपका आदर होगा जहाँ आप जायें क्योंकि भारत का आदर है, इण्डिया का आदर है, अलग-अलग उसके प्रदेशों का कोई खास आदर नहीं है।

तो इस ढंग से हमें चलना है और याद रखें आप कि जैसे मैंने आपसे कहा कि ये एक क्रांतिकारी दुनिया आजकल है, उलट-पलट और सबसे बड़ी क्रांति तो यह विज्ञान कर रहा है क्योंकि विज्ञान से बढ़कर कोई क्रांतिकारी चीज़ नहीं है, सारी दुनिया को इसने बदल दिया है, अब चन्द्रमा की तरफ़ देख रहा है, वहाँ पहुँचने की कोशिश है, सोचिये तो आप। तो ऐसे समय पर हमें जीते जागते रहना है, चौकन्ने रहना है पूरी तौर से, चेतावनी हमें मिल गयी है कि रहें, हाँ हम ढीले पड़े, हम बहक गये, हम दुर्बल हो जाते हैं और लोग बढ़ जाते हैं। यह समझिए एक तरह की रेस है जो लोग ज़रा चारपाई पर लेटना अधिक चाहते हैं वो वहीं लेटे रहेंगे और लोग कहीं के कहीं पहुँच जायेंगे।

तो ये बड़ी बातें हैं। हम और आप आजकल के ज़माने में पैदा हुए हैं इस समय। यह भी हमारे लिए, हमारे अच्छे भाग्य हैं क्योंकि समय है लोगों के लिए, पुरुषों के लिए, देशों के लिए जिनमें कुछ दम हो करने का समय है। सारे रास्ते सामने हैं चलने के लिए, बहुत कठिन रास्ते हैं और बड़ा परिश्रम करना है, खाली जैसे लोग कुछ समझते हैं कि बैठे-बैठे हम नारे उठावें और सब हो जायेगा, वो बात चलती नहीं है और हमारे नवयुवक जो हैं उनको विशेष सोचना है कि कैसी दुनिया में वो आये हैं, सख्त दुनिया है लेकिन उसी के साथ उस दुनिया में आगे बढ़ने के इनाम भी बहुत हैं हमारे देश के लिए और हाँ पुरुष के लिए क्योंकि ऐसे क्रांतिकारी समय में मौक़े मिलते हैं लोगों को आगे निकलने के। तो फिर निराश क्या होना है कि बाज़ लोग हो जाते हैं, निराश हैं, हमारा क्या होगा और कुछ सोचना हमें नौकरी मिलेगी, नौकरी नहीं। कहीं भारत में चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को सभी को नौकरी मिला करती है? नौकरी का लालच क्या? इत्ती उसमें दम हो कुछ करके दिखावे वो खुद। हाँ, नौकरी भी अच्छा है जहाँ मिले, मिले। इस तरह से आप देखें और भारत को मैंने भी इन पिछले पचास बरसों में बहुत कुछ को बदलते देखा, बहुत कुछ हमारे स्वप्न थे जब हम लोग भी जवान थे, वो स्वप्न पूरे होते भी देखे, अब और स्वप्न हैं और स्र्वाब हैं भारत के लिए क्योंकि भारत की कहानी तो कभी ख़त्म नहीं होगी, वो चलती जाती है। अब हम और स्वप्न को तो हम देखे नहीं शायद, लेकिन जो आजकल नवयुवक हैं वो तो इस नये भारत को बनता देखेंगे और नये-नये रूप उसके होंगे और ये उनको मौक़ा मिलेगा, उसके लिए तैयार हों और उसके करने में भाग लें, क्योंकि भारत आपसे, हमसे कुछ अलग थोड़े ही है।

हम भारत माता की जय पुकारते हैं। क्या माने हैं भारत माता की जय के? कौन भारत माता है? कोई गुफा में बैठी हुई कोई स्त्री है भारत माता? क्या है भारत माता? आपने कभी विचार किया कि भारत माता है क्या? भारत माता तो आप हैं और आप हैं और आप हैं और मैं हूँ [तालियाँ]। हम सब भारत माता हैं और कौन है? कोई भारत माता और थोड़े ही है जिसका चित्र आप लगा लें अपने घर में और उसका पूजन करें। भारत माता तो भारत के रहने वाले हैं,

भारत की जनता है। हाँ आज की नहीं, हमेशा की जनता, अभी है, गयी है, इस समय भारत माता आप और हम हैं, कल कोई और होंगे जो हमारे पुत्र होंगे, और होंगे, वो आयेंगे। यह सिलसिला तो ख़त्म नहीं होता। तो भारत माता का उद्धार हो के माने हैं हम उसमें हिस्सा लें, हम हैं, उठावें, मदद करें, हम कोई अलग होके थोड़े ही देखें कि भारत माता उठ जाये तो हम भी गोदी में बैठ जायेंगे उसकी। तो ये बातें हैं।

बड़ी-बड़ी बातें दुनिया में हो रही हैं, हमारे देश में और उनका हमें स्वागत करना चाहिए, उनसे डरना नहीं चाहिए चाहे उसमें कुछ भय भी हो, चाहे ख़तरा हो, उसका सामना करना है, लेना है और जो लोग निर्भय होके इस तरह से सब प्रश्नों को देखते हैं, बढ़ते हैं, उनकी आखिर में जीत भी होती है। बस, अब मुझे पूना जाना है इस समय तो आप क्षमा करेंगे। जय हिन्द!

अब आप मेरे साथ सब कहिये तो तीन बार -

जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द !

[Translation begins:

Sisters and brothers,

You heard just now that I had last come to Satara twenty-three years ago.⁶⁷ That is a pretty long time. I am myself surprised that I have not come here all these years and particularly not during the last ten to twelve years. Anyhow, I am very happy to be in this great historic city which has played a great role during India's freedom struggle. You have mentioned in your manpatra that there should be a military training centre.⁶⁸ Well, I do not know about that. As you know, we have the largest military academy near Poona. It is a beautiful place where our young men are trained for the army, navy and air force.⁶⁹

I want you to consider one thing. What is it that makes a nation powerful in the modern world? We talk of the armed forces and I agree that they are necessary. But even there the picture has been changing. There are more technicians, mechanics and scientists in the armed forces. The nature of the weapons too has changed. Swords are out of place. They have become child's play. A different kind of training is necessary today.

Now, we are all agreed that we need to build a strong India because it is fairly common knowledge that no country or people can remain free unless they are really strong. It can be done only by a firm grasp of modern scientific knowledge.

67. See fn 63 in this section.

68. See fn 64 in this section.

69. See fn 65 in this section.

The tales of bravery of the Rajput heroes are famous to this day. Who has not heard of Maharana Pratap? There was no dearth of personal courage and valour. Yet Rajasthan fell again and again to foreign invaders. That is because they had failed to keep in tune with the times. The world advanced, new weapons made their appearance while they remained in their old ruts. The Rajputs lost when their armies were confronted with the modern cannons. Similarly, the British conquered India not because of their superior might but with their new weapons and techniques. The Indians steeped in ignorance and pride failed to change with the times and became weak and backward.

The most important thing today are science and technology and their offshoots. India had become backward in these fields and so fell a prey to the British, French and Portuguese imperialists. That is because we did not keep pace with modern science and military technology, other nations advanced and amassed great wealth and power. So, we have to be quite clear in our minds that in order to be powerful in the modern world we must keep in tune with the times. In fact, we must be ahead of the times in scientific research. That is the only way in which we can defend India and build a strong and affluent country. The West has become affluent through science. So can we. It is true that it means a great deal of hard work. No country has ever progressed without hard work or sacrifice. That is what history teaches us.

There are often heated debates about the ideology that should be followed—capitalism, communism, socialism or Gandhism in India. I agree that it is important to have a proper ideological approach to our problems keeping Gandhiji's teachings and principles in mind. We have thought fit to adopt a socialist pattern of society as our goal. Not that it is a very rigid dogma but generally speaking, we have preferred socialism which means that we want to assure equal opportunities for progress for all. It will take time. But that is our goal.

However, the fact of the matter is that whether we adopt socialism or communism or capitalism as our ideology, each one of them has to be backed by science and technology and machines and hard work. This is what you will find in capitalist America or communist Russia. Science knows no ideology. There is no capitalist physics or chemistry or communist zoology. People think that there are great differences among the different ideological camps. The fact is that they are all offshoots of modern science and its application. Capitalist, socialist, communist countries are all following the same path. Otherwise, they will become backward. We must get that clear. Therefore, it has become imperative that on the one hand, we should cherish and abide by our ancient ideals and principles, our noble cultural and literary heritage. We must hold on to Gandhiji's teachings which led us to freedom. At the same time we must

remember that the modern world is a product of science and the country which fails to understand it becomes backward and weak and cannot hope to get rid of its poverty. Therefore, with the coming of freedom our first priority has been to bring about an economic and social revolution in order to uplift our entire society.

We have set up the Planning Commission and other bodies to go into the question of how best to utilise our scant resources for maximum benefit and progress in India. We have completed the First and the Second Plans and are now drawing up the Third Plan. If you want to know what we have achieved during the first two plans you should read the plan appraisal documents or better still travel around India.

It is a good thing that people travel a great deal in India nowadays. For one thing, you get to see the myriad forms of India. Those who fail to recognise this cannot understand India. You live in India, a beautiful, famous state in India. But it is only a part of India, not the whole. There are other provinces of Tamil, Telugu or Kannada or Bengali speaking people. All of them together constitute India. So, it is a good thing to recognise India's diversities. India belongs to all of us. Satara town and district, and Maharashtra belong not only to you but to all of us too. You must understand this great country of ours because unless you keep the national perspective in mind instead of thinking only of parochial interests, India will be weakened. It has happened in the past. We must not allow narrow parochial interests to overshadow national interests. You can feel this when you travel in India,

You will also find that there is a great churning in the country. New projects are under way even in the rural areas where a new vitality is evident. New industries are coming up in the urban areas. All these things show that this ancient land of ours is putting on a new garb. The face of the country is going to be completely transformed. These are all signs of a revolution which is spreading among the people. Their entire way of life will change with the new forces of energy and new projects which have been started. Production techniques are improving both in agriculture and industries. Fertilizers, good seeds and small machines are being used. They made a great difference. You can see for yourselves how the farmer in India is gradually coming round to the new way of thinking. Our villages are being completely transformed.

One of our fellow countrymen has been given a shield, many other prizes also; because he has produced maximum paddy in Bombay State (how much has he produced? 149)⁷⁰ one hundred and forty-nine, fifty minus one, maunds

70. See fn 66 in this section.

produced in one acre. This is quite a lot, there is no doubt about it. I cannot say that all other peasants should also produce this much, it is difficult, but it shows how much we produce, how little, and how much more we can. So it is increasing in other places also, not so much. And the more we progress in this, the more our country's strength grows. Because, for the country's growth, it is important that production from agriculture grows and some surplus remains. This surplus can be used for setting up factories. If there is not enough surplus from agriculture, how will the factories be made? Where will the money come from?

So, you will see if you travel through the country that gradually our peasants are following new ways, and our villages are changing.

We have taken up huge projects, setting up of heavy industries and river valley projects. I have just been to see the Koyna project. I have visited all the projects in India. The Bhakra-Nangal of Punjab has become famous all over the world. But I found some differences in the Koyna project. The work has been done very well. But the thing to remember is that the whole thing is hidden in the bowels of the hills. Outwardly, the hills remain the same as ever. But eighty-nine miles of roads and industries have been built deep in the hills. [Laughter] It is only when you go inside that you understand how powerful nature is.

We derive our sources of energy from nature. Those who understand nature well can harness its sources of energy for their own use. What is science? It is understanding the forces of nature. The West advanced because they have understood the forces of nature. You cannot even dream of the full extent of nature's hidden resources. You know about electricity, steam power or the latest atomic energy. The more man recognises nature, the more power he acquires.

Koyna gives you an idea of what we can do with the latent energy in nature. Wherever we have harnessed it, we have been able to achieve a great deal. The Koyna project will generate electricity. It will also supply water for irrigation. Electricity has become a symbol of India's progress.

You can gauge the extent of progress in any country by the amount of steel and power it produces. You can make out from these two figures whether a country is advanced or backward. Steel and power are essential for various things. We are setting up huge steel plants. The West has advanced over 200 years because they have vast surplus of coal and iron ore. They learnt to recognise their potential and harness them to their own use. Then came the discovery of electricity. They used it to the fullest advantage.

There are big tasks before us. We have to step up our production of steel and power. The most urgent priority is to increase agricultural production because there can be no progress without that. It is obvious that wherever an effort has

been made there has been great success. In today's world only those who are well-educated and capable of understanding the times can make headway. So it is very important to educate our young boys and girls. But the educated must not run away to the cities in search of white collar jobs. They ought to stay in the rural areas and help to improve agriculture, set up small industries. We do not want the cities, like Bombay and Calcutta, to expand at the expense of the villages. Our first priority is agriculture.

Two, as I said, we need to produce steel and mine coal. Thirdly, we have to set up machine-building industries. How can we continue to import machines from outside? We will remain at their mercy. We must produce our own machines if we want to industrialise rapidly. Four, we need power, electricity, thermal power or atomic energy. Behind all this is education because it is only the literate educated countries which progress.

These are the four or five essential steps which we have to take. We would like to do everything at the same time. But everything requires enormous investments. We cannot get money from outside. What does wealth mean? It is not gold or silver which are merely tools of trade. Steel is far more important than either. The world can do without gold and silver but not without steel. Wealth is what we produce by various means, from land, from industries, village craft, etc. Even a new chair or table made by a carpenter constitutes new wealth, anything that is produced by the effort of human beings. The wealth in the hands of moneylenders is not real wealth because nothing new is created. It is only a transfer of wealth from one pocket to another. We have to produce more wealth in order to make India prosperous, more goods from land and industries, etc. The more we produce the greater will our wealth be. We must produce all essential consumer goods in the country like food, clothes, etc.

The other thing is to ensure that the new wealth does not remain in the hands of a few people. It is not proper that a handful of people should become rich at the expense of the masses. This is where socialism comes in to ensure the equitable distribution of wealth. Everybody cannot be exactly alike. There are great men. But not everyone can become great like Shivaji. However, everyone must get equal opportunities for progress which is not available today. The children in the rural areas are deprived of even the basic amenities of life. Gradually we will see to it that everyone gets equal opportunities.

What does that imply? It means that everyone should be assured of the basic necessities of life like food, clothes, shelter, education and health care and a means of earning a livelihood. After that, every individual can progress according to his strength. Without the right opportunity, talented young children are wasted. We must see to it that everyone in India, particularly boys and girls

should get proper opportunities. Then each one can go as far as he can. There must not be grave disparities between the haves and the have-nots. It is not right. We cannot sweep away all differences. But the gulf should not be wide either.

This is the kind of future that we envisage for our country. All these things are possible today with the help of modern science and technology. We can increase production enormously. A couple of centuries ago, it could be said that it was impossible for everyone to be well-off. The poor would remain with us. But today mankind possesses the wherewithal to ensure a good standard of living for everyone in the world provided they are willing to work hard and do not bring down a rain of destruction upon their heads before that. Ultimately a nation progresses only through hard work. There is no alternative. This is on the one hand. On the other hand, it is obvious that India can progress only if there is peace in the world. If a world war breaks out, all our efforts will come to naught. If there is an attack on India, it is our duty to defend ourselves. But our attention is engaged in these matters a little more than necessary while the time to do the essential tasks slips away. But the foremost duty of any country is to protect and defend its freedom. If it is unable to do that how can it progress otherwise? So that is the most important duty in any case.

I do not say that there is any grave danger immediately. But as you know, over the last year or two there have been some attacks on our border areas which is not a good thing. We hope and shall try to resolve these matters amicably. But it is in the nature of a warning that a nation or race which becomes slack and complacent and forgets that their foremost duty is to defend their country's freedom heads for a fall. Therefore, we must be vigilant and at the same time concentrate our energy on the task of building a strong nation. After all, strength does not come with shouting slogans or taking out processions, in Satara. We need modern scientific knowhow. We have to industrialise the country and produce the essential consumer goods in our own country. We must be self-reliant in the field of military armaments and equipment. We should not have to look to others for help if we want to be really strong.

For instance, the air fares play a very important role in modern warfare. We must therefore make our own planes instead of buying them from England and America. That would put us at their mercy. Some people think that we should be under the protection of the big powers. We want to maintain friendly relations with all the countries. We have no desire to go to war with anyone. But I cannot understand how it helps any country, particularly one so large as India to tie itself down with a military agreement. It seems extremely improper to me and dishonourable to our country's fair name. Such bonds cannot add to

our freedom. I simply cannot understand it when some people want us to do such things. Our policy has been to maintain friendly relations with all the countries but to be self-reliant and free to express our views. We do not wish to enter into any military pacts. Others are most welcome to do so if they wish. Those who want to join a military pact do so out of their weakness or a feeling of insecurity. The moment you allow yourselves to feel that you cannot defend your own country, half your freedom is gone. We must feel that we can overcome any crisis and withstand the biggest forces in the world. This is not a boast. There is no doubt about it that there are very powerful nations in the world. But that does not mean that we have to bow down to the greatest power on earth. Ultimately, a nation's strength lies in its people, in unity and a determination to hold on to their freedom even it means great sacrifices. You must remember that a nation with such an outlook is invincible.

India lost again and again in the past because of our internal disunity and fissiparous tendencies. The enemy came and set one man against another. We must not fall into that trap again. We must foster unity and cooperate with one another. We must get rid of casteism and communalism which have weakened us in the past. The majority of the people in India are Hindus. But there are millions of Muslims, Christians, Jains, Parsis, Sikhs and others. Most of these religions have flourished in India for thousands of years. Many of them are indigenous to our country. We must all live together as one family.

Take the castes. The caste system has weakened us terribly in the past by creating tremendous disparities. It cannot coexist with socialism and democracy because the caste system believes in disparities and divides the people into compartments. There are other divisive forces which we must fight against. We must remember that India is respected in the world because of our ability to work together. The moment we forget our nationalism we will become weak and lose the respect of others. When an Indian goes abroad, his passport shows that he is a citizen of the Republic of India, not whether he comes from Bengal, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madras, Mysore or some other province. That is how you are treated abroad and respected because India is held in respect.

I want you to remember that we are living in a revolutionary world today amidst profound changes wrought by modern science and technology. Man is now looking to the Moon. Constant vigilance is extremely important. We have received a warning already lest we slacken or become complacent. It is a kind of a race and if some people wish to relax, others will not wait but go ahead.

We have been born in these revolutionary times which is a matter of great good fortune for us. It is a great challenge for people who have vitality. New avenues are opening up. There are difficulties and we have to work very hard. We cannot achieve anything by shouting slogans or taking out processions.

The youth in particular must be fully aware of the times that they live in. It is a ruthless tough world and yet the rewards for hard work and effort are many. The revolutionary times that we are living in provide great opportunities to people for progress. Why should anyone lose heart as some people seem to do? It is true that the government cannot provide jobs for forty crores of people. But why run after jobs? If they have the courage, let them do something productive.

I have seen India changing a great deal during the last fifty years. We have seen many of our dreams come true. But we have new dreams for India now because this is a never ending story. The youth of today will perhaps see our dreams come true. They should be prepared for the responsibilities that the future may bring.

When we shout Bharat Mata ki Jai, whom do we refer to? A woman sitting in a cave? Have you ever thought about it? All of us together are Bharat Mata. India is not something apart from us. [Applause] India is her people, past, present and future. At the moment it is you and I. Tomorrow the next generation will take over. It is a never-ending process. We have to help in the uplift of our country and build a strong independent India.

Big developments are taking place all over the world and in India. We should welcome them even if it means facing dangers. We should be fearless for in that will lie our victory.

Now I have to go to Poona. So you will excuse me. Jai Hind! Please say Jai Hind with me thrice.

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

9. At Umedpur, Sholapur: To the Vimukta Jati Parishad⁷¹

सभापति जी,⁷² बहनो और भाइयो,
आज मैं पहली बार ऐसे एक विमुक्त जाति⁷³ के सम्मेलन में आया हूँ। कुछ महीने हुए केशवलाल जी मेरे पास दिल्ली में आये थे और उन्होंने मुझे निमंत्रण दिया था यहाँ आने का। तो आजकल मैं बहुत फिर नहीं सकता, दौरा नहीं करता, काम अधिक रहता है लेकिन दो बातें मुझे अच्छी

71. Speech inaugurating an all-India conference of denotified tribes, Umedpur, Sholapur, 11 April 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

72. Sabhapati seems to be Keshavlal referred to in the second sentence.

73. This refers to the communities denotified under the Criminal Tribes Laws (Repeal) Act 1952. See also SWJN/SS/19/p. 484, item 18.

लगीं, एक तो ये कि शोलापुर मैं बहुत दिन से आया नहीं था और दूसरी बात ये कि ऐसे सम्मेलन में, विमुक्त जाति के,⁷⁴ मैं पहले कभी नहीं आया था। इसलिए मैंने उसको स्वीकार किया और आज यहाँ आपके सामने आया हूँ।

जैसे मैं यहाँ पहुँचा, मुझे कुछ भाइयों ने यहाँ मंच पर पर्वे दे दिये। एक कोई पंजाब की तरफ़ से था, एक उत्तर प्रदेश, तीसरे आंध्र ने धमकी दी देने को मुझे पर्चा। तो मैंने एकाध पर्वे को पढ़ा कुछ तो उसमें कुछ लिखा था कि पंजाब को या उत्तर प्रदेश को जो विमुक्त जाति के लोग आये हैं उनके साथ न्याय नहीं हो रहा है, उनको सरकारी नौकरी नहीं मिलती। ठीक, मैंने उनसे कहा कि जो यहाँ मेरे साथ बहुत शिकायत करेंगे और विशेषकर सरकारी नौकरी के बारे में मेरी सहानुभूति उनके साथ बिल्कुल नहीं रहेगी। मैंने कहा बात पहले ही साफ़ हो जानी चाहिए, कोई धोखा न रहे क्यों मैंने यह कहा, मैं आपको यह समझाऊँ।

हमारे देश के सामने बड़े प्रश्न हैं। उन बड़े प्रश्नों में सभी लोग आ जाते हैं। चाहे किसी जाति के हों या न हों। उसके बाद यह सही है कि विशेष प्रश्न हैं, खास प्रश्न हैं जो खास-खास जातियों के लिए हो सकते हैं जैसे आपके लेकिन सबसे बड़े प्रश्न सारे देश के हैं। आप नौकरी का प्रश्न लें— कितने लोगों को नौकरी देश में मिले? आप आयें मेरे पास, आपको नौकरी दस, बीस, पचास हजार मिल जायें, सौ हजार मिल जायें, पाँच हजार मिल जायें, दस हजार मिल जायें, जो कहना हो कह दो लेकिन देश में चालीस करोड़ आदमी रहते हैं, वो सब एक दूसरे की नौकरी नहीं कर सकते हैं। समझने की बात है— चालीस कोटि आदमी देश के नौकरी पर नहीं चल सकते, किसकी नौकरी करें? अपनी नौकरी करें सब बैठकर। माना मैंने कि सरकार है, केन्द्रीय सरकार है, प्रदेश भी है, और हैं उसमें नौकरी करना कोई बुरी बात तो नहीं है, ठीक है, जो योग्य हों करें लेकिन देश का काम सरकारी नौकरी से नहीं चलता, देश का काम चलता है लोग कुछ ऐसे कार्य को करें, ऐसे काम करें जिससे कुछ पैदा करें, चाहे वो किसान हो ज़मीन पर काम करता है, चाहे वो उद्योग-धंधा कोई करता है, चाहे वो कारख़ाने में काम करता है, चाहे ग्रामोद्योग हो, कारीगरी हो, पचासों, हजारों, लाखों काम हैं यानी जिस काम से कुछ आदमी पैदा करता है, कुछ धन, क्योंकि सामान धन होता है किसान ज़मीन से, भूमि से पैदा करता है वो धन है, सोना-चाँदी धन नहीं है वो व्यापार की चीज़ें हैं। धन होता है जो नयी चीज़ पैदा हो, भूमि से ग़ल्ला पैदा हो, वो नया ग़ल्ला है किसी दूसरे की जेब से नहीं ले आया है, वो एक नयी चीज़ है तो वो देश का धन हुआ। एक कारीगर कोई काम करे, कोई चीज़ बनाये अपने हाथ से, तो नयी चीज़ बनाता है वो, किसी दूसरे की चीज़ नहीं है वो, अपने परिश्रम से, अपनी अक़ल से बनाता है। जिस देश में अधिक से अधिक लोग हों जो कि अपने परिश्रम से, अपनी बुद्धि से नयी चीज़ें पैदा करें वो देश भला होता है, उस देश की तरक्की होती है, उन्नति होती है, जिस देश में लोग एक दूसरे की नौकरी का सहारा ढूँढ़े, वो गिरा हुआ देश है। मान लीजिए मेरा मतलब नहीं है नौकरी करना कोई बुरी बात है, यह मैं नहीं कहता। हर देश में सरकारी या कोई

74. According to *The Times of India* of 13 April 1960, p. 11, delegates from UP, MP, Andhra Pradesh, Madras and elsewhere attended, and Nehru addressed a gathering of 20, 000 members of the denotified tribes.

कामकाज देश के चलाने के लिए नौकरी होती है। इसके लिए अक्सर बड़े-बड़े इम्तहान होते हैं कि जो इम्तहान में पास हो, उसको वो पदवी मिले। ये तो होना है और आप में से कोई इम्तहान में पास हों, बड़ी खुशी की बात है आप उसको लें लेकिन वो कोई नौकरी देना खैरात नहीं है कि इस जाति को इतनी दें, इस जाति को दूसरी दो। वो कुछ खास विशेष काम करने के लिए हैं। अगर उस काम के लायक आदमी हैं तो उसको मिले, नहीं हैं तो नहीं मिले। चाहे किसी जाति का हो वो, यह बात आप समझ लें। ये बँटवारा इस तरह से किया जाये तो फिर देश आपका कहाँ रहे। सोचिए आप, फिर देश में जितनी उन्नतिशील बातें हैं, जितनी बातें देश को चढ़ाती हैं, वो क्या होती हैं? वो होती हैं कि हल्के-हल्के हमारी जनता ऊँची होती जाये, बुद्धिमान होती जाये, कार्यशील होती जाये, बड़े-बड़े काम करे, हम मुक्ताबला करें बाहर के देशों का— अमरीका का, जापान का, रूस का, अंग्रेजों के देश का हम मुक्ताबला करें। कैसे मुक्ताबला करें? नौकरियों का बँटवारा करके तो हम मुक्ताबला करेंगे नहीं। करें हम, जो काम वो करते हैं उस काम को हम अधिक अच्छा करें, अगर खेती है तो उनसे अच्छी करें, अगर कारखाने में काम करना है तो उनसे अधिक अच्छा करें, अगर दफ्तर में नौकरी करनी है तो उनसे अच्छी करें, हर चीज़ में हम अच्छा करें। इसीलिए उन लोगों से काम करवायें जो कि निपुण हों, जो कि तेज़ हों। इसीलिए उनको अच्छी तरह से सिखायें क्योंकि सीखे हुए आदमी अच्छा काम करते हैं, बग़ैर सीखे हुए नहीं, वो काम नहीं होगा। तो आप देखें किस तरह से मैं इस नौकरी के विचार को देखता हूँ। मैं ऊँची नौकरियों का कह रहा हूँ कि उसमें सीखे हुए लोग आयें, जितना अधिक सीखे हुए होंगे उतनी अधिक उनकी उन्नति होगी, देश की होगी क्योंकि हमारे सामने प्रश्न देश में इस समय है कि हम कैसे एक नया भारत बनायें, कैसे पुराने भारत को, भारत तो पुराना है पुराना ही रहेगा वो तो नया नहीं हो जायेगा। पुराना देश हमारा हज़ारों बरस का है लेकिन पुराने देश का जो सामाजिक वस्त्र है उसको ज़रा उसको उठाकर दूसरा नया वस्त्र हम पहनायें।

आप देखो समाज क्या चीज़ होता है? समाज एक चीज़ ऐसी नहीं है जो हमेशा एक सा हो, समाज बदलता रहता है जैसे बच्चा बड़ा होता है, समाज भी बड़ा होता है। एक बच्चा, छोटा बच्चा, आप उसके लिए वस्त्र पहनाते हैं उसको, छोटा वस्त्र पहना देते हैं, ज़रा बच्चा बड़ा होता है तो उसका वस्त्र उसके लिए छोटा हो जाता है, तो ज़रा बड़ा वस्त्र होता है। इस तरह से जैसे-जैसे वो बढ़ता जाता है, वस्त्र उसका बढ़ता जाता है और अगर आप नहीं बदलें तो बच्चे को बड़ी परेशानी हो, उसके बढ़ने में भी कठिनाई हो, लेकिन बढ़ेगा फिर भी, वो रुक नहीं जायेगा। इसी तरह से समाज भी बदलता है और बढ़ता है। हाँ, समय अधिक लगता है। जहाँ बच्चे के बढ़ने में वर्ष लगते हैं, वहाँ समाज को बढ़ने में सैकड़ों वर्ष लग सकते हैं। तो ज्यों-ज्यों समाज बढ़ता है, समाज का वस्त्र भी कुछ न कुछ बदलना पड़ता है।

समाज का वस्त्र क्या होता है? समाज का वस्त्र होता है समाज के अंदर का संगठन, उसके रिवाज़ वो होते हैं। एक अच्छे से अच्छा रिवाज़ हो सकता है, समाज के बढ़ने पर बुरा हो जाये। एक समय पर अच्छी बात दूसरे समय पर शायद अच्छी न रहे जैसे बच्चे का कपड़ा बड़ा सुंदर है, ठीक है, बचपन में उसको पहनाओ, जब वो बड़ा हो गया तो एक मूर्खता की बात है, उसको आये ही नहीं। इसलिए समाज का वस्त्र बदला जाता है, नहीं बदला जाये तो समाज बड़ी कठिनाई में पड़ता है, बढ़ नहीं सकता है, मुसीबत आती है, और सब बातें होती हैं।

अब समाज के वस्त्र खाली ऊपर से बदलने के नहीं हैं, कुछ-कुछ मन के भी बदलने के हैं, कुछ अपने मन को...। कैसे समाज के वस्त्र बदलते हैं मन के? पढ़ाई से और इत्यादि इस तरह से। ये समझें कि हमारी दुनिया क्या है? हमारा समाज क्या है? उसको समझने के लिए कोशिश करें, अगर हम पिछड़ जाते हैं दुनिया आगे बढ़ जाती है तो फिर बड़ा कठिन हो जाता है हमें आगे बढ़ना, हम पिछड़ गये, समाज या दुनिया का इतिहास है, एक बहती हुई नदी का, एक नदी बहती जाती है। अगर नदी का कुछ पानी अलग हो जाये उस बहती नदी से और कहीं जमा हो जाये, बहे नहीं तो क्या होता है उस पानी में? वो पानी खराब हो जाता है, थोड़े दिनों के बाद गंदा हो जाता है क्योंकि बहता नहीं है वो गंदा हो जाता है, अलग पड़ा रहता है वैसे ही समाज से, एक बहते हुए समाज से कुछ अलग हो जायें लोग और नहीं बहें, नहीं बदलें, अपनी पुरानी बात को पकड़े रहें, नयी दुनिया को नहीं समझें, तो वो सिकुड़ जाती है, वो फिर आगे नहीं बढ़ते, उनका मन सिकुड़ जाता है, उनका शरीर सिकुड़ जाता है। अगर आप लोग कुछ इतिहास को पढ़ें तो आप देखें कैसी जातियाँ हैं जो कि बड़ी ऊँची थीं, नीच हो गयीं। इसलिए नहीं कि लोगों ने नीच कर दिया, यह भी बात हो सकती है लेकिन कोई नीच होता नहीं। जिसका सिर ऊँचा होता है, न उसको कोई कर सकता है, न कोई देश कभी गुलाम होता है दूसरे देश का, अगर उस देश में दम हो। हमारा देश एक प्राचीन देश है, हजारों वर्ष पुराना है और इसका इतिहास, इसके इतिहास में बहुत सारी प्रसिद्ध बातें हैं जिसने दुनिया पर बड़ा असर किया लेकिन फिर भी हमारा देश गुलाम देश हो गया। क्यों हुआ? बाहर से लोगों ने आकर हमें अधीन कर लिया अपने। क्यों हुआ? इसलिए नहीं कि बाहर वाले बड़े तगड़े थे, इसलिए कि हम गिर गये थे, इसलिए कि हममें मानसिक शक्ति कम हो गयी थी, हममें शारीरिक बल कम हो गया था। हम में हिम्मत कम हो गयी थी, हममें आपस में मिलकर रहना कम हो गया था, हम आपस में लड़ते-झगड़ते थे। तो इत्ता ऊँचा देश जैसे कि भारत रहा, वो भी गिर गया और उसके गिरने से बाहर के लोगों ने आकर उस पर कब्ज़ा किया।

तो देशों का बढ़ना उन्हीं के हाथ में होता है, कोई दूसरे से माँगकर नहीं बढ़ता है। और जातियों का बढ़ना भी अपने हाथ में होता है। हाँ, दूसरे लोग सहायता दे सकते हैं, ठीक है और सबसे बड़ी देन और सबसे बड़ी चीज़ जो होती है वो आखिर में विद्या है। विद्या के माने खाली किताब पढ़ना नहीं है, विद्या के माने हाथ पैर से काम करना, कोई न कोई काम करना, चाहे वो ज़मीन का काम हो या उद्योग-धंधा हो या बढ़ई का काम हो या लुहार का काम हो या डॉक्टर का काम हो या इंजीनियर का काम हो या फ़ोरमैन का काम हो या मिस्त्री का काम हो, कोई काम करना, दुनिया के कामों में कुछ काम करना, समाज का काम, अपना काम, उससे दुनिया चलती है। कैसे चलता है संसार? लोगों के कार्य से चलता है, दफ़्तर में बाबूगिरी करने से नहीं दुनिया चलती है। दफ़्तर में काम ठीक-ठीक होता है। मैं नहीं कहता सब ग़लत होता है लेकिन अगर दफ़्तर में काम दो-चार-रोज़ के लिए बंद हो जाये तो शायद बहुत किसी को हानि न हो लेकिन आप जानते हैं अगर किसान थोड़े दिन के लिए अपनी खेती बंद कर दे तो सारी फ़सल निकल जाये हाथ से या कारख़ाने हमारे बंद हो जाते हैं, शोलापुर में भी बंद हो जाया करते हैं ज़रूरत से ज़्यादा तो उससे हानि होती है, देश को हानि होती है, उनको हानि होती है। तो हर एक आदमी को सीखना है अपनी उन्नति के लिए, अपनी जाति की, अपने देश की और यह

मान लो कि अगर किसी देश को तुम तराजू में तोलना चाहो कि यह देश कैसा है तो देखना पड़ेगा उस देश में कितने लोग सीखे हुए हैं, जितने अधिक सीखे हुए होंगे, वो देश आगे बढ़ेगा। देश गिनती से नहीं बढ़ते हैं गिनती भेड़-बकरी की जाती है, आदमियों की नहीं की जाती। भेड़-बकरी शेर नहीं हो जाते, वो भेड़ बकरी ही रहते हैं लेकिन एक शेर हजार भेड़-बकरियों को भगा देता है। तो इसलिए हमारा देश आगे बढ़ेगा तो बढ़ेगा अपनी खूबी से, अपने गुण से, अपनी कार्यशीलता से, अपनी विद्या से। हमारे यहाँ एक आदमी ऊँचा होता है, सारे देश को उठा देता है, एक महात्मा गाँधी हुए, वो सारे देश की प्रतिष्ठा दुनिया में बहुत कर देते हैं, और दुनिया को तो छोड़ो हमारे दिल बड़े हो जाते हैं, हमारा सिर ऊँचा हो जाता है। सब जो भारत के रहने वाले हैं। तो हम सब लोग, हममें से कोई महात्मा गाँधी तो हो नहीं सकता लेकिन फिर भी हम उनसे सीख सकते हैं। क्या सबक है उनका? क्या उन्होंने सिखाया और यह कि हमें अपने उठाने में, अपने परिश्रम से हमें उठना है। अब आप देखें सब लोग समाज में, सब लोग पुरुष-स्त्री कुछ न कुछ समाज का धन खाते हैं, समाज का धन मैं कहता हूँ जो कुछ भी पैदा हो देश में, वो समाज का धन है, चाहे खेती से, चाहे कारखाने से, चाहे जैसे अब सब आदमी कुछ न कुछ खाते हैं। न खायें तो? चाहे कम मिले खाने को, कुछ न कुछ तो खाते हैं न, तो समाज का धन खाया। कुछ वस्त्र पहनते हैं समाज के बनाये हुए, परिश्रम से, कुछ कपड़े पहने उन्होंने। ये वो चीजें आवश्यक हैं, और भी चीजों का प्रयोग करते हैं, कुछ न कुछ, अमीर लोग बहुत करते हैं, फ़िज़ूल करते हैं, ज़ाया करते हैं, लेकिन ग़रीब लोग भी कुछ न कुछ करते हैं। तो गर्ज कि एक-एक आदमी पुरुष-स्त्री कुछ न कुछ समाज का धन खाता है।

अब प्रश्न यह उठता है कि समाज को कितना वो कमाकर देता है। समाज के ख़ज़ाने में से तो लेता है, वो समाज के ख़ज़ाने में रखता क्या है? हर एक पुरुष को खाना भी है और कमा कर रखना भी है तब तराजू बराबर हो। हाँ, अच्छा तो ये हो कि जितना वो खाता है उससे अधिक रखे क्योंकि जब अधिक रखेगा समाज के पास, उससे समाज की उन्नति होगी। तो कोई आदमी जो ख़ाली खाने और कुछ समाज के लिए कमाये नहीं, वो समाज के लिए बोझा हो जाता है। दो तरह से ऐसे लोग होते हैं, एक तो बेचारे ग़रीब लोग जिनको कोई काम न मिले, रोज़गार न मिले, उनका क़सूर नहीं, आमतौर से नहीं, यों किसी का हो, वो बोझा हो जाते हैं। दूसरी तरफ़ से बहुत अमीर लोग जो कुछ करते ही नहीं हैं, औरों के करे पर खाया करते हैं, कुछ अपने हाथ से करके देते नहीं, वो दोनों बोझा हैं। एक बहुत ग़रीब, एक बहुत अमीर क्योंकि दोनों कुछ मज़बूरी से, कुछ और वजह से समाज का खाते तो हैं लेकिन समाज को उसके एवज़ में कुछ देते नहीं हैं। आमतौर से लोग तो, अधिकतर लोग तो देते भी हैं, लेते भी हैं। इसी तरह से समाज चलता है नहीं तो समाज ठंडा हो जाये। ये मोटी-मोटी बातें मैं आपको बता रहा हूँ कि ये प्रश्न आपका यह नहीं है कि आपको चार नौकरी यहाँ मिल जायें और पाँच कुछ और कोई जैसे हमारे हरिजन भाइयों को कुछ हैं। मैं बहुत खुश नहीं हूँ मैं आपसे साफ़ कह दूँ कि हरिजन भाइयों के लिए खास प्रबन्ध हो नौकरी का, मैं इससे बहुत खुश नहीं हूँ। मैंने कभी उसको पसंद नहीं किया। अब, यह सिलसिला चला आता है, मुझे उनसे बड़ी हमदर्दी है हरिजन भाइयों से, हमदर्दी है, लेकिन इस माने में मैं कहता हूँ कि जहाँ कोई लोग एक अपने माथे पर लिखा लें कि हम पिछड़े हुए हैं, हमारी सहायता हो यह अच्छी बात किसी जाति के लिए नहीं है। मेरे पास लोग आते

हैं, कहते हैं हमें भी हरिजनों में लिखा दो, मुझे बड़ा आश्चर्य होता है। हम भी शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट में, क्यों, क्योंकि उसकी बात सही है क्योंकि शेड्यूल्ड कास्ट में हमारा लिखा जायेगा नाम तो हमें कुछ उससे मिलता है, हमें वहाँ असेम्बली में और पार्लियामेंट में वोट खास मिलता है अपने आदमी को भेजने का, हमें पढ़ने के लिए, शिक्षा के लिए मिलता है, और बातें मिलती हैं। कुछ ठीक है मुझे उसके मिलने में कोई आपत्ति नहीं है लेकिन कोई आदमी मुझसे कहे आ के कि हमें यह निश्चय कर दो कि हम गिरे हुए हैं, यह बात अच्छी नहीं है किसी मनुष्य के लिए या किसी जाति के लिए भी। हाँ, एक अभिमान करना कि हम बड़े ऊँचे हैं यह भी बुरी बात है। सच बात तो यह है कि आप आते हैं। एक विमुक्त जाति को लें और दूसरी कोई और जाति। मैं इस जाति के नाम से बड़ा चिढ़ गया हूँ। इस देश में इत्ती अनेक जातियाँ फैली कि उनका गिनना भी कठिन हो गया है और इस जातिभेद ने इस देश को तबाह किया है और देशों में भी एक तरह के जातिभेद होते हैं। कोई देश जातिभेद से अलग नहीं है लेकिन फ़र्क़ यह है कि हमारे यहाँ जातिभेद ऐसा पक्का किया, रस्सी से बांध दिया कि उससे निकलना कठिन हो जाता है। और देशों में जातिभेद है, उसमें ऐसी कठिनाई नहीं है, बंधे हुए नहीं हैं, इधर से उधर हो जाते हैं कोई, बदलते रहते हैं, थोड़े दिन में पता भी नहीं चलता किसकी जाति क्या है। हमारे यहाँ भी पहले जब ये जाति का प्रश्न उठा था, वो उस समय दो हजार वर्ष हुए, तीन हजार वर्ष हुए, उस समय जातिभेद ऐसा नहीं जैसा अब है। वो था असल में, जातिभेद नहीं बल्कि काम का भेद था, जैसा काम कोई करता था उसका भेद था, वो ठीक है, सब जगह होता है, वो बढ़ते-बढ़ते इत्ता बढ़ा कि जैसे आजकल हजारों जातियाँ हैं। ये बात, इसने भारत को जितनी हानि जातिभेद से पहुँचायी उत्ती किसी बात ने नहीं पहुँचायी और इसलिए हमारा कर्तव्य होना चाहिए, हमारा लक्ष्य और ध्येय होना चाहिए कि इस देश से जातिभेद बिल्कुल निकल जाये।

विमुक्त जाति आप कहते हैं। एक माने में आपने विमुक्त जाति रखा नाम, इसलिए कि थोड़े वर्ष हुए क्रायदे-क्रानून आपका बंधन करते थे। खैर, अच्छा हुआ आपने नाम रखा लेकिन मैं तो कहूँगा कि हमारे यहाँ जो लोग बहुत अपनी-अपनी जाति में फँसे हुए हैं वो अभी तक विमुक्त नहीं हैं, वो बंधन में हैं, जाति के रस्से में हैं, जाति के क़ैदखाने में हैं, चाहे वो अपने को बड़ी ऊँच जाति का क्यों न समझें, वो उसमें एक जेल में पड़े हैं अभी, मानसिक जेल में पड़े हैं, चाहे शरीर उनका न हो और इससे निकालना है तब देश आगे बढ़ेगा।

हम बातें करते हैं आपने सुना है प्रजातन्त्रवाद है हमारे यहाँ। क्रानून में जिते आप लोग बैठे हैं सभी को बराबर के अधिकार हैं, कोई फ़र्क़ नहीं है जातिभेद से, जाति से अधिकार नहीं होते। वोट आपको है या जो कुछ है, कोई मुक़दमा आप पर हो, मुक़दमों में आप फँसे, वो मुक़दमा आपके लिए एक है, सभी के लिए एक है, वो क्रानून एक है, वो तो एक बात है लेकिन समाज की रीति में बहुत अंतर है। इसमें कोई सदेह नहीं है, समाज में अब तक जातिभेद है, पहले से कम है लेकिन है। और हाँ मैं कह रहा था आपसे प्रजातन्त्रवाद हम कहते हैं और हम कहते हैं समाजवाद हमारे देश में हो और उसके लिए कोशिश करते हैं। समाजवाद के क्या मायने और प्रजातन्त्रवाद के क्या माने? उसके माने यह हैं कि हर पुरुष और स्त्री को एक माने बराबर का मौक़ा मिलना चाहिए, समाजवाद और प्रजातन्त्रवाद जातिभेद को नहीं मानता, कोई भी हो इसमें और मुझे आश्चर्य होता है कि हमारे बड़े समाजवादी लोग जो हैं, बड़े जोर का व्याख्यान देंगे

समाजवाद पर, लेकिन जाति के ढोल में फँसे हुए हैं वो खुद अगर उनको देखो तो या उनके परिवार को देखो या उनको। ये तो हमारे देश में आजकल हाल है, इसमें कोई आश्चर्य नहीं है क्योंकि हमारा देश बदल रहा है, तेज़ी से बदल रहा है और बदलेगा। तो बदलने के समय सब बातें मिली जुली होती हैं, लेकिन बात जो मैं आपसे कह रहा हूँ वो ये कि जातिभेद से निकलना। जातिभेद से निकलने के ये माने नहीं होते कि हम किसी के गुण नहीं पहचानें, सब लोग बराबर नहीं हो जाते हैं, गुणी आदमी के गुण होते हैं, गुणी नहीं हैं नहीं हैं गुण उसके, कोई क़ानून से गुण थोड़े ही किसी को दे देता है। हमें कोई फ़र्ज़ करो एक पुल बनाना है नदी पर। कौन पुल बनायेगा? हम किसी को भर्ती कर दें कि जाओ भाई, इस जाति के लोगों को भी हम भर्ती कर दें, नौकरी देनी है, उनको पुल बनाना न आये तो मैं क्या करूँ, वो पुल तो नहीं बनेगा, कुछ भी नहीं होगा। इसी तरह से देश के काम के लिए सीखे हुए लोग चाहियें।

हर एक को बराबर का मौक़ा मिले, बड़ी बात यह है। आजकल नहीं मिलता बराबर का मौक़ा और आप लोग जो विमुक्त जाति के अपने को कहते हैं। आज नहीं एक सौ बरस से या कितने दिन से आपको कोई मौक़ा बढ़ने का मिला नहीं, आपके साथ अन्याय समाज का हुआ, उस ज़माने की सरकार, गवर्नमेंट का अन्याय, समाज का अन्याय सब, माना मैंने हुआ, और बहुत अनुचित था क्योंकि एक आदमी को गिराने का तरीक़ा सबसे बड़ा यह है कि उसको एक तो गिराओ और उसको खुद उसके माथे पर लिख दो यह गिरा हुआ है। इससे बड़ी बात कोई नहीं हो सकती है किसी को गिराने की। तो पहला प्रश्न यह होता है कि माथे पर से निकाल दो जो लिखा हुआ है लेकिन उससे कठिन बात यह होती है, माथे से तो निकल जायेगा लेकिन उसके मन से निकल जाये वो बड़ी कठिन बात होती है। जब मन से निकल जाये तो दूसरा नहीं गिरा सकता है और जब तक वो मन में बात है तो ऐसी बातें करता है वो उसी तरह से और बढ़ता नहीं। तो ख़ैर अन्याय हुआ बहुत दिन से, वो क़ानून का अन्याय तो ख़त्म हो गया, उसका अन्त हो गया ठीक है।

अब ये बड़ा प्रश्न है कि कैसे ये लोग जो बेचारे सौ, सवा सौ, डेढ़ सौ वर्ष से दबाये हुए थे और दबने में बुरी आदतें उन्हें हो गयी थीं बहुत कुछ। कैसे वो पूरा मौक़ा उन्हें मिले कि समाज में उनको पूरा हिस्सा मिले और एक बराबर की उनकी उन्नति हो देश के साथ, बहते हुए दरिया में वो भी आ जायें, अलग उनका एक थोड़ा सा पानी न हो जाये? यह बड़ा प्रश्न है और यह विचार करने की बात है आपको, हमको, जो लोग सरकारी काम करते हैं उनको - जो हमारे अफ़सर। आखिर में ये सब बातें एक ही तरह से ठीक होती हैं— शिक्षा से। शिक्षा से और शिक्षा भी ख़ाली ऐसी शिक्षा नहीं कि आप जाकर एक वो इन्ट्रेंस का इम्तहान पास कर लो या कॉलेज में भर्ती हो जाओ या वो बी.ए. भी कुछ हो जाओ, हो जाओ अच्छा है, लेकिन आजकल ज़रा दूसरी शिक्षा पर ज़्यादा ज़ोर है, जिस शिक्षा से आप कोई काम, हाथ पैर से अच्छी तरह से कर सकें वो शिक्षा का आजकल ज़ोर है। वो ठीक है और पढ़ा लिखा आदमी भी जब किताब पढ़ने लगे और किताब लिखने लगे, अच्छा गुण है लेकिन आपको शायद मालूम हो कि गाँधी जी उससे भी कहते थे कि तुम चर्खा चलाओ या कुछ और करो। वो इस बात पर ज़ोर देते थे कि हाथ पैर से कोई काम किया करे हर एक आदमी। मैं पूरा इसमें विश्वास करता हूँ। हाथ पैर से काम करने से आदमी की बुद्धि बढ़ती है, तग़ड़ा शरीर भी होता है। ख़ैर, हर तरह के लोग होते हैं।

जबरदस्ती हर एक से कोई काम कराना तो कठिन है। तो सारी जो बात मैं आपसे कह रहा हूँ वो ये कि ये सब बातें शिक्षा पर हैं, शिक्षा पर हैं कि ठीक शिक्षा, आपको मौका मिले और आप सीखें कुछ न कुछ करना, चाहे ज़मीन पर खेती में, हमारी खेती भी पिछड़ गयी है। हालाँकि यहाँ शोलापुर में आज सवेरे मैं फिरा तो मैंने देखा— बंडिंग, कैसी सुंदर बंडिंग यहाँ के हमारे किसान कर रहे हैं, बहुत प्रसन्न हुआ उसको देखकर मैं लेकिन हमारी खेती में भी बहुत कुछ हमें तरक्की करनी है लेकिन खेती के अलावा बहुत धंधे हैं, ग्रामोद्योग, गृह के धंधे हैं, बहुत बाते हैं आजकल जो कि लोग कर सकते हैं, अकेले कर सकते हैं या दस-पाँच आदमी मिलकर कर सकते हैं। और यों तो ख़ैर, कारख़ाने में उसमें काम कर ही सकते हैं, कोई बात नहीं है, हो, इधर जाना है यानी आदमी को कुछ चालाक होना है काम करने में, ख़ाली एक घर में बैठे-बैठे अर्जियाँ भेजना नौकरी के लिए, एकाध को मिल जाये नौकरी सबको थोड़े ही मिल सकती है लेकिन काम सब कर सकते हैं, अगर ठीक सीखें। इस ढंग से आपको देखना है।

और एक बात ये कि ये सरकार पर या समाज पर एक बोझा है, एक उसका कर्तव्य है, समाज ने अन्याय किया आप लोगों के साथ बहुत दिनों तक, तो समाज को यों भी करना चाहिए काम और उसका उसको प्रायश्चित्त करना चाहिए, वो तो बात ठीक है करना ही है क्योंकि आप समाज के हिस्से हैं। अगर कोई समाज का हिस्सा नीचे गिरता है, समाज को खेंच ले जाता है, समाज अलग नहीं उठ सकता है और जैसा समाज हम आजकल चाहते हैं, यह नहीं कि दो-चार, दस-बीस आदमी ऊपर चले गये बाक़ी नीचे पड़े हैं वो नहीं, हम तो सभी को उठाना चाहते हैं। तो समाज का यह एक कर्तव्य है लेकिन उसी के साथ आप लोगों का भी कर्तव्य है, क्योंकि कोई समाज या कोई जाति उठ नहीं सकती बग़ैर अपनी शक्ति के, अपने परिश्रम के, अपने गुण के, यह आप याद रखें। अगर आपको वो गुण आ जाये, वो शक्ति आये, तो समाज का काम हल्का हो जाता है, आप बढ़ते हैं। अगर नहीं है तो फिर समाज के करने में बहुत समय लग जायेगा। तो ये दोनों तरफ़ की कोशिश से सफलता होती है। समाज की तरफ़ से मौक़े मिलें आपकी पढ़ाई के, लिखाई के, कामकाज सीखने के, सब बातें और आपकी तरफ़ से कोशिश हो कि आपके लोग, आपका जो छोटा समाज है या जाति है उसको आप कुछ नियम से चलायें, उसको भी आपस में एक दूसरे की सहायता करें, सहयोग, वो जिससे बढ़े, बुरे कामों में न पड़ें जिससे बदनामी हो जाती है। बुरे काम से तो सभी की बदनामी होती है लेकिन विशेषकर आपकी होती है क्योंकि लोग कहेंगे देखो ये तो पहले भी बुरा करते थे अब भी करते हैं। तो बदनामी हो जाती है और उससे हानि होती है। इसलिए विशेषकर आपको इस बात का ख़याल रखना है कि आपमें कोई शख्स इस तरह से आपको पीछे न खेंचे, बदनामी न करे, उसमें हानि होगी और इस तरह से आप आगे बढ़िये।

इत्ता मैं कहूँगा इस समय भारत में, भारत बदल रहा है, क्रांति तरह-तरह की हो रही है, पुरुष-स्त्री, सारे देश में नये काम, शिक्षा बढ़ रही है, नये कारख़ाने ज़मीन पर, भूमि पर नये तरह से काम होता है, ग्रामोद्योग, सब बातें बदल रहीं हैं, बड़ी से बड़ी क्रांति भारत में हो रही है। लोग समझते हैं कि क्रांति के माने हैं लड़ाई करना, लाठी चलाना, ये तो मूर्खता की बात है। क्रांति के माने हैं समाज का बदलना। अब आजकल भारत का समाज बदल रहा है तेज़ी से। मैंने देखा पिछले पच्चीस, तीस, चालीस वर्ष में कितना बदला और मुझे ये पूरा विश्वास है कि अबसे बहुत

छोड़ो बीस-पच्चीस वर्ष बाद जो आप लोग यहाँ नौजवान, नवयुवक बैठे हैं, आप उस समय को देखेंगे तो आप एक नये भारत को देखेंगे। ये सब हो रहा है चारों तरफ़। इसको आप समझें और इसमें आप भाग लें क्योंकि आप और हम तो भारत हैं और भारत कहाँ है? अलग थोड़े हैं कहीं और, भारत आप हैं, आप हैं, आप हैं, मैं हूँ, हम सब हैं भारत, सब चालीस करोड़ आदमी मिलकर भारत होते हैं। तो वही पानी बहते हुए दरिया से कुछ अलग हो जाता है, इस तरह से आप इस प्रश्न को देखें।

आपको अधिकार है और आपका कर्तव्य है कि जो आपकी आवश्यक बातें हैं उनको आप सरकार के सामने रखें, ज़रूर रखें लेकिन मैं आपसे कहूँगा वो बातें ऐसी हों जिससे आपको बढ़ने में, शिक्षा में आसानी हो। ये नौकरी-चाकरी से कोई बढ़ता-वढ़ता नहीं है। नौकरी मिल जाये आपको भला है, मुझे थोड़े ही उसमें कोई आपत्ति है लेकिन आपत्ति यह है मुझे कि आपका मन अगर उधर चक्कर खायेगा तो सही रास्ते पर अधिक आप बढ़ेंगे नहीं। इसलिए मुझे फ़िक्र हो जाती है।

तो मुझे तो पूरा विश्वास है, आशा है और विश्वास है कि अब ये नया मौक़ा आप लोगों को मिला है, चन्द बरसों से उससे पूरा लाभ आप उठाइये और विमुक्त जाति का आपने नाम रखा है, थोड़े दिन बाद कोई यहाँ जाति का नाम इस देश में नहीं उठायेगा।⁷⁵ जय हिन्द।

[Translation begins:

Mr Chairman,⁷⁶ sisters and brothers,

This is the first time that I am attending a conference of the vimukta jati.⁷⁷ Keshavlalji had invited me a few months ago in Delhi. I am not able to get away very often from Delhi. But I agreed to come here because I had not visited Sholapur for a long time and moreover, I have never attended such a conference of the vimukta jati.⁷⁸ So I accepted and am here today.

I have been given memoranda by various people from the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra, saying that justice is not being done and no government jobs are available to the people of the denotified tribes. I told them that I had no sympathy with people who demanded jobs in government. I told them that there should be no misconception about this. Let me tell you why I said this.

India faces grave problems which involve everyone, whichever caste they belong to. It is true that some castes and communities have special problems.

75. To report on the administration of scheduled areas and welfare of scheduled tribes, the President appointed an 11-member Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, under the chairmanship of U.N. Dhebar, on 12 April 1960.

76. See fn 72 in this section.

77. See fn 73 in this section.

78. See fn 74 in this section.

But the major ones concern the whole country. Take the question of employment. After all, how many people can be given jobs in the government? A few thousands can be accommodated. But forty crores of people cannot be given jobs. It is true that it is not a bad thing to serve the Central or the State Governments if they have the ability. But the country needs productive employment, a farmer tilling the field, a carpenter, blacksmith or a worker in a factory, craftsman, etc., who create new wealth. Gold and silver do not constitute wealth. It is the goods produced every year in the country which constitute wealth. A carpenter creates wealth when he makes a table or a chair. It is not transfer of wealth from one pocket to another. A country where the majority of the people work hard and produce new wealth advances very quickly. People who are dependent on salaried employment cannot get very far. I do not mean to say that service is bad. Every country in the world needs the services and recruitment is through examinations. It is a good thing if you can get through them. But government service is not something which can be distributed as patronage. You cannot reserve jobs for communities. We need people of talent and qualification to handle particular jobs. If we started reserving seats on the basis of caste, India will become backward. We want to improve the quality of human beings, their education and skills. They must be capable of taking on big responsibilities and of competing with the advanced countries of the world, the United States, Japan, Soviet Union, England and others. It cannot be done by putting people on government doles. We must aim at improving our method of functioning in every field, in agriculture, industries and even desk jobs. We need highly skilled and efficient people for all this. They must be trained properly because we cannot get anywhere without proper training of our workers. So, you can see how I look at the question of employment, I am talking about big jobs and the need for trained human beings. The more trained and qualified they are, the more India will progress. Our problem at the moment is to build a new India out of the fabric of the old, India has existed for thousands of years and basically it will remain unchanged. But we have to clothe it in a new societal garb.

Now what is society? It is not something unchanging. It has to grow like a child grows from infancy to adulthood and outgrows its clothes in the process. Unless the clothes are changed the child finds it difficult to grow naturally. But he will not stop growing. So also, a society needs to grow. Of course it takes hundreds of years in the process. But its garb has to be changed.

The garb of a society is its inner structure, its customs and traditions. The best of customs may become anomalous as a society grows. Something which is relevant at one time may become useless with the passage of time. It is stupid not to allow such outmoded customs to change. Unless a social structure changes with time, it cannot grow naturally.

Now changing the garb of a society does not mean superficial changes but a change in attitude and thinking through education and experience, a grasp of what is happening all around us. Unless we do so, we will become backward while the others go on. The history of a country or a society is like that of a flowing river. If some of its water stands apart from the mainstream and becomes stagnant, it will become stale and dirty after a while. Similarly, when a nation isolates itself from the mainstream of society and refuses to change but continues to hold on to outworn clichés it shrinks within itself. The mind of its people shrinks. If you read history, you will find races which were great once falling low. It is not that the people become low because a proud people will never bow down its head before anyone. Nor can a nation with vitality and spirit ever be subjugated by another power. India is an ancient country with a history dating back to thousands of years. India had made a great name for itself in the world and its influence spread far and wide. Yet we were subjugated by a foreign power, not because of its superior strength but because we had fallen low, mentally and physically and lost our vitality. We lost a little of our spirit and daring and we cut ourselves off from the outside world. We were constantly at loggerheads with one another. So a great country like India fell and outsiders came and established a stranglehold upon us.

So, a nation's progress is in the hands of its people. Others can help a little. But ultimately the best form of aid is education and training, not mere book-learning but practical creative learning through work. Everyone must learn to do something productive, whether it is on land or industries, as a carpenter or blacksmith, doctor, engineer, foreman or something else. Our day-to-day lives depend on all these things. White-collar jobs and pushing files are not productive in any way. I do not say that some of it is not necessary. But if offices were closed down for a few days, no great harm will be done. As you know, if the farmer were to stop tilling the fields, the crops will be lost. Or, if our industries are shut down, as it often happens in Sholapur and elsewhere, it causes incalculable damage to the people and the country. So, every human being must learn to do something useful and productive for their own progress and for the benefit of his country. A nation's progress can be measured by the yardstick of the number of trained skilled human beings among its population. The larger the number, the more the country will progress. A nation's progress does not depend on a large population but on human beings of quality: India can progress only if we have people who are educated, trained and hardworking. One great human being like Mahatma Gandhi was enough to raise India's stature in the world. Leave aside the rest of the world, a human being of such calibre and mettle puts new hope into an entire people and enables them to hold their heads high. All of us cannot become a Gandhi. But we can learn a great deal

from what he stood for and the lessons that he taught us. The most important lesson was that we will have to work hard to uplift our country. In a society, every human being consumes something. The wealth of a society consists of everything that the people produce from agriculture and industries, etc. Every one of us spends a little of society's wealth on ourselves in the form of food, clothing and other goods. The rich consume more and even waste. But even the poorest among us consumes something.

So, the question is how much of what an individual consumes he can replace in the coffers of the society. An individual must consume as well as produce something to maintain a balance. It will be a good thing if he can produce more than he consumes. Only then can there be progress. An individual who consumes but does not give anything in return becomes a burden on society. There are two kinds in this also. One consists of the poor who have no means of livelihood. Generally speaking they are not to blame and yet they are a burden to society. On the other hand, you have the idle rich who live off the labour of others. They are also a great burden. Both categories of people consume but do not give anything in return. But the majority of the people do not fall into either of these categories which is why a society continues to function.

I am trying to give you a broad idea. It is not a question of providing a few jobs to people, whether they are Harijans or something else. Let me tell you quite fairly that I am not very happy about reservation of government jobs for the Harijans. I have never been in favour of the idea. I have the greatest sympathy with our Harijan brethren but what I mean is that the moment you brand somebody as belonging to a backward class who must be helped, it lowers their stature. People come to me asking to be certified that they are Harijans or belong to the scheduled caste or whatever. The fact is that they can get something out of being classified as scheduled caste. They get a special vote, reservation of seats in schools and colleges, jobs, etc. Well, I have no objection. But the attitude is wrong that anyone should want to be branded as backward. It is not a good thing for any human being or community. It is wrong also to feel that you are superior to the others. But the fact of the matter is that I feel very annoyed with the whole business of categorising anyone as backward. There are so many castes all over the country that it is difficult to keep count. Casteism has ruined us enough in the past. There are class distinctions in every country. No country is quite free from that. But the difference is that the caste system in India has become so rigid that it has become a stranglehold. In other countries, there is greater mobility among the classes. In India too when the caste system was first thought of two or three thousand years ago, there was nothing rigid. It was based more on the types of occupation being followed.

That is the system which obtains everywhere. But gradually it grew and spread to such an extent that there are thousands of castes in India today. Nothing has done greater harm to the country as the caste system. Therefore it should be our duty to root it out completely.

You call yourselves *vimukta jati*. The name was given originally because earlier the customs and traditions had placed enormous restrictions on you. Anyhow, it is a good thing that you are out of it. But I would say that even today there are innumerable people who are still tied hand and foot by caste restrictions. Even those who think that they belong to the higher castes are imprisoned by the taboos and restrictions of the caste system. They are in mental, if not physical, confinement and must get out of it if India is to progress.

We talk of democracy. In the eyes of the law, all of us have equal rights. The caste system has no standing. Everyone has the right to vote. Everyone is tried by the same laws in court. But in practice, things are different. There is no doubt about it that things are improving but the system still persists. So, as I was saying, we talk of democracy and socialism as our goals. What does it mean? It means that every man and woman in India must enjoy equality of opportunity. Democracy and socialism do not recognise casteism. I am amazed when our socialist comrades, who give long speeches on socialism, are themselves caught up in the taboos of casteism in their personal lives. There is no doubt about it that India is changing very fast and the reactions are bound to be mixed. But what I am saying is that we must get rid of casteism. That does not mean that we should ignore the merit and talent in individuals. Everyone is not exactly alike. Nor can laws make them so. For instance, if we had to build a bridge we will have to employ trained human beings to do so. You cannot take in people just because we want to give jobs to a particular caste.

The important thing is to ensure that everyone should get equal opportunities which they do not get at the moment. A vast section of society has been kept downtrodden and deprived of opportunities. There has been great injustice to them in every way. The surest way of degrading a human being is to brand him as downtrodden. So the most important thing is to remove that branding. But even more difficult than that is to remove the stigma from his mind. Once that is done, nobody can keep him downtrodden. So long as he continues to feel at a disadvantage, he will not be able to progress. Legally we have tried to put an end to their affliction.

Now the question is how to ensure that the people who have been suppressed for centuries get out of their ingrained bad habits and take their rightful place in society. They should get full opportunity for progress so that they can join the mainstream. They must no longer remain apart and become stagnant. This is something which all of us must help in achieving. Ultimately it can be done

only through education. I do not mean mere book-learning or getting a B.A. or M.A. degree though that is a good thing too. Nowadays the stress is on a different kind of education which teaches human beings to do constructive work. As you know, Gandhiji used to lay great stress on spinning the charkha by everyone, including the educated people, I too believe in some form of manual work for everyone. It makes your mind work better and physically you become stronger. Well, people are of different kinds. It is difficult to coerce anyone. What I am trying to say is that everything depends on education and the right opportunity for learning something useful and creative whether it is agriculture or something else. India has lagged behind in agriculture though I saw excellent bunding work being done here in Sholapur, I was very happy to see that. But we have to adopt modern, scientific techniques. Then there are industries, small, cottage industries which people can take up as individuals or in cooperatives. They can go to work in big factories. Human beings must acquire new skills instead of sending in applications for government jobs. Only a few people can get government jobs. Once they acquire new skills, they can go ahead on their own. This is how you must look at things.

It is true that society and government have a great responsibility towards undoing the damage done to the downtrodden sections of society. All of us are parts of society and none of us can progress in isolation. We want to uplift the entire society to a better standard of life. But at the same time, it is the duty of the people to learn to stand on their feet and work hard. Once the people learn to do so it immediately lightens the burden of society. Otherwise, it will take years. So, it has to be a two-way effort. Society must give you the opportunity for education and training for some profession. On your part, you must make an effort to conduct yourselves with discipline, help one another, not indulge in wrongful activities which give you a bad name. It will damage your cause if you do not learn to avoid these pitfalls.

India is marching ahead and revolutionary changes are taking place. There is a new ferment in every sphere of activity, in agriculture, industries, education. It is absurd to associate revolution with violence. A real revolution implies social change. I have seen tremendous changes taking place during the last twenty-five, thirty, forty years. I am convinced that in the next two, three decades, the young men seated here today will find a new India emerging. We are all part of this changing India, all forty crores of us.

You have the right to put your problems before the government. In fact, it is your duty to do so. But you must seek the help of the government in areas which you can develop further. All this demand for government jobs will get you nowhere. I have no objection if some of you get jobs. What I object to is that in thinking about government service. You will not develop on the right

track. That is what bothers me.

I have confidence that you will make full use of this new opportunity which has been given to you. In a few years' time, the word "Vimukta Jati" should not be heard any more in the country.⁷⁹ Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

10. In Sholapur: To Peasants⁸⁰

शेतकरी बंधुओ,
आपने अभी ये [...] पहले तो आप जो लोग मेरी आवाज़ को सुन सकते हैं कृपा करके हाथ उठायें। मुझे आज यहाँ आकर शोलापुर में और विशेषकर इस सम्मेलन में आकर बहुत खुशी होती है। आप जानते हैं, मैंने तो कभी किसी खेत में काम किया नहीं। यह मेरा दुर्भाग्य है लेकिन बहुत वर्षों से मुझे शेतकरी लोगों के काम में दिलचस्पी रही। इसको करीब चालीस वर्ष हो गये अपने प्रदेश में, उत्तर प्रदेश में और जब मैंने उनका हाल देखा तो बहुत मुझे दुःख हुआ था उस समय क्योंकि वहाँ उस समय शायद आपने सुना हो बड़े-बड़े ताल्लुक़ेदार, जागीरदार, बड़े ज़मींदार रहते थे और उनके नीचे जो किसान काम करते थे, वो बहुत दबे हुए थे, अजीब-अजीब कर लगाये जाते थे। अगर वो ताल्लुक़ेदार के घर में उनकी लड़की का विवाह हो तो नया टैक्स लगाया जाता था, अगर वो हाथी मोल लें तो किसान पर टैक्स लगाया जाता था, हाथी लिया उन्होंने मोल, हथोना कहलाता था वो टैक्स, मोटर लें तो मोटराना टैक्स कहा जाये। वो भी किसान दिया करता था, उनकी रियाया देती थी, ज़मींदार मोटर खरीदें उसका नया टैक्स लगे उनके किसान पर, वो उसको दान दें। तो अजीब हालत थी उस समय।

तो उस समय से चालीस वर्ष हुए, कुछ मेरा सम्बन्ध रहा। खैर, उस समय से तो बहुत कुछ हुआ है और उस ज़मींदारी प्रथा का भी अन्त हो गया, जागीरदारी, ताल्लुक़ेदारी, बड़े ज़मींदारी प्रथा का अन्त हो गया। अभी तक पूरी तौर से ये भूमि के बारे में जो क़ानून हैं, पूरे नहीं हुए हैं। अभी और बहुत कुछ करना है उसको पक्का करने के लिए क्योंकि हमारी इच्छा तो यह है कि भूमि के मालिक हों लोग, अपनी-अपनी भूमि के और जहाँ स्वयं काम करें और अपने पड़ोसियों से मिलकर सहकारी संघ बनायें। इस तरह से उनके काम की उन्नति होती जाये।

हमारा देश बड़ा है और उसमें बिल्कुल एक बात कर देनी सारे देश के लिए कठिन होती है क्योंकि हालात अलग-अलग हैं लेकिन बड़े सिद्धान्त जो हैं वो तो एक हो सकते हैं और इन सिद्धान्तों के नीचे, फिर जो थोड़ा बहुत अन्तर हो अलग-अलग प्रदेशों में, वो हो सकता है।

79. See fn 75 in this section.

80. Speech at a farmers' rally organised by the District Shetkari Sangh (Sholapur District Farmers' Union) of Sholapur, Government Seed Farm, Sholapur, 11 April 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

तो ये हमारे सामने हैं उद्देश्य और मुझे कुछ दुःख है कि इसके पूरा करने में इत्ते वर्ष लग गये लेकिन शायद आप जानते हों कि इसमें पूरे तौर से हमारा अपराध नहीं था, कुछ अपराध हमारा हो। कुछ तो ये कि जब नये क़ानून बने रहे आज नहीं दस वर्ष हुए तब बड़ी अदालतें जो हैं, उनके पास कुछ वो जागीरदार लोग और बड़े ज़मींदार लोग गये और बड़े लम्बे-लम्बे मुकदमे चलाये, क़ानून पर अमल करना रोक दिया, इससे बरसों निकल गये। यहाँ तक कि फिर हमें जो हमारा विधान है, भारत का विधान है, उसमें कुछ अन्तर करना पड़ा विधानसभा में, पार्लियामेंट में, लोकसभा में जाकर कुछ अन्तर करना पड़ा कि ऐसे मुकदमे बाद में न हों वहाँ। तो खैर, किसी तरह से वो क़ानून बने, अभी कुछ थोड़े से और बाक़ी हैं, उनके हो जाने से मैं समझता हूँ आप सब लोगों को और देश को लाभ होगा। उसमें कुछ कठिनाई हो गई कहीं-कहीं, कहीं हो गये हैं तो अब आपको यहाँ देखकर इत्ते सारे लोगों को बैठे मैं सोचता था कि आप लोगों पर शेतकरी लोगों पर हमारे देश के, ख़ाली महाराष्ट्र, शोलापुर या महाराष्ट्र तो नहीं, हमारे देश के शेतकरी भाइयों पर कितनी बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारी आयी, कितना बड़ा बोझा आया है, बोझा कहो या एक उनको बड़ा मौक़ा मिला है देश की और अपनी बड़ी सेवा करने का क्योंकि इस समय जो हमारे सामने देश में कितने प्रश्न हैं, बहुत हैं और सब प्रश्नों को हमें समझना है जब देश बढ़ता है तो एक तरफ़ नहीं बढ़ता, उसको चारों तरफ़ बढ़ना पड़ता है, जब एक फ़ौज बढ़ती है दुश्मन का सामना करने तो उसको भी बायें-दायें, आगे-पीछे, चारों तरफ़ से मज़बूत होना होता है।

तो हमारे सामने बहुत काम हैं लेकिन उन सब कामों में सबसे पहला, सबसे बड़ा, सबसे बुनियादी काम तो ऐसा है जिसका बोझा शेतकरी लोगों पर है। कितना वो क्या है कि हम अपनी भूमि से, ज़मीन से कैसे अधिक पैदा करें। मोटी बात तो यह है अधिक पैदा करने में उनका लाभ है शेतकरी भाइयों का और देश का लाभ है। क्यों लाभ है? यह तो मोटी बात है। मैं आपको क्या बताऊँ, क्यों लाभ है लेकिन फिर भी आपके सामने मैं कुछ रखता हूँ। एक तो मोटी बात यह है कि हर देश में खाने की कमी नहीं होनी चाहिए, ग़ल्ले की कमी नहीं होनी चाहिए, यह नहीं होना चाहिए कि विदेश से जाकर हमें अपना ग़ल्ला लाना पड़े या न लायें, कमी हो तो लोग भूखे रहें, वो भी ठीक नहीं है। आपको याद है शायद भूल गये हों कि जब बड़ी लड़ाई हो रही थी, कोई एक सोलह-सत्रह वर्ष हुए, बड़ी जंग हो रही थी तो बंगाल में अकाल आया था और वो अकाल आया था, लड़ाई तो बंगाल में आयी नहीं लेकिन उस समय की अंग्रेज़ी सरकार ने जो लड़ाई के सम्बन्ध में बातें की थीं, निश्चय है कि उससे अकाल आया, उससे मदद मिली अकाल के आने में। अब उस अकाल में ये कोई जानता नहीं कितने लोग मरे, लेकिन जहाँ तक मुझे याद पड़ता है करोड़ों आदमी मरे, आप सोचें करोड़ों आदमी, शायद तीन करोड़ मरे थे, तीन कोटि एक प्रान्त के एक हिस्से में, सारे भारत में नहीं, बंगाल के एक भाग में और कलकत्ता नगर महानगरी है, वहाँ लोग बेचारे भूखे चारों तरफ़ से आये और उस महानगरी के बड़े महलों के सामने मरे पड़े थे उनकी लाशें। ये हालत हो गयी थी। अब मैं किसी को उसमें बुरा-भला नहीं कहता लेकिन यह बहुत दिनों की सरकारी नीति का फल निकला।

अच्छा, स्वराज आया। अब यह तो बिल्कुल सम्भव था कि देश में चाहे वर्षा हो चाहे नहीं हो, चाहे फ़सल अच्छी हो या बुरी हो, यह तो असम्भव था कि लोग मरें और हम देखते जायें उनको भूख से, यह तो नहीं हो सकता था, आप खुद समझ सकते हैं। पहले अंग्रेज़ी राज्य में

चाहे चल जाये यह बात। अब इस दस-बारह वर्ष में कभी फ़सल अच्छी हुई कभी बहुत बुरी हुई। एक तो हमारे देश के दो टुकड़े हो गये, पाकिस्तान अलग हो गया, उससे भी हमें धक्का लगा यानी हमारे खेती को धक्का लगा और हमारे उत्पादन को ज़मीन से बड़ा धक्का लगा, बहुत कुछ ग़ल्ला जो आजकल पाकिस्तान है वहाँ से आता था, ये सब बातें हुई लेकिन, शायद मैंने कहा आपसे फ़सल अच्छी हो या बुरी हो, यह बात नहीं हो सकती थी कि हमारे देश में लोग भूख से मरें। तो हमें विदेश से मँगाना पड़ा। यह अजीब बात है कि भारत ऐसा देश जाये अमरीका से गेहूँ और धान, चावल मँगाये, यह तो अजीब बात है न। मँगाना पड़ा हमें और हमारा यह ग़रीब देश, उसके हमें दाम देने पड़े और दाम भी कैसे सिक्के में, जो अधिक पड़ता है बोझा उससे। अब यह बात तो अच्छी नहीं है न कि हम बाहर से देश से हमें मँगाना पड़े और हम एक ग़रीब देश और ग़रीब होते जायें उसके दाम देने में क्योंकि दाम बहुत होते हैं क्योंकि थोड़ा सा तो मँगाते नहीं। अगर मँगाना पड़े दस लाख, बीस लाख, तीस लाख टन वो तो बहुत होता है, बड़े दाम होते हैं उसके। ये मुसीबत हमारे ऊपर पड़ी।

और अब इसका उपाय क्या है? एक ही है कि हम अपने यहाँ अधिक पैदा करें और कोई हो नहीं सकता और इस पर विचार आप करो। हम अपने यहाँ अधिक पैदा कर सकते हैं। क्यों जापान में करते हैं? और आप अमरीका और जापान क्यों जायें? हमारे देश में आप खुद जानते होंगे अपने साथियों में, कुछ लोग कहीं अधिक पैदा करते हैं जो सेवा अच्छी करते हैं ज़रा अपनी भूमि की, वो बहुत ज़्यादा पैदा करते हैं। इसमें कोई संदेह नहीं यह हमारे देश में भी हो सकता है। आपको मालूम है कि नहीं कि तीस वर्ष हुए, ज़्यादा नहीं हुए, तीस वर्ष हुए अमरीका में अच्छा हाल नहीं था यानी ज़मीन से पैदा करने का उनका अच्छा हाल नहीं रहा। तो तीस वर्ष हुए उन्होंने उसके उपाय ढूँढे और बड़ी कोशिश की, यत्न किया और उसका फल यह हुआ कि आजकल इतना अधिक पैदा करते हैं वो ज़मीन से कि उनकी समझ में नहीं आता हम करें क्या। उनके पास इस वक़्त सारा भरा हुआ है, सारे गोदाम वगैरह सब इतने भरे हैं ग़ल्ले से कि अगर साल दो साल तक कोई ज़रा भर भी किसी खेत से कुछ नहीं पैदा हो, तब भी उनके पास काफ़ी रखा है साल दो साल के लिए। इत्ता है और हमें वो देते हैं, और देशों को भी, उनको धन्यवाद है लेकिन बात तो यह है कि उनको समझ में नहीं आता, उसको रखें कहाँ वे। इतना अधिक पैदा होता है और आप विचार करें कि तीस वर्ष पहले यह बात नहीं थी। तीस वर्ष में सारी उनकी यह खेती शेतकरी का सिलसिला बदल गया।

अभी दिल्ली में एक प्रदर्शनी हुई रही, बड़ी प्रदर्शनी थी हमारे सारे प्रदेशों की और कुछ विदेश की भी थी, अमरीका का भी था, रूस का भी था, चीन का था, और बहुत सारे देशों का था। आपमें से भी कुछ लोग अवश्य वहाँ गये होंगे और आपने देखा होगा कि विदेशों में कैसी तरक्की हुई है और दूसरे हमारे देश में भी कहीं-कहीं बहुत उन्नति हुई है और अगर थोड़े से आदमी कर सकते हैं तो सब लोग कर सकते हैं, कोई सन्देह नहीं।

तो जो मैंने आपसे कहा कि इस समय देश का सबसे बड़ा सवाल है कि हम भूमि से कितना पैदा कर सकते हैं? लोग कहते हैं, जिन्होंने इस पर विचार किया है कि जितना अब भारत में ज़मीन से पैदा होता है उसका दुगुना-तिगुना पैदा हो सकता है समझो यानी अगर आप दस मन पैदा करते हैं तो तीस मन होना चाहिए, बीस-तीस मन या जो भी आप करते हों और अभी कल

था कि कब कहाँ सतारा में कि कोयना में, सतारा में शायद सभा थी। हाँ सतारा में एक सभा थी तो एक हमारे भाई, शेतकरी भाई आये उनको प्रमाणपत्र मिला, इनाम मिला। उन्होंने एक सौ पचास मन धान पैदा किया था एक एकड़ में। अब आप सोचो आप लोग जानते हैं, एक सौ पचास मन एक एकड़ में धान तो बहुत होता है, किया उन्होंने पैदा, उनको प्रमाणपत्र मिला। अब एक सौ पचास मन न सब लोग पैदा करें तो भी आजकल का तो दुगुना कर सकते हैं। तो इस तरह से हमें एक बात तो यह दिखती है जो बड़ी आवश्यक बात है हमारा करना ये। दूसरी बात यह कि हम कर सकते हैं इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं कि हम कर सकते हैं यानी हमसे मतलब आप कर सकते हैं और देश के शेतकरी भाई कर सकते हैं।

तो फिर अटकाव कहाँ है? क्यों नहीं करें? एक माने में आप लोगों के हाथ में, हमारे देश के सब किसान, शेतकरी भाइयों, बहनों के हाथों में देश के आगे बढ़ने की लगाम है किता तेज़ देश बढ़े, किता नहीं बढ़े, किती बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारी आप पर है आप सोचो। ये मैं जानता हूँ कि आपकी, हमारी खेती कितनी ही अच्छी हो, खाली देश में खेती हो तब देश पूरी तरक्की नहीं कर सकता चाहे खेती किती ही अच्छी हो, कुछ और भी होता है कारखाने खुलने हैं, और चीज़ें भी पैदा होती हैं देश में। ये हमने अनेक कारखाने, अनेक कलें, अनेक मशीन, अनेक और काम करने हैं खेती के साथ। यह बात ठीक है लेकिन उधर भी देखो तो हम वो कारखाने इत्यादि जभी कर सकते हैं पूरे तौर से जब हमें भूमि से काफ़ी निकले, लाभ हो शेतकरी से, खेती से काफ़ी हमें लाभ हो। तब हम वो सब कारखाने इत्यादि कर सकते हैं। क्यों आप पूछो कैसे यह बात है? वो इसलिए कि हम कोई कारखाना यहाँ बनायें तो उसकी मशीन कहाँ से आती है? आजकल मशीन उसकी और देशों से आती है, उस मशीन के हम दाम कैसे दें? दाम देने पड़ते हैं विदेश को। उसके दाम हम जभी दे सकते हैं जब कोई चीज़ हम पैदा करें अपनी आवश्यकता से अधिक। तो उसके एवज़ में हम वो ले सकते हैं यानी जो खेती से पैदा होता है अगर हम उसको अधिक पैदा करें गुल्ला और और जो कुछ है, बहुत सारी चीज़ें खेती से तो होती हैं, आप जानते हैं, उसको अधिक करें तो उसकी एवज़ में हम जो कुछ सामान हमें विदेशों से चाहिए, मशीन इत्यादि उसको ला सकते हैं लेकिन अगर हम खेती से काफ़ी नहीं पैदा करें तो हमारे पास कुछ और सामान कोई चीज़ नहीं है जिससे हम ला सकें। यह कठिनाई पड़ जाती है और जब मैं आपसे मशीन इत्यादि का कहता हूँ तो मेरा मतलब इत्ता नहीं है कि जैसे शोलापुर में आपके यहाँ पाँच, छः, सात कपड़े के मिल रहे वो भी कठिनाई में हैं, पड़े हैं, वो तो एक बच्चों का खेल है मशीनों में। आजकल दुनिया बड़ी मशीन से चलती है बड़ी-छोटी सब और सबसे बुनियादी मशीन क्या होती है? लोहा—आपको भी लोहे की कितनी आवश्यकता है, लोहे की कमी पड़ जाती है तो बड़ी कठिनाई हो जाती है, लोहा न हो तो खेती में हानि पहुँचती है और कारखाने तो बन नहीं सकते। तो लोहा सबसे बुनियादी है। दूसरे, मशीन बनाने की मशीन कि हमें बाहर से मशीन नहीं लानी पड़े, यानी हमारे घर में बड़ी मशीन हो, वो बना दे सब मशीनें, छोटी मशीन नहीं मैं कहता, छोटी तो बन जाती है यहाँ, लेकिन बड़ी जो कि एक लोहे की मशीन बना दे दूसरी मशीन, ऐसी कल बनाये।

तो इसमें बड़ा खर्च होता है—लोहे के कारखाने में। हमने तीन बनाये हैं आप सोचो, एक-एक कारखाने में एक सौ पचास करोड़ रुपये खर्च होते हैं, किती बड़ी रकम है और एक

गरीब देश के लिए, कित्ती बड़ी है लेकिन नहीं करें उससे तो हमारा काम रुक जाता है, खेती का भी काम रुकने लगे, और भी या फिर हम बाहर से विदेश से लोहा मोल लें तो फिर उसमें और दीवाला निकल जाता है, इसे दाम देने पड़ते हैं।

तो ये दोनों बातें असल में बँधी हुई हैं। एक तरफ़ से भूमि से, खेती से, शेतकरी से बढ़ना आवश्यक है, दूसरी तरफ़ से कारखाने इत्यादि बनें, दोनों साथ-साथ बढ़ना है, क्यों? एक और बात क्योंकि आजकल की दुनिया में विज्ञान से बहुत तरक्की हुई है, बहुत नयी-नयी बातें सीखने में आयी हैं, मशीन तो विज्ञान की बनी हैं बड़ी-बड़ी, ये भी विज्ञान की हैं। मैं बोल रहा हूँ रोशनी विज्ञान की है, रेलगाड़ी पर आप आते हैं विज्ञान का है, हवाई जहाज़ से मैं आया विज्ञान का है। तार भेजते हैं विज्ञान है, टेलीफ़ोन करो विज्ञान है, अरे कदम उठाओ तो यहाँ हर जगह तो विज्ञान आ जाता है और ऐसी हालत में जब हमारा देश पिछड़ा हुआ है और देशों को देखो जाकर और कित्ते बढ़ गये हैं लेकिन आपके लिए भी यानी ज़मीन पर जो शेतकरी लोग हैं, भूमि पर के काम करते हैं उसमें विज्ञान ने बहुत बनाया है जिससे काम अच्छा हो, अधिक हो, तेज़ी से हो, जिससे अच्छे-अच्छे हमारे औज़ार और टूल्स बने, अच्छे हल हों, अच्छे क्या-क्या हों। यों तो बड़े तो आप जानते हैं ट्रैक्टर होते हैं, वो भी हों लेकिन ट्रैक्टर के अलावा मैं कह रहा हूँ कैसे बीज हों? कैसे चुने जायें? कैसी खाद हो? कैसी फ़र्टिलाइज़र हो? पचासों बातें विज्ञान हमें खेती में सिखाता है। उसी को सीखकर अमरीका वालों ने पिछले तीस बरस में बिल्कुल अपने देश में खेती का काया-पलट कर दिया, बेहद पैदा करने लगे और ख़ाली अमरीका वाले नहीं, आप और देश में जाओ— जापान वाले बड़ा पैदा करते हैं, रूस वाले बहुत करते हैं, जिस देश में जाओ, जो नये-नये तरीक़े समझे हैं वो लगाये उन्होंने तो चमक उठा वहाँ की खेती का काम, चमक उठा।

अच्छा, वो चमका इसलिए— एक तो विज्ञान समझे वो और दूसरे वहाँ ये उद्योग-धंधे जहाँ बढ़ते हैं उसका असर खेती पर पड़ता है, फिर खेती की भी उन्नति होने लगती है उससे सीखकर, उससे औज़ार बनते हैं, सामान आता है, तरह-तरह के फ़र्टिलाइज़र आता है, बहुत बातें आती हैं। तो इसलिए ये दोनों बातें देश में दो शाखायें हैं देश की उन्नति की। एक तो भूमि पे काम करना शेतकरी काम, एक उद्योग-धंधे, दोनों तरफ़ हमें बढ़ना है। तब वो एक दूसरे को लाभ पहुँचाते हैं। हमारे कोई, [...] हम उद्योग-धंधे बहुत बढ़ा नहीं सकते। अगर ये ज़मीन, भूमि के ऊपर काम अच्छा नहीं होता और हमारा उत्पादन अधिक नहीं होता, उसी तरह से अगर हम उद्योग-धंधों में और विज्ञान में तरक्की नहीं करते तो आपका काम भी नहीं बढ़ेगा बहुत। इसलिए दोनों तरफ़ हमें ध्यान देना है, बढ़ाना है पूरे तौर से और इस समय इसी बात की कोशिश हो रही है और ये सब बातें हमें करनी हैं जल्दी से, तेज़ी से, समय नहीं है।

हमारे देश में प्रतिवर्ष साठ लाख अधिक खाने वाले हो जाते हैं। समझो बीस शोलापुर शहर खड़े हो गये जिनको खिलाना है। शोलापुर की आबादी तीन लाख के लगभग है अब और ख़ाली खाने वाले थोड़े ही हुए वो, खाने वाले हुए, वस्त्र उनको बनाकर पहनाना है, घर रहने को उनको चाहियें, पढ़ने के लिए स्कूल चाहियें, ये सब आवश्यकताएँ होती जाती हैं। तो एक तरफ़ से तो अब भी हमारे पास कमी है सभी के पास न खाने को ठीक मिल रहा है, न कपड़ा है, न घर रहने को है, न स्कूल है। एक तरफ़ से तो हमें यह पूरा करना है, उधर वो बढ़ते जाते हैं। इधर एक

तरफ़ से हमारे पास अब भी सभी को काम नहीं मिलता और काम माँगने वाले बढ़ते जाते हैं। तो अगर हम ऐसे ही रहें जैसे इस समय हैं, इत्ता ही हम पैदा करें तब उसका नतीजा यह नहीं होता कि आप वैसे ही रहते हैं। इसके माने हैं आप गिरने लगते हैं, क्योंकि जित्ता आप पैदा करते हैं उसके खाने वाले अधिक हो गये, बँटवारा करने वाले। तो कम हो गया आपको, देश को कम हो गया। इसलिए अगर आप उसी जगह रहना चाहें जैसे हैं तब भी आपको बहुत अधिक पैदा करना है यानी यह अजीब बात है कि आप बड़े परिश्रम से और पैदा करें और दौड़ें आप और उसके बाद वहीं के वहीं रहते हैं क्योंकि दूसरी तरफ़ से आबादी बढ़ गयी। तो एक तो इसलिए आपको पैदा करना। दूसरे इसलिए कि अगर जैसे कि हम चाहते हैं कि हम देश को तेजी से खुशहाल बना दें, यह गरीबी के दलदल से निकालें और जैसे और देश दुनिया के हैं, खुशहाल देश हैं वहाँ तक पहुँचा दें तब उसमें एकदम से परिश्रम करना होता है जोरो से। यह बात हो सकती है और होगी हमारे देश में, एकदम से नहीं, जादू तो नहीं है लेकिन हो, दस, बारह, पंद्रह वर्ष के अन्दर। मुझे विश्वास है कि यह बात होगी और जिस-जिस देश में यह हुआ है वहाँ उनको परिश्रम करना पड़ा है। यह न समझो कि कोई जादू से हो गया और यह विज्ञान हमें रास्ता बताता है, कुंजी देता है लेकिन परिश्रम भी करवाता है उसके बगैर कोई काम नहीं होता।

आप सुनो कि वहाँ अमरीका देश में, पूँजीवादी देश है, बड़ा धनी हो गया। उधर कुछ लोग कहें देखो रूस है, रूस ने बड़ी तरक्की की, वो साम्यवादी देश है। बात ठीक है लेकिन चाहे पूँजीवादी देश हो, चाहे साम्यवादी, परिश्रमी देश दोनों हैं और दोनों को परिश्रम करना पड़ा, मेहनत करनी पड़ी, नारों से नहीं हो गया वो, वो खाली दिखाने की बातें हैं क्योंकि विज्ञान न पूँजीवादी है और न वो साम्यवादी है, विज्ञान तो विद्या है, सीखना है जो जानता है। जो साम्यवादी जानता है वो उससे लाभ उठायेगा, समाजवादी जानता है वो भी, वो तो एक अलग चीज़ है और इसलिए हमें उसकी सेवा करनी है, विद्या को समझना है आजकल की दुनिया को और हर एक के पीछे परिश्रम है लेकिन परिश्रम ऐसा, मूर्खता का परिश्रम नहीं, समझकर परिश्रम, अक्ल से परिश्रम, जिससे लाभ मिले, वो अक्ल आती है देखकर कि आजकल नये विज्ञान के तरीके क्या हैं, हमारे कॉलेज में पढ़ाये जाते हैं जो खेतिहर के कॉलेज होते हैं, एग्रीकल्चरल इत्यादि के कॉलेज होते हैं, वहाँ पढ़ाया जाता है, और जगह भी और अधिक पढ़ाना चाहिए और आप तो बहुत अपने अभ्यास से जानते हैं। आपका अभ्यास और आजकल के विज्ञान से सीखना, इन दोनों को मिलना चाहिए क्योंकि खाली जो किताब पढ़कर आते हैं, अभ्यास नहीं होता, तो भी निकम्मे होते हैं। बगैर अभ्यास के कुछ नहीं होता है। अक्सर कोई हमारे नवयुवक जो कॉलेज में पढ़के आते हैं, समझते हैं बहुत समझ गये हैं लेकिन कभी उन्होंने हाथ तो चलाया नहीं। तो फिर उनके हाथ पैर ठंडे हो जाते हैं, कैसे करें काम? आप उन्हें बहुत सिखा सकते हैं लेकिन वो जो कॉलेज से पढ़कर आये वो आपको भी बहुत बता सकते हैं कि आजकल के ढंग कैसे हैं हमारे देश में, अमरीका में, जापान में, जर्मनी में, रूस में, उससे आप सीख सकते हैं, कोई दोनों का जोड़ होना चाहिए, आपका अभ्यास और जो नयी विद्या है जिसको आप सीखें या आपके लड़के सीखें। तो ये बात आप समझ लें कि इस समय एक तो हमेशा यह आवश्यक है शेतकरी का अच्छा होना लेकिन आजकल हमारे देश में ये तो कुंजी हो गयी है, चाबी है जिससे

देश बढ़ेगा नहीं तो ताला खुलना नहीं देश के बढ़ने का, बहुत आवश्यक है और जल्दी है और इसको आप कर सकते हैं इसमें कोई सन्देह नहीं है क्योंकि आपके लोगों में से जिन्होंने किया है, उन्होंने बड़ा अच्छा फल पाया है, दिखाया है, उन्होंने।

अच्छा, तो फिर प्रश्न यह रह जाता है करें, क्या करें? यह भी कोई छिपी बात नहीं है, सब जानते हैं क्या करें। इसमें ज़रा ऊँच-नीच देखने को हो। वो आप भी जानते हैं और लोग भी कि ज़रा अच्छी तरह से। अब यहाँ आज सवेरे मैं आया और चार-पाँच घंटे आपके शोलापुर ज़िले में घूमा। यह जो बंडिंग हो रही है उसको देखने। क्या कहते हैं, बंडिंग को, बंडिंग ही कहते हैं—अच्छा।⁸¹ यह जो बंडिंग हो रही है, देखा मैंने।⁸² और कैसे जल्दी-जल्दी हो रही थी और बैल उधर जायें और उधर से इधर आयें और जैसे अभी मोहित जी⁸³ कह रहे थे आपसे, इसकी भी चर्चा की, तेज़ी से यह बढ़ी है, पहले हल्की थी अब तेज़ी से बढ़ रही है। यही मैं चाहता हूँ कि आपकी खेती के काम में ये नयी-नयी बातें जो हैं, खूब तेज़ी से बढ़ें। आजकल आप जानते हैं कि बैलगाड़ियाँ तो हमारी बड़ी अच्छी चीज़ हैं, चलती हैं लेकिन आप कहीं दूर जाना चाहो तो बैलगाड़ी पर नहीं, आजकल रेल पर आप जाते हैं। तो अब खेती में भी ज़रा रेल चलनी चाहिए। [तालियाँ] और यों तो आजकल रेल हल्की हो गयी, ज़माना तो हवाई जहाज़ का आ गया है, आप जानते हैं लेकिन इस तरह से आप करें। अब ये बंडिंग में तो आपके ज़िले में, आपके पास ज़िला है अहमदनगर और इधर बम्बई प्रदेश के ज़िले हैं। उन्होंने जैसा काम किया उस तरफ़ सारे भारत का ध्यान है और जगह भी भारत में हो रहा है लेकिन यहाँ तेज़ी से हुआ पिछले साल दो साल में तो उनका ध्यान दिलाया गया है और और लोग भी उसकी कोशिश कर रहे हैं जल्दी करने की। शायद कुछ लोग आयें देखने आप कैसे करते हैं, आपसे सीखने, ठीक है अच्छा हो क्योंकि एक-दूसरे से इस काम को सीखना है।

तब बंडिंग के अलावा और क्या है? मैंने सुना कि आपके यहाँ अब हल अच्छे हो गये हैं, पुराने हल आपने कुछ छोड़ दिये, पुराने हल तो बिल्कुल जैसे कोई नाखून से ज़मीन को खुरचे ऐसे थे, उससे कोई अधिक तो ज़मीन खुदती नहीं थी लेकिन कुछ ज़माने से यहाँ वो किरास्कर के और और हल चले उससे लाभ हुआ। हर एक याद रखो कि आखिर में जो आपके पास औज़ार हों, जो हल हों, जो हथियार हों, वैसे ही काम होता है। पुरुष की शक्ति होती है लेकिन पुरुष की शक्ति तभी हो न जब उसके पास अच्छी चीज़ हो। और संसार में मनुष्य जो बढ़ा है आगे, तो कैसे बढ़ा है? उसके पास अच्छे टूल आ गये हैं, अच्छे उसके पास औज़ार आने लगे हैं। इस तरह से संसार में मनुष्य बढ़ा है। संसार का सारा यह इतिहास बताता है तो हमारे यहाँ खेती कैसे गिरी? इसीलिए कि एक हज़ार बरस से एक पुराना हल चलता था, न वो खोदे न कुछ करे, अब बदल गया। इसलिए आप सभी को अब नये हल रखने हैं, खाली हल नहीं और भी जो नये छोटे-मोटे। मैं इस समय आपसे ट्रैक्टर का नहीं कहता। ट्रैक्टर भी रखें, आपमें से कोई साहब

81. The words in brackets seem to be addressed to somebody nearby, not to the audience.

82. Nehru spent the morning inspecting the execution of bunding and other schemes for agricultural development in Karambe and other villages of Barsi taluka in Sholapur District.

83. Captain S.P. Mohite, Director of Agriculture, Bombay.

रखें, तो रखें लेकिन सारे भारत में इस समय वो चल नहीं सकता है, कहीं चले, चले। कोई हमें आपत्ति नहीं है लेकिन अच्छे हल हों और छोटे-मोटे और बहुत सारे औज़ार हैं आजकल खेती के, आप जानते होंगे जिससे आपका काम हल्का हो जाता है और ज़्यादा दूर तक आप जा सकते हैं। मतलब यह है कि आपका मन ऐसा होना चाहिए कि जिस चीज़ से आप काम अधिक अच्छा कर सकते हैं, उसको लें, करें, घबरायें नहीं उससे, यह न सोचो कि जैसे हमारे पुरखे करते आये हैं हम भी करते जायें। ये इस तरह से तो आगे बढ़ते नहीं। हमें यह सोचना है कि जैसे कोई देश आगे से आगे बढ़ा है, हम उता बढ़ेंगे, उससे भी आगे जायेंगे, क्यों नहीं जायेंगे, इसलिए इस तरह से करना है।

फिर प्रश्न होता है खाद का, कम्पोस्ट का, वो ग्रीन मैन्योर है कम्पोस्ट है और तरह-तरह के फ़र्टिलाइज़र हैं, तरह-तरह की खाद हैं, उसको आप जानते हैं अच्छी तरह से। पहले बड़ी रुकावट थी, लोग झिझकते थे फ़र्टिलाइज़र लेने में, अब इत्ती माँग है कि है नहीं हमारे पास और कारख़ाने बनेंगे। इसी तरह से देखिये आप, कैसे लोग ज़रा झिझकते हैं आगे बढ़ने में लेकिन एक दफ़े समझ जाते हैं तो तेज़ी से बढ़ते हैं। ठीक है यह। आप समझने की कोशिश कीजिये और यह ख़ास बात है कि अच्छे बीज आप लगायें, चुने हुए, यह बहुत आवश्यक है। अच्छे बीज के चुनने से बिल्कुल बदल जाता है और लोग अपनी सुस्ती में न करें, यह बात ठीक नहीं है। वो सारा उनका काम नष्ट हो जाता है। तो ऐसी बहुत सारी बातें हैं जो करने की हैं। आप जानते हैं, मैं आपको क्या बताऊँ लेकिन करना है।

अब कैसे करें? अकेला आदमी, अकेला कोई खेतिहर की शक्ति बहुत होती है और उसकी दो, तीन, चार एकड़ ज़मीन हो, बहुत होती नहीं, कर सकता है, करे लेकिन मिलकर शक्ति बढ़ जाती है, मोटी बात है। आपने यहाँ खेतिहर संघ बनाये, यह कोई सरकारी चीज़ नहीं है या लोगों ने बनाई, इसमें आपको कुछ सहायता मिल जाये, आप अपनी शक्ति से चलाते हैं, उसी से आपकी ताक़त बढ़ गयी, कोई सन्देह नहीं ताक़त बढ़ गयी काम करने की। आप अपने-अपने गाँव में सहकारी संघ बनायें, आपके काम करने की योग्यता बढ़ जाती है, कोई सन्देह नहीं, एक तो यों भी बढ़ जाती है क्योंकि सौ आदमी, दो सौ आदमी, तीन सौ आदमी काम करें मिलकर सलाह मशवरे से, उसको बेचना हो तो साथ मिलकर बेचें, संघ बेचे, ख़रीदना हो तो ख़रीदे, तो लाभ होता है और जो बीच में कोई व्यापारी का लाभ होता था तो हट जाता है, आपको लाभ होता है फिर। आप करते हैं, आपको अगर कर्ज़ की ज़रूरत है, आपका संघ आपको देता है, संघ को कर्ज़ की ज़रूरत है, सरकार दे सकती है, सरकार का हर एक को देना तो कठिन हो जाता है, सहकारी संघ को दे सकती है आसानी से, एकदम से आपका काम हल्का हो जाता है और तेज़ी से आप बढ़ सकते हैं और सौ आदमी, दो सौ, तीन सौ आदमी की शक्ति से आप नये-नये औज़ार, नये-नये सामान, नये-नये टूल्स ला सकते हैं। जो एक आदमी नहीं ला सकता है। तो इसमें एक रास्ता खुल जाता है आपकी उन्नति का। इसीलिए हमने कहा कि देश भर में, सारे देश में, हर ग्राम में सहकारी संघ हों।

पंचायत हो, पंचायत आवश्यक है क्योंकि हम चाहते हैं आप ही के हाथ में देश के काम की बाग़डोर हो, अपने-अपने देहात में सरकारी अफ़सर बहुत दख़ल न दें, हाँ सलाह दें और सहकारी संघ हों और तीसरी चीज़ हर ग्राम में स्कूल होना चाहिए। ये तीन खम्बे हैं। अगर हर

गाँव में ये तीन चीज़ें मज़बूती से हों तो सारे हमारे देहात का रूप बदल जायेगा और देश का रूप बदल जायेगा और तो और क्योंकि मैं तो चाहता हूँ जल्दी से जल्दी, कोई लड़का, लड़की न हो हमारे देशभर में जो स्कूल न जाता हो। यों तो हम चाहते हैं बड़े लोग भी थोड़ा स्कूल चले जायें तो अच्छा हो। बड़े लोग, वैसे बच्चों के स्कूल नहीं, बड़े लोगों के स्कूल मैं बताऊँ ज़रा रात को घंटे भर के लिए हो जायें, नाइट स्कूल कहते हैं जिसमें उनके काम के बारे में भी पढ़ाई हो क्योंकि पढ़ने-लिखने से आपकी योग्यता बढ़ जाती है, यह आप समझ लें, आपकी शक्ति बढ़ जाती है, काम करने की शक्ति बढ़ जाती है। हमारे देश भर में सब लोग पढ़े-लिखे हों तो हमारा देश कहीं ज्यादा काम कर सके, अच्छा काम करे, उनका लाभ हो, इस समय नहीं होता। पढ़ाई बहुत बढ़ रही है लेकिन फिर भी मैं चाहता हूँ और अधिक तेज़ी से बढ़े।

हाँ, एक और बात। कोई आपके बच्चे आजकल, अजीब एक विचार है। लड़के पढ़ते हैं लड़के-लड़की जाके स्कूल में, फिर सोचते हैं अब तो हमने स्कूल में पढ़ लिया और कॉलेज में पढ़ा, अब हम जाकर शहर में नौकर ढूँढ़ें, अब अपनी भूमि, ज़मीन पर काम नहीं करेंगे, अब वो समझते हैं हम तो बाबू हो गये हैं। तो ऐसे बाबू लोगों से मैं बड़ा परेशान हूँ। मैं तो चाहता हूँ कि जहाँ पढ़ें, लिखें वो वहीं काम करें, उस गाँव का उद्धार ही करें, गाँव को बढ़ायें, खेती अच्छी हो और जिससे सारे देश का उद्धार हो क्योंकि जब तक देश के गाँव नहीं उठते, देश क्या उठेगा? देश में थोड़े से तो नगर हैं और ज्यादातर तो, साढ़े पाँच लाख तो ग्राम हैं। तो इसलिए हमें चारों तरफ़ से बढ़ना है पढ़ाई में, स्वास्थ्य में, स्वास्थ्य अच्छा हो और बड़े-बड़े कारख़ाने तो लोहे के, इसके और उसके बन रहे हैं, लेकिन ग्रामों में छोटे कारख़ाने अधिक बनें, ग्रामोद्योग हर तरह का, जो आपके..., एक तो बिल्कुल ही ग्रामोद्योग, गृह उद्योग समझिये जो घर में आपके हो, आप चाहे चरखा चलायें, चाहे कुछ और करें, आपके यहाँ बहुत बुनने वाले होंगे। मैंने सुना है बहुत अच्छी बात है, वो हैं लेकिन मैं तो चाहता हूँ छोटी-छोटी मशीन भी आपके गाँव में आ जायें, छोटी मशीन, वो चलें लोग उसमें लगे। इससे आपके गाँव की तरक्की होगी।

अब इसमें मशीन चलने में एक चीज़ की आवश्यकता है और वो पावर की, शक्ति की यानी जैसे बिजली की शक्ति है, वो चलाये मशीन। इसलिए जहाँ तक बन पड़े गाँव में अगर बिजली आ जाये तो अच्छा है लेकिन इसलिए कि आपको एक ताक़त मिलती है जिससे आपके छोटे-मोटे कारख़ाने वहाँ चला सकते हैं, आयेगी हल्के-हल्के सारे देशभर में, एकदम से इन बातों का करना कठिन हो जाता है।

तो इस तरह से गाँव बढ़ें, आप बढ़ें कि आप आपकी खेती अच्छी से अच्छी हो, खेती में सहकारी संघ हो जिससे सब लोगों की शक्ति मिली हुई है न। फिर उसके द्वारा आप छोटे-मोटे कारख़ाने भी बना सकते हैं और सबके, गाँव भर के होंगे, गाँव भर को लाभ होगा, आपके लड़कों को काम करने को मिलेगा वहाँ, बढ़ता जायेगा काम, शहर छोड़कर जाने की आवश्यकता नहीं होगी और पचासों बातें गाँव में बढ़ती जायेंगी और गाँव एक सुंदर होता जायेगा खुशहाल लोगों का। तब कहा जा सकता है कि भारत ने उन्नति की। ख़ाली बड़े नगरों को देखकर उन्नति नहीं नापी जाती है, यहाँ के ग्राम को देखकर उसका अन्दाज़ा होगा।

अब इस ग्राम की उन्नति की बाग़डोर आप लोगों के हाथ में है। सरकारी हाथ में नहीं है। हाँ, सरकार मदद कर सकती है, हमारे अफ़सर मदद करेंगे, सेवा करेंगे आपकी, लेकिन असल

में आप समझो कि इस वक़्त आपके, भारत के शेतक़रों के हाथ में इस वक़्त भारत की तरक्की की लगाम है, बाग़डोर है, बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारी है और बड़ी ज़िम्मेदारी आप पर है लेकिन मुझे विश्वास है कि आप इस बोझ को उठायेंगे अच्छी तरह से और एक नयी वायु, नया वायुमण्डल, देश में होता जाता है हमारे गाँवों में विकास योजनाओं के ज़रिये और और पंचायतों जो-जो हो रहा है, एक नयी हवा आ रही है शुद्ध हवा, जो हमारी दुर्बलता को कम करेगी और सभी को शक्ति देगी कि जैसे हम भारत को चाहते हैं, वैसा देखें। जय हिन्द!

[Translation begins:

Shetkari brothers,

First of all, those of you who can hear me, please raise your hands. I am very happy to be here in Sholapur, particularly to this meeting. As you know, I have never done any work in the fields. That is my misfortune. But I have been interested in the work of the farmers for a very long time, for nearly forty years. I had the opportunity of working amongst them in my own province of Uttar Pradesh. I used to feel extremely unhappy about their condition at that time under the jagirdari and zamindari system. The poor peasantry was crushed and downtrodden. All sorts of strange taxes used to be levied. If there was a wedding in the talukdar's house there would be a new tax levied. Taxes were levied to buy elephants and motorcars known as hathona and motarana. This was the extraordinary situation at that time.

So I have had contacts with the peasantry for over forty years. Anyhow, a great deal has happened since then. The zamindari system has come to an end. The land reforms have not been completed yet. We have to take more steps. We want that the people who toil on the land must own their land and form cooperatives with their neighbours to improve the cultivation.

India is a vast country. It is difficult to impose a uniform system because conditions differ. The broad principles remain the same but slight variations have to be made in the different provinces in implementation.

I feel unhappy that it has taken us so long to complete the land reforms. But perhaps you are aware that the blame is not entirely ours. For one thing, once the new laws were passed, the jagirdars and zamindars went to court and litigation has been going on for years. In the meantime, our hands have been tied. So much so that we have had to bring in some amendments in the Constitution in Parliament, in the Lok Sabha, order to prevent such litigation in the future. Anyhow, the process is not yet complete. I feel that all of you will benefit when it is done. We have run into some difficulties in some cases. Looking at all of you seated here, I got to thinking about the tremendous responsibility that has descended upon the shoulders of all Indian farmers. You

can consider it a burden or an opportunity of serving the country. India is facing tremendous problems today. We have to look at them in a larger perspective. No country can develop by fits and starts. There has to be all round development. An army has to be strong on all fronts when it faces the enemy.

There are many tasks ahead. But the most important and fundamental of them all is the one which casts a great burden on our farmers. Our most urgent priority is to increase agricultural production. It is in this that the interest of the farmer as well as the nation lies. It is pretty evident and yet I will tell you why we must increase food production. One, a nation must be self-sufficient in food. There must be no shortages. We should not have to import foodgrain or face a situation where people might starve I do not know if you remember during the Second World War about sixteen-seventeen years ago there was a great famine in Bengal. The Bengal was not involved in the fighting, there is no doubt about it that the decisions taken by the British Government were responsible for the situation which arose. Nobody knows how many people died during that famine. I think millions died, nearly three crores of men, women and children died in just one province in India. In Calcutta where the starving population had fled in search of food, people lay dead in front of the great houses, I do not wish to criticise anyone but the great famine was the result of British policy over a long period of time.

Then we got our Independence. Now it is impossible that whether we have good crops or not, and even if rains fail, we should stand by and watch people die of starvation. You can see this for yourselves. It may have been possible during the British rule. Now during the last ten-twelve years, sometime the crops have been good and at others not so good. For one thing, the Partition had been a great setback to us because large fertile tracts of the Punjab have gone to Pakistan. It affected our food production. But as I said, no matter what happened, we could not stand by and allow people to die of starvation. It is strange that a predominantly agricultural country like India should have to import foodgrains from the United States. We had to do it causing an enormous drain on our foreign exchange reserves. A poor country like ours cannot afford such a great burden and continued imports would have drained our resources even further. It means an enormous expenditure to import ten, twenty or thirty lakh tonnes of foodgrains from outside. We had to face this difficulty.

What is the solution to this problem? The only solution is to increase food production in the country. I would like you to think about one thing. The food production in Japan and the United States is far more than it is in India. In Japan, you will find that they do not waste even an inch of space. Even in our own country it has been found that wherever an effort has been made, production

has increased appreciably. I do not know if you are aware that thirty years ago, the rate of food production in the United States was not very good. Then after great research and effort they increased their agricultural production to a level where they do not know what to do with it. Their granaries are full to bursting point and even if they do not produce anything for a couple of years, they will have enough foodgrains to see them through. We import foodgrains from the United States and other countries. They do not know how to store such vast quantities of foodgrains. This was not so just thirty years ago. Their entire pattern of agriculture has changed in thirty years.

Recently a huge agricultural fair was held in Delhi in which all the states as well as some foreign countries like the United States, the Soviet Union and China participated. I am sure some of you must have visited the exhibition and seen for yourselves the tremendous advance made in other countries. Even here some have succeeded in raising their output. If some can do it, everyone can. There is no doubt about it.

So as I said, the most urgent priority before the country today is to step up agricultural production. Experts feel that we can easily double or even treble the production. You can imagine what a difference that would make. Yesterday, in Koyna or in Satara, prizes were awarded to a farmer who had produced 150 maunds of paddy from one acre of land. That is a very big achievement. Even if everybody cannot do that, it should be possible to double production. This should be our first priority. There is no doubt about it that our farmers can do it. Then what is the problem? In a sense, the reins of progress today are in the hands of our farmers today. You must think of the great burden of responsibility that this imposes upon you. I agree that agriculture alone cannot fulfil the needs of the country. We have to produce other goods too. So we need industries and machines. That is perfectly true. But industrialisation is possible only when we have a surplus in agricultural production. We need capital to set up machine-building industries. At the moment we have to import them at enormous cost. We can pay for them only if there is a surplus. Otherwise we have to step up agricultural production in order to have a surplus. Otherwise we will have nothing in lieu of which we can buy machinery. When I talk about machines I do not mean the textile mills that you have in Sholapur. That is child's play. This is the age of heavy machinery. We need steel for everything, agriculture and industries. Secondly, we need machine-building industries so that we do not have to import them. We must be able to produce the heavy machinery needed to set up a steel plant.

All this means enormous investment. We are setting up three huge steel plants at an estimate 150 crores of rupees each. It is an enormous sum for a poor country like ours. But unless we do it, all our work comes to a halt. The

other alternative is to import steel which will make us go bankrupt. The costs are very heavy.

So, these two things are linked together. On the one hand agricultural production has to be increased and on the other, industrialisation speeded up. We have to progress on both fronts. Science has brought to light many new interesting facts. The new machine age is a product of science. We see the manifestations of science all around us, in the machines, in electricity and many other things. The railways have been made possible due to science as also aeroplanes, telephones, telegraph. At every step you see evidence of science, even though India is still far behind other countries in the area. Agriculture has been improved by new scientific techniques and tools. New improved ploughs and tractors are available. Science teaches us how to select good seeds and the use of fertilizers, etc. The United States have transformed their patterns of agricultural production in the last 30 years. The same thing has happened in Japan and the Soviet Union. Everywhere you go, you find new techniques being used.

The advance made in other countries in the agricultural sector is due to the fact that they have taken advantage of new scientific knowhow and the spreading of industries. Industrialisation has an impact on agriculture and leads to great improvements in that sector. New tools and fertilizers become available. So these are the two aspects of national development, agriculture and industries. We must progress on both fronts simultaneously. We cannot do one without the other. Industrialisation is not possible unless we step up agricultural production to have a surplus. Similarly, unless we advance in the field of science and industries, we cannot go very far. Therefore, we have to pay attention to both these aspects and as quickly as possible. There is no time to waste.

The population in India is growing by sixty lakhs every year. It is like having twenty new Sholapurs every year each with a population of three lakhs. They have to be fed and clothed, provided houses and educational facilities, health care, etc. We are already facing food shortages. Everyone does not get the basic necessities of life. We are not keeping pace with the growing population. Unemployment is growing. If we continue to maintain the present rate of production we will not be able to maintain even the present standards. There will be a fall because there are more and more people asking for a share of the national produce. So, even to stay where we are, we have to produce more. It is strange that we should have to work so hard to stay where we are.

Production has to be increased. Secondly, if we want to pull India out of the mire of poverty as quickly as possible and catch up with the affluent countries of the world, we will have to work very, very hard. It is possible. Not that there is any magic formula. But I am convinced that we can achieve a

breakthrough within the next ten to twelve years. The advanced countries of the world have had to toll hard. Please do not think it has come about by magic. Science shows us the path. It has given us the key to prosperity but demands hard labour too. Nothing is possible without that.

You hear of the United States, a capitalist country, and its great affluence. The Soviet Union, a communist country has also made great progress. The fact is that communist or capitalist, both are hard working countries. Their affluence has been achieved through hard work, not by shouting slogans. Science is neither capitalist nor communist. Science is knowledge. Everybody who imbibes knowledge benefits by it. It involves hard work, intelligent, planned work and adopting of modern techniques of production. There are agricultural colleges and institutes all over the country. You can learn a great deal from experience too. The two things, modern know-how and experience should be matched up because mere book-learning is not enough. Practical experience is very essential. Our youth, fresh out of college often think they know everything there is to. But when it comes to doing something constructive their courage fails. You can teach them a great deal. But the educated youth can give you useful tips too about the methods being followed in the United States, Japan, Germany and the Soviet Union. So the two things, modern techniques and know-how and practical experience should be linked together. Anyhow, you must understand that the greatest priority today is to improve agricultural production. It has always been necessary but today it has become the key to all progress. We cannot get anywhere without that. There is no doubt about it that you can do it because wherever people have made the effort there have been good results.

Then the question is what you have to do. That is no secret. Everybody knows what has to be done. I arrived here this morning and went around Sholapur district for some hours. I wanted to see the bunding that is being done here. (What do you say for bunding? Oh, is it bunding, it is.)⁸⁴ I saw how quickly the work is done.⁸⁵ I want all of you to adopt new techniques and increase production as Mohiteji⁸⁶ was saying just now. Bullock carts are good but they are not fast. If you want to travel a long distance, you go by train. The same thing is now necessary in agriculture also. In fact, today people go everywhere by plane which is faster. The attention of the entire country is on the superb bunding job which is being done in your district and the adjoining

84. See fn 81 in this section.

85. See fn 82 in this section.

86. See fn 83 in this section.

Ahmednagar and other districts of the Bombay province. It is being done elsewhere too. But nowhere as fast as it is here. Others are trying to follow your example and perhaps people come here to see for themselves and learn from you.

I have heard that you are using the new ploughs. The old ones used to barely scratch the surface. But the new Kirloskar ploughs and others are more useful. Ultimately, the quality of your work depends on your tools. Man has progressed throughout history by making better and better tools which has increased his capacity for work. In India, we became backward in agriculture because we have clung to outdated tools and implements. Things are changing now. You are all using new ploughs and other implements and small machines. I am not referring to tractors. Everybody cannot have tractors. Small machines and good tools can vastly improve agricultural production. You must not be afraid of making changes for the better or feel that you have to cling to outmoded methods. Your outlook must be such that it goads you into doing even better than the advanced countries of the world.

Take the question of compost, green manure and different types of fertilizers. In the beginning people were hesitant to use fertilizers. But now the demand is so great that we are not able to keep pace. We will have to put up more factories. People are always hesitant to take a new step. But once they understand, they go ahead very quickly. You must try to understand this. It is very important to choose good seeds. It is not proper that you should neglect to do this. These are small things but if you don't do them, all your effort will be wasted.

A single farmer with a holding of a few acres cannot do much. It is obvious that you will be able to do much more by working together by forming agricultural cooperatives. You have done this on your own. It is not a government run thing. You get some aid but it is run by the people. There is no doubt about it that it has increased your capacity to work. We want every village to have a cooperative society for purposes of buying and selling. The middle man's profit is avoided. The producer and the consumer benefit instead. The cooperative society can give loans or arrange for loans from the government. Immediately your burden is lightened in many ways. You can do things quicker, buy better tools and implements which a single farmer may not be able to afford. It opens up a new avenue of progress. That is why we want that there should be a cooperative in every village.

A panchayat is also very essential. We want that the people should hold the reins of administration in their own villages and official interference should be minimised. Thirdly, every village must have a school. These are the three pillars on which the village society should be built. It can transform the rural areas in

no time at all. I want that very soon a time should come when no child, boy or girl, should be deprived of school education. In fact, we would like adults too to learn to read and write in the night schools. You must understand that literacy enables you to handle your affairs better. If everyone in India was educated, our task would be much easier. Progress will be very rapid. Education is spreading. But I want that the pace should be faster.

There is one thing more. The children who go to schools and colleges feel that it is beneath their dignity to work in the fields. They prefer to go to the cities in search of white-collar jobs. I am really perturbed by this tendency. I want that the boys and girls should go back to their villages and help them to develop and progress. India cannot progress until its villages prosper. There are five and a half lakh villages in India. The cities are only a handful. We want that there should be all round development. We want to improve education and health care facilities in the country. We are putting up huge steel plants and other heavy industries. But we want that small village industries of every kind must come up all over the country. We want cottage industries, spinning, weaving and other village craft to flourish. I want that people should learn to use small machines in the villages. They will help to increase production. Now machines require power, electricity. So as far as possible villages must be electrified. I am sure all this will happen gradually. The difficulty lies in doing everything at once.

We want that there should be all-round development in the villages, improvement in agriculture, growth of cooperatives and small industries. The entire village will benefit as a result. There will be more avenues of employment and boys and girls will not need to leave their villages and go to the cities. The villages will become more prosperous and beautiful. Only then can India be said to be progressing. We cannot judge India's progress by the cities. The villages are the true yardstick.

So the reins of development and progress of this village is in your hands. The Government can only help. Our officials will guide and advise you. But you must not forget that the reins of India's progress are in the hands of her farmers. It is a great responsibility upon your shoulders. But I have confidence that you will be able to carry the burden well. A new atmosphere is being created in the country in our rural areas through the panchayats and the development programmes. It will root out our weakness and enable us to build a new India of our dreams. Jai Hind!

Translation ends]

11. In Sholapur: Public Meeting⁸⁷

बहनो और भाइयो,

यहाँ पहुँचकर मैंने देखा कि जहाँ मैं बैटूँ वहाँ तो बड़ी रोशनी है और आप सब लोग अंधकार में पड़े हैं। तो मेरे लिए तो बड़ा कठिन हो गया कि अंधेरे में बोलूँ, न किसी को देख सकूँ, न कुछ। तो कुछ उसका उपाय ढूँढ़ा कुछ हुआ, पूरेतौर से तो नहीं हुआ क्योंकि बहुत दूर तक लोग बैठे हैं मैं देख नहीं सकता कहाँ तक बैठे हैं। आज सवेरे मैं शोलापुर पहुँचा तो कई बातों में मुझे कुछ शोलापुर की निस्वतः अपनी राय बदलनी पड़ी। कई बरस बाद आया था। (अरे भई सब बीच में न रखो, ज़रा इधर भी ले जाओ, कहाँ चले, अरे इस तरफ़ ले जाओ इधर, ये रास्ते में, सब बीच में घुसते आते हैं, क्या, बताइए इस रास्ते में लगाइये, रास्तों में होने चाहियें, लोग आ सकें, जा सकें, बीच में क्या घुसते हैं बस रखो, यहीं रखो, ले कहाँ जा रहे हो, रखो। अब उसको रख दीजिए और आप अपने को भी रख लीजिए कहीं।)⁸⁸ मैं आपसे कहता था कि कई बातों में मुझे यहाँ शोलापुर आके कुछ राय अपनी बदलनी पड़ी। एक तो मैंने सुना था कि शोलापुर की आबादी कोई शायद तीन लाख तक पहुँचती है। मैंने तो यहाँ अपनी राय में तीन लाख से बहुत ज़्यादा लोग देखे आज। इन तीन सभाओं में गया, तीसरी यह है बड़ी, वो भी बहुत बड़ी थी और बाज़ लोग समझते थे, अभी मैं आया जहाँ से वहाँ एक लाख आदमी हैं जो शेतकरियों की थी। ये यक्रीनन यहाँ इससे अधिक हैं और फिर सड़कों पर, तो फिर या तो शोलापुर की आबादी तीन लाख से बहुत अधिक है या कोई दूर-दूर से लोग यहाँ आ गये हैं, पता नहीं मुझे क्या हुआ है लेकिन शुरु में मैं आपसे यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपने जो आज दिनभर मेरा स्वागत, प्रेम और उत्साह से किया उससे मेरे दिल पर बहुत असर हुआ। यों तो आप लोगों का प्रेम और कृपा रहती है और उसी से जो कुछ थोड़ी बहुत मेरी शक्ति है लेकिन आज कुछ विशेष रूप से आपने जोश दिखाया, कुछ अगर आप माफ़ करें मैं कहूँ, कुछ उत्साह में और जोश ने कुछ थोड़ा सा पागल बना दिया, बुरे माने में मैं नहीं कहता पागलपन, अच्छे माने में कहता हूँ और मुझे वो अच्छा लगा, इसलिए मैंने आपसे कहा।

हालाँकि मैं अपने को एक सिपाही समझता हूँ और चाहता हूँ कि हम सब लोग एक सिपाही की तरह से नियमित रूप से सब कामों को करें नहीं तो हमारी शक्ति नष्ट हो जाती है, बह जाती है, ज़ाया हो जाती है। फिर भी जो कुछ मैंने शोलापुर में आज देखा उससे मेरा दिल प्रसन्न हुआ और कुछ मेरी ताक़त बढ़ी, यह पैग़ाम ले जाऊँगा और औरों को सुनाऊँगा। उससे मैं समझता हूँ और लोग भी भारत में प्रसन्न होंगे।

क्योंकि एक अजीब बीमारी हमारे देश में कुछ पुरानी थी, कुछ नयी है, वो बीमारी है, अपने देश की, अपने देश के काम की बुराई करना, हर समय कहना कि देखो हमारे देश में क्या हुआ, कुछ नहीं हुआ या कम हुआ, हमारे देश की हालत बुरी है, हम सब गिरते जाते हैं, हमारे देश

87. Speech at D.A.V. College, Sholapur, 11 April 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

88. The words in brackets seem to be addressed to attendants and organisers about lighting arrangements.

में, जितने दुनिया में ऐब हैं, सब ऐब हैं, इसकी चर्चा अक्सर रहती है कुछ मेरा ध्यान पड़ा, आज नहीं चालीस वर्ष हुए उसको, जब गाँधी जी ज़ोरों से भारत के राजनीतिक मैदान में आये थे और एक हल्के-हल्के तूफ़ान सा मचने लगा था देश में, विशेषकर हमारे देहातों में और ग्रामों में, अजीब एक तमाशा था बिजली का सा। तो हमारे बुजुर्ग लोग, बड़े, अंग्रेज़ी पढ़े-लिखे लोग, उस समय गर्दन हिलाते थे और कहते थे कि यह हिन्दुस्तान एक गिरा हुआ देश कैसे उठेगा, कैसे इन अनपढ़ लोगों के हाथ में जाकर वह आगे जा सकता है।

क्या स्वराज ले सकता है? उनके बहुत दिल में शक और सन्देह पैदा होते थे। अच्छे लोग थे वो, ये न समझिये कि वो कोई डरपोक लोग थे, लेकिन कुछ उनका सम्बन्ध भारत की आम जनता से टूट गया था और भारत में जो कि एक देश बहुत जातिभेद का है, एक नयी जाति पैदा हुई थी जो औरों से अलग थी, वो जाति अंग्रेज़ी पढ़े लिखे लोगों की, जो ज़रा ज़्यादा अधिक पढ़े लिखे थे, जो कि अपनी दुनिया में रहते थे, अच्छी दुनिया थी वो और जो भारत के मामूली लोग, किसान या और लोग मज़दूर या छोटे दुकानदार या जो कोई हैं व्यापारी वो अलग थे। तो क्या भारत के शरीर में, कब उसका शरीर स्वस्थ हो, कब उसको बुखार हो, ज्वर हो, ये उनको नहीं पता चलता था पूरे तौर से क्योंकि वो दूसरी दुनिया में रहे। इसलिए जब गाँधी जी आये और एक बिजली की तरह से लहरें हमारे देश के करोड़ों आदमियों के दिलों में और मन में फैली, तो ये नयी, नया जो कास्ट या नयी बिरादरी अंग्रेज़ी पढ़े-लिखे लोगों की, उन तक नहीं पहुँची वो बात बाज़ लोगों पर पहुँची, ठीक है, आखिर हम सब उस बिरादरी के थे लेकिन पूरे तौर से नहीं पहुँची और वो समझे नहीं कि देश में क्या हो रहा है, कुछ उनकी समझ में नहीं आया, कुछ उनको बुरा लगा, कुछ घबराये वो कि ये हो क्या रहा है। खैर, तो वो अलग रहे और नाराज़ रहे।

हमारी राजनीति का ढंग कांग्रेस में एकदम से बदलने लगा। कांग्रेस में पहली बार जहाँ तक मुझे याद है, यह नागपुर की कांग्रेस में चालीस-इकतालीस वर्ष हुए इसे, पहली बार नया रंग आया था। नया रंग दो मानों में, एक तो वहाँ जो लोग थे वो कोई बहुत कम ऐसे थे जो अंग्रेज़ी पोशाक पहनते, अंग्रेज़ी पोशाक पहने हों, पहले तो कांग्रेस में बहुत अंग्रेज़ी कपड़े चलते थे दूसरे ये कि बोली वहाँ अंग्रेज़ी बहुत कम हो गयी, अंग्रेज़ी भी होती थी और अब भी चलती है यों तो कम हो गयी क्योंकि वहाँ अधिकतर किसान और ऐसे लोग आ गये, अब उनसे कौन अंग्रेज़ी बोले, और वो कौन कोट-पतलून पहनना जानते थे। तो एक रूप कांग्रेस का बदला, और इससे भी लोग घबराये, वहीं हमारे पुराने नेता जो थे कांग्रेस में या कांग्रेस के बाहर कि कहाँ, ये किस तरफ कांग्रेस बही जाती है, ये उनकी समझ में नहीं आती थी बातें, कोई पुस्तक उन्होंने नहीं पढ़ी थी जिसमें ये लिखा हो कि क्या हो रहा है? और उनके हाथ हमारे देश की नब्ज़ पर नाड़ी पर नहीं थे कि देख सकें कि क्या है, न उसके मन में या हृदय में देख सकते थे, थोड़े दिन बाद कुछ महीने हुए और यह बात बढ़ती गयी, तब उन बुजुर्गों ने देखा, महसूस किया कि कुछ न कुछ तो नयी बात है भारत में और इसको समझना चाहिए। कुछ और महीने गुज़रे तो उनको विश्वास हो गया कि एक नयी शक्ति है कोई, जो भारत में फैली है, अच्छी बुरी का सवाल दूसरा था, लेकिन एक नयी शक्ति है जो भारत को हिला रही है। इस तरह से हल्के-हल्के उनके मन में भी विश्वास आया कि हाँ यह एक चीज़ नयी भारत में है जिसके साथ चलना अच्छा है, अच्छी

चीज़ है।

तो मैंने आपको पुरानी कहानी सुनाई यह। आप यहाँ बहुत सारे नवयुवक हो, कम से कम चालीस वर्ष की बात आपको याद न हो। इसलिए कि आजकल कभी-कभी मुझे यह याद आती है और इसलिए याद आती है कि फिर कुछ हमारे देश में लोग उठे हैं जो कि कुछ भूल से गये हैं कि भारत के शरीर में कब ज्वर आता है, कब ज़रा उसका शरीर स्वस्थ होता है, भारत के मन में क्या विचार हैं, भारत के हृदय में किस चीज़ से उत्साह पैदा होता है, भारत की माँग क्या है, भारत क्या है, भारत क्या नहीं हैं। ऐसी-ऐसी बातें होती हैं। वो बोली जो बोलते हैं, मेरा मतलब यह नहीं कि अंग्रेज़ी, हिन्दी, मराठी, जो भी बोली, अपनी बोली, वो बोली कुछ आजकल के भारत के सम्बन्ध नहीं रखती है और इसलिए कुछ उसका असर उसकी पहुँच भारत के दिल पर नहीं होती। मैं एक अजीब आदमी, अभी मैं आया हूँ वहाँ से, वो जो किसानों के शेतकरी संघ की एक सभा थी, बड़ी भारी सभा थी, करीब एक लाख किसान आये थे सारे महाराष्ट्र से और उसका मेरे ऊपर बड़ा असर हुआ, बड़े नियमित रूप से बैठे थे, किसान दूर-दूर से आये थे और मैंने तो कभी ज़मीन पर काम नहीं किया। हाँ कुछ बाग़-वाग़ में काम किया है, उसमें मुझे दिलचस्पी थी। तो मैं आपको क्या समझाऊँ, कौन सा मुझे अधिकार है कि मैं आप जो कि परिश्रम करते हैं ज़मीन पर, भूमि पर, आपको मैं आके नसीहत दूँ लेकिन शायद एक अधिकार मुझे था और तो कोई नहीं था कि कुछ मेरी आँखे उनके मन और हृदय में देखा करती थीं। कुछ मेरा हाथ उनकी नाड़ी पर रहता है, कुछ मैं समझता हूँ कि उनके दुःख क्या हैं? चालीस वर्ष से उसमें मैं रहा हूँ, देखा है मैंने और समझा है कि आखिर भारत में बहुत बातें हैं, भारत के बहुत रूप हैं लेकिन पहला रूप उसका किसान का है और जब तक भारत के किसान का सिर ऊँचा नहीं होता और भारत के ग्राम नहीं उठते, हमारा देश नहीं उठता है।

तो इसलिए ये आजकल जो बहुत लोग हमारे, जिनका अक्सर मैं आदर भी करता हूँ, वो आवाज़ उठाते हैं कि भारत तबाह होता जाता है, भारत गिर रहा है, भारत में आज़ादी नहीं रही, भारत में किते ऐब आ गये, जो गुण थे वो भी खो गये और भारत जिस रास्ते पर जा रहा है तबाही उसकी होगी। तो इसके माने क्या हैं? मैं यह समझने की कोशिश करता हूँ क्योंकि मेरी समझ में नहीं आती वो। कुछ मैं भी भारत को समझता हूँ, कुछ फिरता हूँ, कुछ देखता हूँ, कुछ खबरें भी आती हैं बहुत कुछ लम्बे-लम्बे ब्यौरे आते हैं कि जिसको अंग्रेज़ी में स्टेटिस्टिक्स कहते हैं, किन्ती आमदनी बढ़ी, किन्ती ये हुआ, किन्ती घर बने, किन्ती लोग स्कूल में पढ़ते हैं, किन्ती कॉलेज में, किन्ती यूनिवर्सिटी में, किन्ती पैदावार हुई हमारे ग़ल्ले की, किन्ती कपड़े की, किन्ती लोहे की, ये सब तो ख़ैर आता रहता है और उससे मालूम होता है और दुनिया को मालूम होता है कि भारत काफ़ी तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ रहा है लेकिन उसके अलावा एक कुछ मेरी आँखों की गवाही है कि मैं जाता हूँ अपने प्रदेश में, जहाँ के किसानों में मैं बहुत फिरा हूँ पहले, मैं एक नया रूप देखता हूँ पहले नंगे किसान थे वो बेचारे, अब कपड़े पहने हैं, खाने को कुछ मिलता है, पेट भरा है, कुछ घर भी पहले से अच्छा है रहने का, कुछ ग्राम भी थोड़ा सा बदल गया है, बहुत तो नहीं थोड़ा बदला, बहुत लोग आते हैं सभाओं में, बैलगाड़ी पर बैठकर आते हैं, पहले कैसे रूप बदल रहा है हमारे ग्रामों का और वहाँ की जनता का। बात ठीक है कि मैं चाहता हूँ कि जल्दी बदले, हल्के बदलता है लेकिन फिर भी बदल रहा है और अच्छी तरफ़ जा रहा है।

तो ये मैं देखता हूँ, ये मैं पढ़ता हूँ तो फिर मुझे आश्चर्य होता है। क्यों कोई लोग समझें कि भारत गिरता जाता है और ग़लत रास्ते पर है। मैं विदेश जाता हूँ कभी-कभी, विदेश वालों को बड़ी फ़िकर है यह भारत में क्या हो रहा है। इसलिए कि भारत जिस तरफ़ जाता है उधर इस संसार का एक छठा या सातवाँ हिस्सा जाता है, बड़ी आबादी है, बड़ा देश है, इसका असर पड़ता है हमारे एशिया की दुनिया पर और और दुनिया पर भी। तो उनको बड़ी फ़िकर है कि भारत में क्या होता है, उनको इस बात की फ़िकर है कि भारत ने जो बड़ी लड़ाई उठायी है, अपनी दरिद्रता के खिलाफ़, अपनी ग़रीबी के ऊपर, उसमें उसकी जीत होती है कि नहीं क्योंकि उसका असर दूर तक होगा। तो मैं बाहर के लोगों के भी विचार पढ़ता हूँ, मिलता हूँ और यहाँ दूर-दूर से आते हैं देखने यहाँ खुद और वो क़रीब-क़रीब सब ये कहते हैं अपना आश्चर्य दिखते हैं कि कैसे इस देश ने पिछले दस-बारह वर्ष में तरक्की की है। ये सब तो गवाही औरों की, ये गवाही मेरी, ये गवाही मेरी आँखों की तो मैं अब किसका विश्वास करूँ। इस गवाही का और अपनी आँख का और औरों की या जो हमारे कुछ भाई हर समय भारत की बुराई करते हैं, किसका करूँ विश्वास, ज़ाहिर है मैं किसका करूँ। इसमें तो मुझे सदेह नहीं लेकिन मुझे आश्चर्य यह होता है कि ये सारे दुनिया के देशों के, हमारे देश में कुछ लोगों को क्यों बीमारी है कि अपने देश की बुराई किया करें। हाँ, बात यह है कि अपने देश की बुराई चाहे न करना चाहें, वो चाहते क्या हैं, वो बुराई करना चाहते हैं हमारी आजकल की गवर्नमेंट की, सरकार की, चाहे वो दिल्ली में हो, चाहे बम्बई में हो, चाहे किसी प्रदेश में हो, वो बुराई करना चाहते हैं हमारे देश की महासभा कांग्रेस की क्योंकि दोनों का संबंध है गवर्नमेंट का।

अब वो इस कठिनाई में पड़ जाते हैं कि अगर ये कहें कि देश की तरक्की हो रही है तो उसका लोगों पर असर हो कि गवर्नमेंट अच्छा काम कर रही है या कांग्रेस अच्छा काम करती है। इसलिए वो मजबूर हो जाते हैं, गवर्नमेंट को जो उनको अधिकार है बुरा भला कहें, इसलिए देश को बुरा भला कहना पड़ता है उन्हें, इस पेंच में पड़ जाते हैं। ख़ैर, लेकिन हमें और आपको तो इस बात को समझना है क्योंकि यह बात दलबन्दी की नहीं है, यह बात नहीं है कि कांग्रेस क्या कहती है और और जो दल हैं वो क्या कहते हैं, क्या नहीं कहते। यह तो बड़ी बात है। सारे भारत, ऐसे देश और चालीस करोड़ आदमियों का भविष्य क्या होगा, संस्थाएँ आजकल की रहेंगी और जायेंगी लेकिन भारत तो रहेगा और भारत का भविष्य क्या होगा इसमें दिलचस्पी आपको और मुझे है। इसलिए हमें इस बात को समझना है कि हमसे जिन लोगों के हाथ में ज़िम्मेदारी रही, बागडोर रही देश की, पिछले दस-बारह बरस उनसे ग़लती हुई, अपराध हुए। हो सकता है और हुए ही होंगे, होते ही हैं। हम कोई निर्दोष कहें। हाँ, एक बात ज़रूर मैं कहूँगा कि हमने पूरी कोशिश की और जित्ती हममें शक्ति थी हमने उस शक्ति को मानसिक, शारीरिक उसमें लगाया देश के काम में। अब होता है कहीं ठोकर खायें, कहीं ग़लती करें तो करें उससे हमें कोई डर नहीं है। डर किस बात से है? यह नहीं कि कोई धोखा खाया या ठोकर खाकर गिरे, जो चलता है उसको ठोकर खाकर गिरने का भय होता है, जो दौड़ता है उसको और डर होता है, लेकिन अगर इस डर से आप लोग कहें कि हम दौड़ेंगे नहीं, हम चलेंगे नहीं, हम बैठे रहेंगे, लेटे रहेंगे हर समय वो सबसे बड़ी बीमारी है, वो लोग जो चलने से डरें और इसलिए बैठे रहें वो तो निकम्मे लोग हैं, वो जो देश ऐसा करता है वो निकम्मा है आजकल की दुनिया में। इसलिए

जो चीज़ देखनी होती है वो ये नहीं। वो एक तो ये कि आपमें और मुझमें और हमारे देश में जान है कि नहीं चलने की। चलने वाले गिरते हैं। उर्दू में एक मिसाल है :- “गिरते हैं शहसवार ही मैदान-ए-जंग में।” जो मैदाने जंग में जाये नहीं वो गिरे कैसे, वो तो चारपाई पर रहते हैं लेकिन शक्ति इस बात की होनी चाहिए कि गिरकर उठने की, एक बार गिरे हम फिर उठकर जायेंगे, दो बार, दस बार, पचास बार, फिर उठते हैं और उठकर जाने की होती है। एक मैंने अभी उर्दू का कहा, मालूम नहीं आप उर्दू कितनी समझते हैं लेकिन ये आसान सा है, एक उर्दू का शेर है, “इस तरह तय हमने की हैं मजिलें, गिरे पड़े, गिर कर उठे, उठकर चले।” हाँ कुछ लोग हैं जो आराम कुर्सी पर बैठकर बताया करते हैं देखो वो गिरे, वो तो निकलते ही नहीं कुर्सी से, हाँ साहब हम गिरे ज़रूर लेकिन गिर कर उठे भी और उठ कर चले भी और फिर गिरेंगे और फिर उठेंगे और फिर चलेंगे।

तो मैं जो आज शोलापुर आया और मैंने कुछ आपका जोश और जुनून और उत्साह देखा, तो कुछ पुरानी यादें आयीं, गुज़रे ज़माने आँखों के सामने आये और दिल खुश हुआ। इसके लिए आपको बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद क्योंकि आपने कुछ कभी-कभी जो मेरे मन में भ्रम पैदा होते थे उनको दूर किया, बड़ी बात की आपने। जो ये लोगों की कहानियाँ सुन-सुन कर कि हमारी जनता असंतोष है उसको और नाराज़ है और गिरी हुई है और हाय-हाय करती है, मैंने तो देखा नहीं कोई चीज़ होते हुए।

अब मैं नहीं कहता आप लोगों की शिकायत नहीं होगी, होगी ही। शिकायतें बहुत सारी हर एक को होती हैं। शिकायत रहना तो बुरी बात नहीं है लेकिन शिकायत में डूबा रहना बुरी बात है, एक जानदार होना चाहिए आदमी को, देश को, आगे बढ़ना चाहिए। आजकल की दुनिया एक क्रांतिकारी दुनिया, मालूम नहीं कल क्या हो दुनिया में, एक महायुद्ध हो, एटम बम चले, दुनिया की दुनिया का अन्त हो जाये या आधी दुनिया का अन्त हो जाये, क्या हो परसों आप ख़बर पढ़ें कोई लोग चन्द्रमा पहुँच गये, यह भी हो सकता है, अजीब अजीब बातें हैं। आपके बचपन में हमने सभी ने बहुत सारे किस्से-कहानी पढ़ी होंगी, वो अलिफ़ लैला की भी कहानियाँ थीं लेकिन कोई कहानी अलिफ़ लैला में आपने ऐसी पढ़ी जो आजकल की कहानियाँ हो रही हैं उनके बराबर की, बताओ? रोज़ नयी बातें, नये ढंग, नयी दुनिया, नया संसार, ऐसी दुनिया में हम रहते हैं। तो ऐसी दुनिया में हाय-हाय करने वाले लोग नहीं रह सकते हैं और शिकायत करने वाले। न ऐसे लोग कि जिनको शिकायत हो कि दुनिया को बदलना नहीं चाहिए, ऐसे ही रहना चाहिए। अगर आपको आजकल की दुनिया से शिकायत है तो बड़ी ग़लती आपने की आजकल की दुनिया में आप पैदा हुए क्योंकि दुनिया को तो आप बदल नहीं सकते। तो किसी तरह से उसको समझिये और समझ के जो कुछ हम कर सकते हैं हम करें, ख़ाली शिकायतें करना कि दुनिया बुरी है, दुनिया बुरी है उससे क्या लाभ, किसको।

तो ये बात आप समझें कि इस वक़्त दुनिया क्या है? इस वक़्त भविष्य क्या है? भारत क्या है? हज़ारों बरस का दुनिया का इतिहास है, हमारे देश का भी इतिहास बहुत पुराना है, बहुत ऊँच-नीच हुई। मैं समझता हूँ कि इस हज़ारों बरस के इतिहास में दुनिया के, कभी इतनी क्रांतिकारी बातें नहीं हो रही थीं जितनी आजकल की दुनिया में हो रही हैं। इसके माने आप समझें। क्योंकि क्रांति के माने लोग ग़लत समझते हैं, क्रांति के माने तो समझते हैं बम फेंकना

या लाठी चलाना, यह क्रांति है, ये तो मूर्खता है, इससे कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं बम फेंकने से, लाठी चलाने से, गोली चलाने से, क्रांति है जो चीज़ समाज का परिवर्तन करे, सम्पन्न को बदले, राजनीतिक क्रांति होती है जहाँ राज्य बदलता है। हमारे देश में राजनीतिक क्रांति हुई, अंग्रेज़ी राज्य को हमने हटाया, राजनीतिक क्रांति हुई, उससे बड़ी आर्थिक होती है और उससे भी बड़ी सामाजिक क्रांति होती है। असली क्रांति वही होती है आर्थिक और सामाजिक जो कि रहन-सहन लोगों के बदल देती है।

आपने सुना फ्रांस में बड़ी क्रांति हुई, रूस में हुई, चीन में हुई बड़ी क्रांतियाँ हुई और उन सब जगह बड़ी क्रांति इसलिए हुई, इसलिए नहीं कि खाली राजनीतिक थी बल्कि आर्थिक और सामाजिक थी, इसलिए बड़ी क्रांति थी लेकिन उन सभी से बड़ी क्रांति जो हुई है वो औद्योगिक क्रांति हुई है, इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन हुआ जो दुनिया में हल्के-हल्के फैला, जिसने सारी दुनिया के जीवन पर असर डाला और बदल दिया। यूरोप और अमरीका में तो बहुत बदला, हमारे देश में भी बदलता जाता है, इस औद्योगिक क्रांति ने इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन ने जैसी दुनिया पहले थी अब नहीं रही उसके जैसी, छोटी-मोटी बातें हैं आप जानते हैं आपके देश में भी, हालाँकि हमारे देश में पूरे तौर से नहीं हुआ है, अब हो रहा है। हम इस वक़्त इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन के बीच में हैं भारत में। जो बात सौ वर्ष हुए या पचास वर्ष हुए और देशों में हुई वो हमारे यहाँ अब हो रही है यों तो थोड़ी बहुत हमारे यहाँ आ गयी थी, रेलगाड़ी आयी, इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन, रेल है, मोटर है, टेलीफ़ोन है, तार है, ये है, हवाई जहाज़ है और किती पचासों बातें हैं, वो तो हैं ही, रोज़ के आदी हैं हम उनके लेकिन पूरे तौर से नहीं आयी।

तो ये बड़ी क्रांति हुई इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन की। उन सब क्रान्तियों से फ्रेंच रेवोल्यूशन, रशियन रेवोल्यूशन, चाइनीज़ रेवोल्यूशन वो सबसे बड़ी हुई क्योंकि इसमें जनता का रहन-सहन बिल्कुल उलट-पलट कर दिया, सामाजिक और आर्थिक भी उसने, उन देशों में जैसे अमरीका है, अंग्रेज़ों का देश है, ग़रीबी को निकाल दिया, खुशहाल कर दिया सारी जनता को और देशों में भी, रूस में भी, जो कुछ उसमें नीति की बहस हो लेकिन दोनों जगह रूस में और अमरीका में बड़ी क्रांति जो आयी वो औद्योगिक क्रांति आयी इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन वो असल में आयी। साम्यवाद और पूँजीवाद ये अलग चीज़ है और उसने उन देशों को खुशहाल कर दिया, हालत जनता की ऊँची कर दी, धन दौलत पैदा होने लगा, ज़मीन से अधिक पैदा करने लगे क्योंकि वो औद्योगिक जो क्रांति थी, वो विज्ञान से थी, विज्ञान की और आजकल की बड़ी चीज़ दुनिया में विज्ञान है, क्यों? विज्ञान आपको दिखाता है और बताता है कि पृथ्वी की क्या शक्ति है, हमारी दुनिया की क्या शक्ति है, प्रकृति की क्या शक्तियाँ हैं, नयी शक्ति का आपने सुना एटॉमिक एनर्जी का, अणु शक्ति का, अणु क्या चीज़ है, एटम क्या चीज़ है, इत्ता छोटा है कि आप उसे देख नहीं सकते, आप दूरबीन से भी नहीं देख सकते, माइक्रोस्कोप से नहीं देख सकते। हर चीज़ में है जो भी चीज़ आप लें, उसमें करोड़ों हैं। उस एक एटम के अन्दर जितनी शक्ति है, अब आप सोचो, हिरोशिमा नगर ख़त्म कर दिया उसने या नागासाकी को, जब एटम बम छोड़ा गया था और वो छोटा सा था, एक बच्चा सा था वो उस समय। उस समय से बहुत उन्नति हुई है, बहुत बढ़े हैं।

तो आप देखें कि प्रकृति में कितनी महान शक्तियाँ हैं। कुछ तो हम देखते हैं। कभी-कभी

भूकम्प आता है, जलजला आता है, हम घबरा जाते हैं लेकिन ये तो छोटी बात है, कुछ भी नहीं है। बिजली है, यह भी एक प्रकृति की शक्ति है, ऐसी ही और भी शक्तियाँ हैं। जहाँ मनुष्य पृथ्वी की शक्तियों को पहचानने लगा वो, उसकी खुद ताकत बढ़ने लगी। विज्ञान है, पृथ्वी को पहचानने का, पृथ्वी की शक्तियों को और पृथ्वी में जो सामान है उसको पहचानना। यह विज्ञान है कोई जादू तो नहीं है, कोई भी लड़का-लड़की सीख सकता है इसे, समय दे, परिश्रम करे और फिर इस शक्ति को आप प्रयोग में ला सकते हैं। एक आदमी ने, मामूली आदमी ने, अंग्रेज़ ने, डेढ़ सौ बरस हुए, पौने दो सौ उसने विचार किया कि देखो ये पानी को खौलाते हैं तो उसमें से भाप निकलती है और भाप बड़ी जोरदार चीज़ होती है, शक्ति होती भाप में। इस भाप से कुछ काम क्यों न किया जाये इसकी शक्ति से? छोटी बात थी, हर हमारे घर का पुरुष या स्त्री जानती है भाप को, कढ़ाई में पानी चढ़ाओ तो भाप निकलती है बड़े जोर से। अब उस आदमी को यह विचार हुआ कि इस भाप से कुछ काम लेना चाहिए और विचार करते-करते उसने एक इंजन चला दिया उस भाप से, रेलगाड़ी का इंजन, खाली भाप से चलता है याद रखिए और कोई बात नहीं, खाली पानी की भाप से रेलगाड़ी का इंजन चलने लगा। अब यह बड़ी क्रांति हुई, एक नयी चीज़ आ गयी, ज़बरदस्त एक नयी शक्ति आ गयी, रेलगाड़ी चली फिर और और बातें आयीं, मोटर वगैरह लेकिन महज़ एक मामूली भाप से।

दूसरे आदमी ने फिर कुछ दिन बाद देखा, बहुत सारे आदमियों ने कि बिजली बड़ी कड़-कड़ करती है, आसमान पर बादलों में यह क्या चीज़ है, पहले लोग भयभीत हो जाते थे, पूजा करते थे जैसे अब भी कुछ ऐसे लोग हैं। ये दुर्भाग्य की बात है कि अगर ग्रहण होता है तो एक टाँग पर जाकर नदी में खड़े होते हैं कुछ राहु से छुटाने को चन्द्रमा को और बड़े ढोल बजाते हैं, कोई कुछ करता है। हालाँकि सब लोग जानते हैं कि ग्रहण इसलिए हुआ कि पृथ्वी का साया चन्द्रमा पर पड़ गया, जब सूरज दूसरी तरफ़ हुआ। हर बच्चा स्कूल में पढ़ता है सीधी सी बात है और आपके ढोल बजाने से और स्नान करने से कोई असर नहीं होगा, न राहु उसको छोड़ेगा।

अब आप विचार करें कहाँ तो ऐसी दुनिया जो कि राहु और केतु के हेर-फेर में पड़ी रहती है, कहाँ ऐसी दुनिया जिसमें आजकल लोग विचार कर रहे हैं, प्रबंध कर रहे हैं चन्द्रमा पर खुद जाने के लिए बैठकर किसी हवाई यान में। अब दो दुनिया हो गई न। अब किस दुनिया में हम रहें, राहु और केतु की दुनिया में या आजकल की विज्ञान की दुनिया में? प्रश्न आता है हमारे मन में न, याद रखो इसके माने नहीं हैं कि हम अपने धर्म को सिद्धान्तों को छोड़ दें। धर्म से और राहु और केतु से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं है। ये तो महज़ कुछ लोगों का मज़ाक था जिसने लोगों को धोखा दिया। धर्म तो एक बुनियादी चीज़ है, सिद्धान्त की चीज़ है, बड़ी ऊँची चीज़ है, वो इन बातों में नहीं पड़ता और हमारे सिद्धान्त हमारे देश के बड़े ऊँचे हैं, जो गाँधी ने बताये, जो गौतम बुद्ध ने बताये, कितने ही महापुरुषों ने बताये, वो अलग हैं। इन बातों में गौतम बुद्ध नहीं बताते हैं आप ऐसा करें, न गाँधी बताते हैं, न और जो हमारे बड़े महापुरुष हुए हैं लेकिन पड़ गये हम इस जाल में।

एक और जाल में हम पड़े। ये जातिभेद के जाल में पड़े। कहीं दुनिया में संसार में ऐसा जातिभेद नहीं है जैसा हमारे देश में है, हाँ वर्ग के भेद हैं और दुनिया में। हमारे यहाँ जब जातिभेद शुरू हुआ तो वो वर्ग का था, कुछ काम का था भेद, कोई बहुत अन्तर नहीं था लेकिन

बढ़ते-बढ़ते ऐसे जकड़ गया कि हमारे देश के हजार टुकड़े उसने कर दिये, हजार जातियाँ, दुर्बल कर दिया, गिर गया हमारा देश और अब तक दुर्बल होता जाता है और लोगों को दुनिया में आश्चर्य होता है कि कहाँ से यह कास्ट सिस्टम, जातिभेद आया यहाँ और दुनिया में क्यों नहीं है, हम उसमें पड़े हुए हैं, हमें निकलना पड़ेगा उसमें से क्योंकि जातिभेद से प्रजातन्त्रवाद से क्या सम्बन्ध है? जातिभेद से और समाजवाद से क्या सम्बन्ध है? हम एक तरफ़ से कहें कि सब लोगों को बराबर का मौक़ा मिले बढ़ने का, बराबर के अधिकार हों और हम जातियाँ रखें एक के ऊपर एक, वो तो नहीं ठीक है न, तो इन बातों को हमें निकालना है और हमें निश्चय करना है कि हम इस आजकल की क्रांतिकारी दुनिया में कहाँ हों, किस तरफ़ हों, हम उस क्रांति को अपने क़ाबू में लाना चाहते हैं, समझना चाहते हैं, उस पर सवार होकर आगे बढ़ना चाहते हैं या वो आगे बढ़ जाये दुनिया के और देशों को ले जाये और हम हाँफ़ते-हाँफ़ते देखते रह जायें, क्या हुआ।

तो अब हमारे देश में तरह-तरह के लोग हैं। कुछ तो लोग वही हैं जो हाँफ़ते-हाँफ़ते रह जाते हैं, देखते हुए यह हो क्या रहा है, उनकी समझ में ही नहीं आता। कुछ हैं जो इस चीज़ को समझते हैं और चाहते हैं कि इसको एक तरफ़ झुकायें और अधिकतर लोग तो ऐसे हैं, सच बात तो यह है कि अपने काम-धंधे में पड़े हैं इस पर विचार ही नहीं करते लेकिन कुछ न कुछ विचार करना होगा क्योंकि इससे संबंध तो हर एक मनुष्य का है, हर एक स्त्री का है, जो कुछ देश में हो रहा है और दुनिया में हो रहा है। बड़ी बातें कीजिए, बड़ी बातों से मतलब है बड़े विज्ञान वगैरह से।

अब लीजिए यह बात लीजिए जो हमारे लिए काफ़ी बड़ी है कि हमारी सीमा पर, हमारी सरहद पर ऐसी बातें पिछले साल में हुई हैं, काफ़ी ख़तरे भरे हैं, क्या भविष्य में होता है, क्या इस समय हुआ है, भारत के कुछ पहाड़ी हिस्से पर अधिकार दूसरे देश ने कर लिया है। माना कि बड़ा पहाड़ी प्रदेश है लेकिन भारत का एक टुकड़ा है, तो क्या इसके माने हैं? अब इससे हमें चेतावनी मिलती है कि ज़रा भी कोई देश ढीला पड़ जाता है, ज़रा भी एक ग़फलत में पड़ जाये तो दुर्बल हो जाता है, दूसरे देश उससे लाभ उठाते हैं, आज़ादी की स्वतन्त्रता की क़ीमत देनी होती है और उसकी क़ीमत एक दफ़े नहीं देनी होती है, बार-बार देनी होती है, रोज़ देनी होती है, प्रतिदिन। एक दफ़े हमने स्वतन्त्रता के दाम दिये। स्वतन्त्रता के दाम सोने-चाँदी के तो होते नहीं, वो तो बलिदान में होते हैं, परिश्रम में होते हैं, हिम्मत में होते हैं, बुद्धि में होते हैं, इन सब बातों में होते हैं। हमने, हमने से मतलब बहुत लोगों ने देश में से लाखों करोड़ों आदमियों ने बीस, पच्चीस, तीस, चालीस, पचास वर्ष में उसकी कुछ क़ीमत दी, हमें स्वराज मिला। तो अगर आप समझें कि अब दाम देकर हमें मिल गया, अब हम निश्चिंत हो जायें, अब कोई भय नहीं है, तो आप धोखे में हैं। स्वतन्त्रता की क़ीमत प्रतिदिन देनी होती है होशियारी में, तैयारी में, परिश्रम में, काम में और जहाँ वो क़ीमत नहीं दी तो फ़िसलने का भय हो जाता है, याद रखिये। इसलिए कभी भी एक स्वतन्त्र देश के लोग पूरे तौर से आराम से नहीं रह सकते। आराम से रहें लेकिन चौकन्ने रहें, होशियार रहें, तैयार रहें, परिश्रमी रहें। जहाँ उनके शरीर ढीले हुए, मन ढीला हुआ, अपनी स्वतन्त्रता के क़ाबिल वो नहीं रहे, वो फ़िसल जायेगी हल्के-हल्के। अगर आप इतिहास पढ़ें, यही आप इतिहास में पढ़ेंगे, बार-बार हुआ है, बड़े लम्बे-चौड़े देश, साम्राज्य, हमारा ही देश, बड़े साम्राज्य गिर गये, दुर्बल हो गये क्योंकि अपनी रक्षा नहीं कर सके, अपनी रक्षा

नहीं कर सके इसलिए कि या तो बहुत अपने आरामतलबी में रह गये और अपने छोटे झगड़ों में रह गये, फूट थी, एकता नहीं रही या दुनिया आगे बढ़ गयी, दुनिया के साथ नहीं चल सके।

जो भी हो, जहाँ हम और आप बेखबर हो जाते हैं, देश कमजोर हो जाता है। इसलिए यह अच्छी चेतावनी हमारे पास आयी जो हमारी सीमा के पास हुई। अगर इससे हम कुछ होशियार हो जायें और तैयार हों पूरे तौर से अपनी शक्ति बढ़ाने के लिए, तब अच्छा हुआ जो सीमा पे हुआ क्योंकि उससे हमने लाभ उठाया नहीं तो फिर और कमजोर होते जायेंगे।

अब यह बड़ी आसान बात है कि हमारे नौजवान या और लोग बैठकर सभा में प्रस्ताव कर देते हैं बड़ी अपनी शक्ति दिखाने को। हाँ, दुश्मन को भगाओ, बड़े जोर से प्रस्ताव करें। बाज़ लोग अच्छे बेचारे मुझे पत्र लिखते हैं अपने कुछ खून की दो-चार बूंद निकाल कर उससे लिखते हैं, यह हंसने की बात नहीं है, यह उनके दिल की वीरता की बात है, उनकी भावना की बात है, लेकिन फिर भी एक बचपन की बात है। वीरता हमेशा अच्छी चीज़ है, अच्छी भावनायें हैं लेकिन ये एक नारे की, जैसे नारा उठा देना आजकल की दुनिया नारों से नहीं हिलती है। वो खासकर दूसरा देश थोड़े ही आपके नारों से हिल जाता है। आप अपने को ही हिला लें, वो आपके देश की ताकत है और आपकी दृढ़ता है, उसका असर दुनिया पर होता है। शक्ति कैसे देश में आती है आजकल? आपकी वीरता भी काफ़ी नहीं है, बड़े वीर पुरुष हमारे थे राजपूत और महाराणा प्रताप और कौन-कौन, लेकिन उनकी वीरता ने देश को बचाया नहीं, क्योंकि दुश्मन के पास ज़्यादा अच्छी बंदूक थी, तोप थी और तोप की जीत रही, आदमी की जीत नहीं, तोप की जीत रही। अंग्रेज़ आये यहाँ वो कौन बड़े शूरवीर थे लेकिन उनके पास बंदूकें अच्छी थीं। यहाँ वालों के पास नहीं थीं, उनकी जीत रही और उनके पीछे वो औद्योगिक क्रांति थी जो उनके यहाँ शुरू हो गयी थी, हमारे यहाँ नहीं थी और उस औद्योगिक क्रांति ने उनके देश की शक्ति बढ़ायी थी। आजकल किसी देश की ताकत नहीं हो सकती है जब तक ये उसमें विज्ञान के रास्ते पर चलकर औद्योगिक क्रांति पूरे तौर से नहीं की हो क्योंकि उसके पास हथियार भी नहीं होंगे ठीक-ठीक, उसके पास सामान नहीं होगा, उसकी आर्थिक स्थिति नहीं होगी मज़बूत, वो कमजोर होगा कैसे मुकाबला करे। तो घूमघाम के बात यह हो जाती है कि अपने देश की रक्षा करने के लिए भी हमें जल्दी से जल्दी यह औद्योगिक क्रांति करनी है, इंडस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन करना है, समय नहीं है कि हम बैठे रहें आराम करें और तेज़ी से करना है, अंग्रेज़ों ने उसको किया था सौ बरस में। जो उन्होंने सौ बरस में किया वो हमें दस-पंद्रह बरस में करना है। ये बात हमें याद रखनी है और जिती मेहनत करेंगे उती ही गाड़ी चलेगी आगे, ये हालत है।

आजकल तो चाहे आप इस तरह से देखें कि हमें अपने देश को खुशहाल करना है, दरिद्रता हटानी है, चाहे आप देखें कि हमें अपने आज़ादी की रक्षा करनी है, हर तरफ़ से हमें तेज़ी से काम करना है, ये औद्योगिक क्रांति कहिए जो कुछ कहिए जिससे हम इस दरिद्रता के दलदल से अलग होके, हम उस पार पहुँचें, काफ़ी तरक्की हमारी हो। ये सब पंचवर्षीय योजना वगैरह आप सुनते हैं, क्या है इसके माने? यही माने हैं इसके कि किसी तरह से हम अपने को चालीस करोड़ आदमियों को घसीटकर आगे ले जायें। घसीटकर मैंने कहा, वह शब्द ठीक नहीं था। घसीटेगा उन्हें कौन? अरे वो अपनी शक्ति से जायेंगे, अपने पैर से, अपनी टाँगों पर जायेंगे, कोई कंधे पर उठाकर ले जायेगा, किसका कंधा है जो चालीस करोड़ आदमी को अपने कंधे पर रखे,

वो जायेंगे अपनी शक्ति से, ये कोई क़ानून की बात नहीं है कि सरकारी हुक्म की बात कि चलो वहाँ पहुँचना है। ये जो जिस समय हमारे देश के दिल में, मन में ये विचार पक्की तौर से आ जायेंगे, आ रहे हैं आजकल कि इस रास्ते पर जाना है, ज़ोरों से जाना है, डरना नहीं हैं, परिश्रम करना है, उस समय यह यात्रा ज़ोरों से होगी और हम पहुँचेंगे। सरकारी हुक्म से और क़ानून से और इससे, उससे, न ही नारों से।

तो फिर पंचवर्षीय योजना के हम बड़े-बड़े चित्र और नक्शे बनाते हैं और आपने भी कुछ देखे हों और आपको देखना चाहिए क्योंकि पूरा चित्र होना चाहिए आपके सामने क्योंकि एक बात का दूसरे से सम्बन्ध है। हम चाहते हैं कि औद्योगिक क्रांति हो, माना अब उद्योग की क्रांति इस देश में कैसे हो? उसके पहले देखेंगे कि हमारी खेती में क्रांति हो, खेती में अधिक पैदा हो, एकदम से वहाँ आ जाते हैं हम खेती में, आप सोचें तो फिर आपको विचार करना पड़ता है कि खेती की तरक्की के लिए उन्नति के लिए हमें कुछ विज्ञान की आवश्यकता है हमें कुछ उद्योग-धंधों की आवश्यकता है, घूम के फिर चक्कर हो जाता है, असल में तो हमें हर तरफ़ से एक साथ बढ़ना है। लेकिन हाँ, मैं कहूँगा ये जो बात अभी मैंने कही थी वो शेतकरी संघ की सभा में कि इस समय सबसे पहली बात, अव्वल बात जड़ की बात, भूल की बात यह है कि हमारी भूमि से अधिक पैदा हो, अधिक पैदा हो, इत्ता अधिक तो हो ही कि सारे हमारे गुल्ला काफ़ी हो सभी के खाने के लिए, उससे अधिक हो और गुल्ले के अलावा और सामान हमारे उद्योग-धंधों के लिए पैदा हों तब तो उद्योग-धंधे हों।

तो ये शेतकर, किसान के लिए काम अव्वल काम हो जाता है। मैंने उनसे कहा कि इस वक्त भारत के शेतकरों के, किसानों के हाथ में भारत के आगे बढ़ने की लगाम है। सरकार के हाथ में समझो दिल्ली के और बम्बई के, बहुत कम लगाम है, कुछ है, आखिर में भारत की जनता के हाथ में है और भारत की जनता में अधिकतर यहाँ के शेतकरों के हाथ में है। अगर वो लगाम ले के तेज़ी से आगे बढ़ते हैं तो भारत की जीत है, भारत की तरक्की है, भारत बढ़ेगा आगे तो ये बातें आप देखिये। ये बातें कुछ नारों की तो नहीं होतीं। ये तो परिश्रम करने से, बुद्धि से, अक़ल से और विज्ञान को सामने रखकर और चारों तरफ़ से बढ़ना। मैं चाहता हूँ आप इसको सोचें।

अब वो लोग शेतकरों को मैंने आपसे कहा, हमने उनसे कहा कि पंचायतें तुम्हारी बनें मज़बूत, हैं उनकी पंचायतें और पंचायतों को अधिकार हो, चाहे पंचायत गुलती करे, ठोकर खाकर गिरे, मिटे, फिर उठ खड़ी हो। ये पुरानी अंग्रेज़ी अफ़सरी ज़माना मैं हटाना चाहता हूँ कि सब काम अफ़सर किया करें। यह बात ठीक नहीं है अफ़सर तो होने ही चाहियें, फ़ौज के सीखे हुए अफ़सर। अफ़सर कैसे होते हैं? इसलिए कि जो सिखाये जाते हैं अच्छी तरह से जो जानें आजकल की दुनिया क्या है, सलाह दे सकें लेकिन अफ़सर तो होंगे, लेकिन अफ़सरी दुनिया, अफ़सरी भारत नहीं चाहता मैं यानी हर चीज़ अफ़सर करे, अफ़सर सलाह देने के लिए हो, अफ़सर रास्ता दिखने को हैं, सेवा करने के लिए हैं लेकिन बोझा उनके पंचों पर होना चाहिए जो चलायें अपने गाँव को, अपने देहात को, जैसे चाहें और उसके लिए पैसा भी उनको देना चाहिए। इस तरह से वो ज़िम्मेदार होंगे, इस तरह से आपको देश में कुछ थोड़े से खम्भे नहीं होंगे, करोड़ों खम्भे हो जायेंगे प्रजातन्त्रवाद के, कोई इसको हिला नहीं सकेगा। तो इस तरह से हम चाहते हैं कि

पंचायत और पंचायत समिति और ज़िला परिषद को अधिकार दिये जायें, सारी योजनाओं के, डेवलपमेंट के अधिकार हों पूरे, सिवाय बहुत बड़ी कोई योजना हो। तब देखिये कैसे तेज़ी से तरक्की होती है। मैं ये नहीं चाहता कि दौड़े-दौड़े मेरे पास आयें कि आओ हमारे गाँव में इसको कर दो, करो। तुम्हें करना है जाकर करो खुद करो। तो आपके पास शक्ति है करने की, नहीं है तो पैदा करो शक्ति। इस तरह से मैं चाहता हूँ हर एक आदमी अपने ऊपर भरोसा करे, ऐसा देश हो और ये मैंने आपसे पंचायत का कहा और सहकारी संघ जो आवश्यक बात है क्योंकि सहकारी संघ को हर काम में आना चाहिए, यह मेरा विचार है। चाहे उद्योग-धंधों में, चाहे आपके और बातों में, हर काम में सहकारी संघ को करीब-करीब। यह बात ठीक है लेकिन विशेषकर खेती के काम में और जहाँ लोगों के पास थोड़ी-थोड़ी ज़मीन है, एक एकड़, दो एकड़, तीन एकड़, चार एकड़ उसमें वो तरक्की कर नहीं सकते, मिलकर कर सकते हैं। आजकल के न विज्ञान की बातें समझ सकते हैं न कोई लेकिन हाँ सौ, दो सौ, चार सौ, पाँच सौ आदमी मिल गये तो उनकी शक्ति बड़ी हो गयी, वो अच्छे हथियारों जैसे अच्छे टूल्स, अच्छे मशीन्स भी ला सकते हैं, अच्छी खेती कर सकते हैं, मिलकर बेच सकते हैं, मिलकर खरीद सकते हैं, बीच के व्यापारियों को अलग करके उसको लाभ होगा और खरीदार को लाभ होगा, बिल्कुल एक दूसरी दुनिया हो जाती है और वो छोटे-छोटे उद्योग-धंधे शुरू कर सकते हैं गाँव में, अकेला नहीं कर सकता लेकिन सहकारी संघ कर सकता है। इसीलिए सहकारी संघ आवश्यक है होना। और मेरे कहने की बात नहीं है, ये आज से करीब चालीस वर्ष हुए या पैंतीस वर्ष हुए या कुछ ऐसा, अंग्रेज़ी हुकूमत जब यहाँ थी तो उन्होंने एक कमीशन बनाया, बड़ा कमीशन रॉयल कमीशन एग्रीकल्चर का, खेती बाड़ी देखने का, उसने मोटी पोथी निकाली और उसमें उसने लिखा पहली बात कि बगैर कोऑपरेशन के, बगैर सहकारी संघ के भारत के एग्रीकल्चर का खेती का कोई भविष्य नहीं है। यह पैंतीस वर्ष हुए लिखा था, आप विचार करो और ठीक बात थी, दुनिया जानती है और आजकल लोग उठते हैं यहाँ और कहते हैं कि यह भय है, खतरा है कोऑपरेशन में, ये कम्युनिज़्म की तरफ़ जाता है। किस दुनिया में हम रहते हैं मैं विचार किया करता हूँ, कोई तमाशा है यह दुनिया कि लोग समझते नहीं कि और दुनिया में क्या हो रहा है कि एक चार दीवार में बंद करके, हम रह के, बगैर और दुनिया को देखे, बगैर विज्ञान को समझे, बगैर इन नयी शक्तियों को समझे हम अपनी राय क़ायम करें और लोगों को डराते हैं जाके— एक ये कांग्रेस है, ये तुम्हारी ज़मीन छीन लेगी यानी ये झूठ बातें। मेरी समझ में नहीं आता इस तरह से कोई आजकल राजनीति हम चला सकते हैं, न ज़मीन छीनने का सवाल न कुछ। सहकारी संघ बनाने का सवाल है जो दुनिया में हर जगह चलती है और जिससे ये शेतकरी लोगों को लाभ हुआ है और यहाँ भी होगा और यह यक़ीनन होगी और चलेगी। तो मैं आपको दिखा रहा हूँ कि क्या-क्या बातें, तरीक़े काम करने के हैं। ये तो ऐसी बातें हैं जिसमें हर एक को एकमत होना चाहिए, इसमें कोई बहस की बात नहीं है लेकिन अफ़सोस है कि बहस होती है और सच बात यह है कि कुछ पुराने ढंग के लोग हैं वो नहीं चाहते कि हमारे देश में कुछ अदल-बदल हो, वो नहीं चाहते कि ये समाजवाद की बातें आयें। तो हर तरह की शिकायत पेश होती है, हर तरह की रुकावट सामने रखते हैं।

खैर, मैंने आपका समय लिया बहुत। मैं अभी दिनभर से यहाँ फिर रहा हूँ देख रहा हूँ, गया आपके देहात में, वहाँ देखा जो आपके किसान लोग बंडिंग कर रहे हैं, कैसे सुंदर, तेज़ी से कर

रहे हैं, अब ये छोटी क्रांति हो जाती है आपकी खेती में, इसलिए बड़ी बात हो जाती है, ये बातें हो रही हैं, क्रांति हो रही है, बदल रहे हैं शहर, बदल रहे हैं लोग, बदल रहे हैं सब लेकिन विशेषकर अब क्रांति की जड़ हमारे ग्रामों में जा रही है, कई बरस से विकास योजनायें काम कर रही हैं, अब पंचायतें बनी हैं, उनके पास भी अधिकार आये, अब सहकारी संघ आया और अब और बातें जोर उन बातों पर, अब ग्रामों में एक क्रांति की चिंगारी जा रही है, जगा रही है, हिला रही है और ग्रामों का हिलना भारत का हिलना है क्योंकि भारत में साढ़े पाँच लाख गाँव हैं। इसलिए मेरे दिल में मुझे कोई संदेह नहीं है कि भारत का भविष्य, भारत तेज़ी से बदलेगा, हल्के-हल्के नहीं, तेज़ी से बदलेगा और भारत में लोग अधिकतर इस बात को समझने लगे हैं, अब वो सुस्ती में नहीं पड़े हैं और कुछ उनके सामने भी एक झलक भविष्य की आयी है, दुनिया के भविष्य की पुकार है। हाँ, अभी तक लोग हैं हमारे देश में जिनके कान में बड़ी काफ़ी रूई है, बंद हैं, वो बहरे, यह पुकार उनको सुनाई देती है भविष्य की। सुनकर उसको जवाब देते हैं और भविष्य की ललकार है तो हमारी भी भविष्य को ललकार है कि हम जीतेंगे भविष्य को और अपना बनायेंगे और अपने देश को ले जायेंगे जिधर हम चाहते हैं।

अब मेरे साथ जय हिन्द कहिए तो-जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द! जय हिन्द!

[नेहरु चाचा-ज़िन्दाबाद]

[Translation begins:

Sisters and brothers,

I find that there is a lot of light where I am to sit but all of you are in darkness. It is very difficult for me to address a gathering which I cannot see. I cannot even see how far back the gathering is seated. I have had to change many of my notions about Sholapur after reaching here today. I have come here after many years. (Look here, don't put everything in the middle, bring some here also. Where are you off to? Come on, bring it this side, this way, everyone is getting in the way. Bring it this side. They should be along the passage so, that people may come and go. Everyone is crowding in, enough, put it down, put it here, where are you taking it to, now put it down, and you also sit down somewhere.)⁸⁹ For one thing, I had heard that the population of Sholapur is three lakhs. As far as I can make out the number seems to be much larger. I have attended three meetings so far. This is the third big meeting. It is estimated that at the last one there were a lakh of people, all farmers, shetkaris. This meeting certainly seems bigger. Then there were people on the streets. Either the population of Sholapur is more than three lakhs or people have come from other distant places. I do not know. But I wish to tell you right at the beginning

89. See fn 88 in this section.

that the warm welcome that has been given me throughout the day has made a very great impression upon me. But you have shown an extraordinary enthusiasm today. You will forgive me if I say that you have almost been maddened by your enthusiasm. I mean it in a good sense. I liked what I saw.

I must point out, however, that I think of myself as a soldier and want that all of us should work together with martial discipline, otherwise our strength will be frittered away and wasted. But all the same, what I have seen today in Sholapur has gladdened my heart and filled me with renewed vigour. I shall go away from here tomorrow morning carrying your message which I shall convey to the rest of India.

A strange malady which affects the country today is the tendency to criticise everything that happens in the country. People take enormous pleasure in belittling our achievements and pointing out that we are heading for ruin. We see all the defects in the world mirrored in us. My mind goes back to the time forty years ago when Gandhiji had appeared on the political scene and gradually unleashed a storm which shook up the whole country. An electric current seemed to pass through our cities and villages. I remember that our elders, the English educated intelligentsia used to shake their heads and pessimistically pronounce that a downtrodden country like India could never raise its head with an uneducated population at the forefront of the movement. Freedom was regarded as a pipe dream. They harboured grave doubts. They were good people, no cowards certainly. But their links with the masses of India was broken. A new caste had sprung up in caste-ridden India, the breed of English-educated intelligentsia. It lived in a world of its own, divorced from the common man, the peasants and workers and petty shopkeepers and traders in India. It was incapable of keeping a finger on the pulse of India and could not gauge that the masses were gripped by an unusual fever, a thirst for freedom. So this new caste of people remained ignorant of the frenzy of enthusiasm stirred up by Gandhiji's call to action. There were exceptions. After all we too belonged to that caste to some extent. But most of the English educated intelligentsia in India remained oblivious of what was happening. They were unable to understand the mood of the people and a little afraid too. So they chose to remain aloof and angry.

There was a sea change in the Congress politics. As far as I can remember, it was in the Nagpur session of the Congress that a new atmosphere was created in two ways. One, the number of people in western dress declined, and two, English-speaking members were in a minority. Not that the use of English has disappeared even today. But the number of peasants and workers who joined the Congress grew and grew. So the complexion of the Congress changed. This threw the old guard into a panic because they were unable to understand the direction which the Congress was taking. There was no literature to help

them understand what was happening and their hand was not on the nation's pulse. Months passed and when they realised that the storm showed no signs of abating, they knew that a new force had risen in India, a force to be reckoned with. Nobody knew where it would lead but it had certainly succeeded in shaking up the entire country. So they too became convinced that they should move with the times.

This is an old story which most of you would not even remember. I was reminded of it again because today once more there has sprung up a breed of people who fail to feel the pulse of the Nation. They do not understand the forces that move the country, the people's aspirations and demands. They speak a language which is totally alien to the realities of India and therefore it has no impact on the hearts and minds of the masses.

I have just come from a huge meeting of about a lakh of peasants, the Shetkari Sangh, from all over Maharashtra. Their disciplined behaviour made a profound impression on me. I told them that I am no farmer though I do take an interest in gardening. So, I had no right to give advice to people who had worked all their lives on land, perhaps the only right that I had sprang from the fact that my eyes could peep into their hearts and minds. My finger is always on their pulse. I am able to understand a little their afflictions. I have lived with them for the last forty years and understood the myriad forms of India, the predominant one being that of the peasantry. Until the farmer in India can hold his head high and the villages progress, India cannot go ahead.

I try to understand what some people many of whom I respect, mean when they raise their voice and claim that India is being ruined, that freedom is a farce, or talk about the innumerable weaknesses and defects in our character. But I fail to see what they mean. I too understand this country of ours a little. I tour a great deal and reports and statistics come to me about the rise in people's income, the number of children studying in schools and colleges, and figures relating to production, agricultural as well as industrial production, which show that India is rapidly marching ahead. But apart from that, what I see all around me bears witness to it. In my own province where the peasants used to be hungry and naked are today better fed, have clothes to wear and a roof over their heads. There have been some changes in the rural areas for the better. People who walked before come to meetings in bullock-carts. These are small things which bear witness to the changing scene in the rural areas. I agree that the pace of change should be accelerated. But we are on the right path.

Therefore, when I hear people saying that India is being led on the path of ruin, I am amazed. I visit foreign countries where there is great concern about what is happening in India. After all we constitute one-sixth of the world population. India is a vast country. Whatever happens here is bound to have an

impact on Asia and the world. Therefore, people outside are concerned about what we do. They are agog to see how we fare in the war that we are waging against poverty. I read articles written in other countries and meet people who come from outside to see for themselves. Almost all of them are amazed at the changes that have taken place in India during the last ten-twelve years.

Now am I to believe the evidence before my eyes or what a group of detractors say? It is obvious that I shall believe what I can see for myself. I have no doubts in my mind. But I am amazed at this malady which affects our country that they must always speak ill of their own country. Well, they certainly seem to want to criticise the present government at the centre and in the states, and the Congress party.

I can understand their dilemma, if they say that India is progressing, it will mean praise of the Congress and the government. So they are compelled to abuse and in the process they denigrate the country. Anyhow, I want you to understand what we are trying to do because this is not a party matter. It concerns the whole country and the future of forty crores of human beings. Parties may come and go. But India will go on and my chief concern is with India's future. So it is very essential that all of us must understand what we are doing. It is possible that we who hold the responsibility of running the country during the last ten to twelve years may have made mistakes. How can we absolve ourselves completely? But the only thing I wish to point out is that we have pitted our entire strength into the task of nation-building. In the process we may make mistakes or stumble. There is nothing to be afraid of in that. We can go nowhere if we are afraid of stumbling and falling. That is absurd and the nation or people who do this are useless.

Therefore, what you have to judge is whether we have the vitality to go ahead or not. If you move, you can stumble. There is an Urdu couplet: "Girte hain shahsawar hi maidan-e-jung mein" which means that it is only the brave who fall in the battlefield. If you are afraid of battle, you will not move out of your bed. The important thing is that we should have the capacity and strength to go ahead. Even if we stumble and fall, we can pick ourselves up and go on. I quoted a line from Urdu just now. I do not know how many of you understand Urdu. But there is yet another fairly simple couplet: "Is tarah tai ki hain hamne manzilen, gir pade, gir kar uthe, uthkar chale." "Thus have we reached our goals: often we fell, but we got up and went on". Those who sit in their easy chairs will never achieve anything. We may stumble and fall but we know how to pick ourselves up and go on. We shall continue to do so.

When I came to Sholapur today and saw your enthusiasm, old memories were revived of days gone by and my heart was gladdened. Thank you very much for removing the doubts in my mind. I had heard that the people in India

are unhappy and angry and groaning under hardships. But I have found none of these things to be true.

I do not say that you would have no complaints at all. I am sure everyone must have problems. It is not a bad thing to complain. What is wrong is to wallow in it. An individual and a nation must be full of vitality. We are living in a revolutionary world today, nobody knows what tomorrow may bring, whether there will be a war in which nuclear weapons may annihilate the world. You must have read about some people landing on the Moon. Extraordinary things are happening which beat the ancient mythological tales that we heard in our childhood. We are living in extraordinary times. There is no place for people who wallow in self-pity and constantly complain about others. Nor is there any place for those who are in favour of the status quo. They have been born in the wrong century because they cannot set the clock back. They can do no good whatsoever by their constant carping.

You must understand what the world is like today and what our future is likely to be. India has a long, long past with a history dating back to thousands of years. There have been a great many ups and downs during this long history. But I do not think that there has ever before been a time in history when such revolutionary developments have taken place anywhere in the world. You must understand what I mean by revolutionary developments. People often associate revolution with violence and chaos. That is stupid because a real revolution has nothing to do with violence but denotes social change. In a political revolution, there is a change of regimes. We brought about a political revolution by removing British rule from India. But a socio-economic revolution is even more important than that because it changes the entire way of life of a people.

You must have heard about the great revolutions which took place in France, the Soviet Union and China. All of them were not merely political revolutions but socio-economic revolutions too. But the biggest of all revolutions was the industrial revolution which started two hundred years ago and has gradually spread to the whole world. It has made an impact on the lifestyles everywhere and brought about great changes. Europe and the United States have changed almost completely out of recognition and now we are beginning to feel its impact. The Industrial Revolution has changed everything. India is in the midst of it now. The changes that took place in the West a hundred or fifty years ago are now taking place in India. We already have railways, cars, telephones, telegraph and aeroplanes. We take them for granted now. But India is yet to become a fully industrialised country.

So as I said, the Industrial Revolution has been the biggest of all revolutions, bigger even than the French, Russian and Chinese revolutions. It has changed the life style of the people all over the world. socially and economically. In the

West it has led to an almost complete eradication of poverty and better standards of living for the common man. More than capitalism or communism, it is the Industrial Revolution which has brought about a complete change in the United States and the Soviet Union. It has led to the production of great wealth, betterment of the living conditions of the people all through the great advance made in the field of science and technology.

Science is the moving force behind the modern world. It has enabled mankind to harness great sources of energy hidden in nature. You must have heard about atomic energy. The atom is so tiny that you cannot see it with the naked eye or even through a microscope. There are millions of atoms in the smallest particle. An atom has the power to destroy whole cities as it happened in Nagasaki and Hiroshima. The weapons which have been invented since make the atom bomb seem like child's play.

So you can imagine the great sources of energy hidden in nature. We get into a panic when there is an earthquake. But that is nothing. Electricity is a great source of energy. Once Man learnt to recognise the hidden energy and other resources in nature he has grown in strength. Science is no magic. Anybody can learn about it and harness it to his own use. It was an ordinary Englishman who observed the latent potential of steam and utilised it to invent the railways. Every man and woman has seen steam spouting out when water boils. When it was used to run the locomotives, it revolutionised our mode of transport. All this happened merely through ordinary steam.

Then another enterprising individual observed the lightning in the sky carefully and learnt that it could be produced artificially through friction. Earlier people used to worship nature's phenomena out of superstitious fear. Even today there are people who stand in the river on one foot during an eclipse in the belief that the Sun is in the grip of Rahu. Everybody knows that eclipse is caused by the shadow of the earth on the Moon. It is not going to help to sing bhajans or have a holy dip.

You can gauge for yourselves the wide mental gulf between people who worship natural phenomena and those who are preparing to go to the Moon. It divides the world into two. Are we going to remain in a mental rut of fear and superstition or stride into the modern age of science and technology. It is a question of mental outlook. Please remember that it has nothing to do with religious principles. Outdated rituals and superstitions have nothing to do with religion. They are the means by which some people have hoaxed others through the centuries. Religion is far above these things. Great men through ages like Gautama Buddha and Gandhiji have given us principles and ideals which are valid for all times. None of them believed in superstition or rituals. But we seem to be caught in this trap.

The other trap into which we fell was casteism. The caste system is unique to India. There are classes in other societies. Initially, the caste system began as a division of labour. But as time went by, it became extremely rigid and divided the country into thousands of compartments. It weakened the country and led to its downfall. People in other countries are amazed at our caste system. We will have to root it out of our society because it has no place in a democracy or socialism. On the one hand we say we want everyone to have equal opportunities for progress and equal rights. How then can we allow the caste system to exist? We have to decide what our place is going to be in this revolutionary world, whether we wish to be a part of it and progress in its wake or let others go ahead while we lag behind.

There are different kinds of people in India. There are those who lag behind, unable to understand what is happening all around them. There are others who understand and want India to lean towards modernity. But by and large, people busy in their day to day living do not think much about it. It has to be thought of because it concerns every single man and woman. Anything that happens in India and world affects them in some way or the other.

Take the border issue for instance. The developments over the last one year have been brought with danger for India. A foreign power has grabbed hold of some of our territory. I agree that they lie in the mountain regions but after all, they are a part of India. It is a warning to us that the slightest complacency or slackness on the part of any country weakens it. Others take advantage of it. We have to pay a price for freedom not once but again and again, every day of our lives. The price of freedom is sacrifice, hard work, intelligence, not gold or silver. Over the last forty years, millions of our countrymen paid a great price before we got freedom. But if you think that the price has been paid and we can be carefree, you are mistaken. The price has to be paid every day by our constant vigilance, preparation, hard work and effort. If we do not pay the price, freedom is in danger of slipping away. That is why a nation which is free can never relax fully or become complacent. The people must be constantly vigilant and hard working. The moment they allow themselves to slacken physically and mentally, they will not be fit for their freedom. It will slip away. This is what Indian history teaches us. It happened again and again in India. Great empires flourished and crumbled because their rulers were unable to defend them. They were often preoccupied with personal quarrels and disputes lacked unity and failed to keep in touch with what was happening in the rest of the world.

Whatever it was, the moment we became slack the country was weakened. So the attack on our borders has come as a timely warning. If we can become vigilant and prepare ourselves fully to combat any danger that may arise, the

aggression would prove a good thing. If we do not take advantage of it, we will be further weakened.

It is easy for our young men to pass resolutions and hold public meetings demanding that the enemy should be thrown out. Some people have even sent me pledges signed in blood to give their lives for the country. It is an excellent sentiment but still childish. Bravery is always a good thing. But shouting slogans will not shake the world, particularly another country. You may shake yourselves up.

What really counts is our strength as a nation and determination. That is what makes an impact upon the world. Mere bravery is not enough. There have been great warriors in India, in Rajasthan and elsewhere, and yet their bravery did not save the country because the enemy had better guns and cannons which won. The British were by no means braver than our Indian soldiers. But they had guns. Above all, the Industrial Revolution had made them economically very strong while India had remained backward and poor. No country in the world today can become really strong unless it adopts modern scientific methods of production and becomes industrialised. Otherwise it will not have the armaments or goods or the economic strength to combat any dangers that may arise. So, we come round to the need for bringing about an industrial revolution in India as quickly as possible. There is no time to sit back and relax. We have to do in a few years what the West took more than a hundred years to do. So the harder we work, the faster we can progress.

Whichever way you look at it whether it is eradication of poverty or improving the standard of living of the masses or defending India's sovereignty and territorial integrity, we have to work fast. Only then can we get out of the mire of poverty. There must be an industrial revolution in India. The five year plans that you hear about are aimed at pulling the forty crores of human beings in India out of the mire of poverty. But ultimately it is something that they have to do themselves. Who has the strength to carry forty crores of human beings on their shoulders? It cannot be done by passing laws or through government fiat. It means a change in outlook of the people, grit and determination. We must not be afraid of hard work. Only then can we reach our goals. Neither the government's orders and laws nor slogans will take us anywhere.

We have drawn up the five year plans on an ambitious scale. You must keep the entire picture before you because everything is linked to one another. We want an industrial revolution in India. But that is possible only if there is an agricultural revolution and increase in production from land. We have to adopt scientific techniques of agriculture. We have to set up small industries in the rural areas. So it is all linked together. The fact is that there has to be an all round development. But I shall repeat what I said in the Shetkari Sangh meeting

that the most urgent priority today is to increase production from land. We must be self-sufficient in foodgrains and also ensure that there should be a surplus which can be invested in industries.

So the farmer's job is crucial. I told the farmers that at the moment the reins of India's progress are in their hands. It is to some extent in the hands of the government in Delhi or Bombay but ultimately what really counts is the people and among them the farmers. If they are prepared to go ahead fast, India will definitely win through and progress. This is not a matter of raising slogans. It requires hard work, effort, intelligent planning and adoption of scientific techniques of production. We have to make a multi-pronged effort.

I told the farmers' association that they should strengthen their panchayats. We want the panchayats to have greater powers even if they make mistakes and occasionally stumble and fall. I want to get rid of the old British bureaucratic system of working. We must have officials who are trained and experienced in modern methods of working and a sense of discipline. But I do not want them to rule the country. They should guide and advise the people, and pave the way. They must serve the people. But the burden of administering the villages must rest with the panchayats. They must have the power to levy taxes if necessary. That is the only way they will become responsible and become the pillars of our democracy. Nobody can shake us then.

So we want to give greater autonomy to the panchayats, the panchayat samitis, the zila parishad, etc., and make them fully responsible for the development work in the rural areas except in the cases of very big projects. Then you will see how quick the progress is. I do not want everyone to come running to us for every little thing. You should have the capacity and if you don't, produce it. I want every man in India to learn to be self-reliant.

As I said, panchayats and cooperative societies are very essential. The idea of cooperation should permeate every field of activity, agriculture, industries and everything else. Cooperation is particularly necessary in agriculture because small farmers with marginal landholdings of a few acres each cannot do very much or take advantage of modern scientific know-how. But if a hundred or more of them get together, it makes for immense strength. They can afford to buy good tools and small machines, and the buying and selling can be done through the cooperatives. This will benefit the producer and the consumer for the middle man's profit will go to them instead. It makes the whole thing different. The farmers can even open up small industries which individually they cannot.

Therefore, cooperative societies are very essential. It is not something new. Nearly forty years ago, the British Government had set up a royal commission on agriculture. Its report came out with the view that there was

no future for Indian agriculture except through cooperation. This is something that the whole world acknowledges today. Therefore, when some people raise their voice against cooperation and feel that we are leading the country towards communism, I feel amazed and wonder what kind of a world we are living in. People have closed their minds to what is happening all around them, and fail to understand the new forces of science and new sources of energy which are making their appearance. They scare up people saying that the Congress will take away their land. I cannot understand how we can have a political life based on lies. There is no question of snatching away anybody's land. Cooperatives are formed all over the world and they are bound to benefit the farmers everywhere. I am trying to show you the various methods that we can adopt. These are some things in which everyone should be agreed upon. There is no argument about it. But I regret to say that people with an outmoded way of thinking are against changing the status quo. They are not in favour of socialism. So, all kinds of obstacles are placed in the way.

Well, I have taken up a great deal of your time. I have gone all around the villages and seen the beautiful bunding work being done here. These are small things which everybody can do. But they can revolutionise agricultural production. Therefore, they are crucial. A revolution is taking place all over the country. People and cities and more important, our villages are changing. The national extension schemes and community development programmes have been going on for years. Now the panchayats are being given greater autonomy. Cooperative societies are being formed. A revolution has been sparked off in the rural areas which are shaking everyone out of their apathy. When the five and a half lakh villages awaken, it means an awakening of the whole of India. Therefore, I have no doubt in my mind that India will change very rapidly in future. The people are now prepared for it and look to a brighter future. The challenge of the times has shaken them out of their torpor. There are many people even now who refuse to understand all this but there are more than enough who do. The future beckons and we are ready to meet the challenge. I am sure we will succeed in building our India of our dreams.

Please say Jai Hind with me thrice.

Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!

(Cries of Long Live Chacha Nehru)

Translation ends]

II. POLITICS
(a) Indian National Congress

12. To Ramlal Parikh: Foreigners at Youth Congress Convention¹

March 26, 1960

My dear Ramlal,

Your letter of March 25. If you feel that you are in a sense committed to inviting representatives of the seven foreign organisations you have named, you may do so. I do not think that any invitation should be issued to any organisation from China.

Yours sincerely
Jawaharlal Nehru

13. To A.A.M. Noor: Swatantra Party²

28th March, 1960

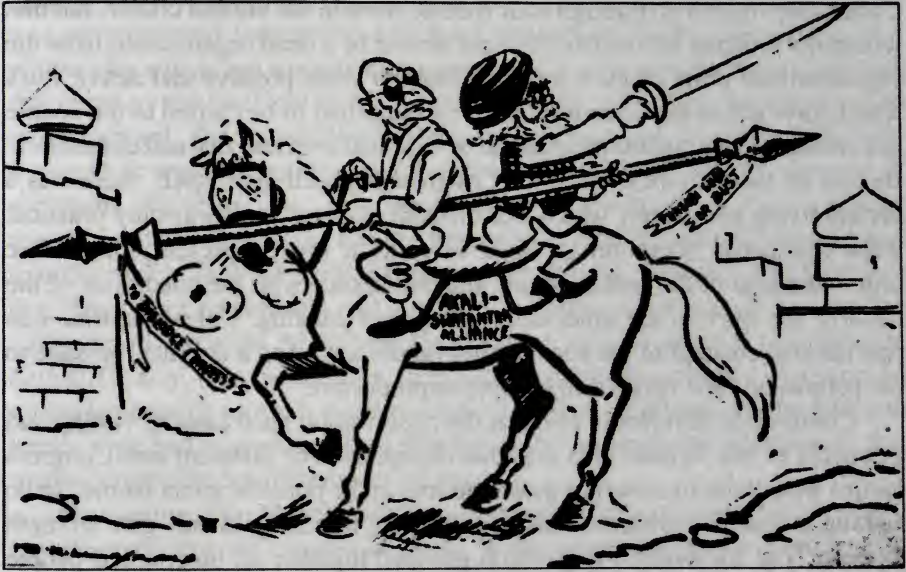
Dear Shri Mohammed Noor,

Thank you for your letter of the 26th March. There is much truth in what you have said in your letter. We are seeing a very curious combination of political reactionaries, communalists and others being wooed, with some success by the Swatantra Party. Obviously, this kind of thing can only be countered by our adhering firmly to our own ideals and working for them.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

1. Letter to the Secretary, Youth Department, AICC. File No. Youth Department, 1961, AICC Papers, NMML.
2. Letter to the Convener, Nehru Study Circle, Patna.

JOINT BID



[From left: C. Rajagopalachari, Tara Singh]
 (From *The Times of India*, 30 March 1960, p. 7)

14. At Rajkot: To PCC Presidents and Secretaries³

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and Shri Morarji Desai came to the Conference at 4-30 p.m. The Congress President gave a short resumé of the deliberations and requested Shri Nehru to address the office-bearers who had assembled there. Shri Nehru on Congress Ideology

Shri Nehru observed that he was happy to find that practically all the office-bearers of the PCCs had attended the Conference and taken part in the discussions in a calm atmosphere. It was indeed very helpful to discuss matters in such businesslike sessions.

Shri Nehru remarked that Congressmen must fully realise that the organisation must function effectively and dynamically. It was not enough that

3. Report of speech at the conference of PCC Presidents and Secretaries, Rajkot, 3 April 1960. *Congress Bulletin*, February, March & April 1960, pp. 219-226; for full record of the conference proceedings, see *ibid*, pp. 152-236.

the organisation should work as a matter of routine. Of course the Congress Committees had to go through their routine work in the normal course, but that would not indicate its real life. It might almost be a dead organisation from the organisational point of view unless it took up some positive and active work which gave life to the organisation. Its message had to be carried to the people in a crusading way and the programme be executed with real zeal and enthusiasm. Behind all the activities which the Congress imposed upon itself, there was a certain living philosophy which was difficult to describe. It was only practical work that could bring out its inner essence. It must represent some basic urge—the urge of the Indian people and that in tune with the conditions of the country, the spirit of the times and the people's thinking. Unless the time was ripe the real concept of the social upheaval did not bring a definite message to the people, and the revolution became unproductive.

Continuing, Shri Nehru said that the organisation must have its vitality and a concept of life. It must also maintain discipline. The different anti-Congress parties who claim to assume a dominant role in the political arena seemed to be lacking in understanding the fundamental facts which could only give strength to them. The Swatantra Party which grouped together all disgruntled people had no positive philosophy, no link with the growing forces that shaped the society and re-oriented the outlook of the people. It had no discipline.

The Congress Party could not, however, indulge in such looseness. Any activity that was proposed to be carried out in a big way could not be so done with a motley crowd not bound by any discipline. When the Congress was fighting against British imperialism, discipline had to be very stiff.

Shri Nehru said that he did not believe in too much rigidity. It was the discipline of a free mind that was wanted and not the mind seized with fear. A good deal of latitude had been given to the members of Congress Party in Parliament by him. But it was found that the Congress organisation did not maintain the required standard of discipline and sometimes the limit, flexible as it happened to be, was over-reached. Some recent happenings had been rather not happy. Congressmen were found hitting each other for personal reasons, and not connected with any differences of philosophy. In a dynamic organisation which wanted to give shape to a new society, this form of indiscipline could not be allowed to grow. It must be overcome.

The question that had to be carefully considered was whether the Congress had any clear basic ideology and if so how far the Congressmen realised its real nature. There might be many who were confused about it or they supported outwardly the decisions of the Congress while mentally working against the same. The national movement generally found it difficult to develop a proper social ideology. India was fortunate in this respect. Mahatma Gandhi through

his superb personality forced the people owing allegiance to the Congress to think in terms of Harijans' welfare and those of other backward classes. There was an emotional integration and the Congress gradually gave shape to a philosophy which had a positive programme of its own and the large peasantry that came to the forefront in the national struggle compelled the Congress to move forward. The social ideology became pregnant with meaning. Gradually it moved on and different aspects of social problems led it towards the goal of socialism. All these were very important in the evolution of India's line of thinking and the initial stage that had been tied up with the political struggle had to make its way forward through trials and tribulations. It must not be forgotten that there were tendencies, and tensions and pulls which sought to take the Congress in different directions. Unless there was an attempt to approach, scientifically, the problems that confronted the people, causes of misunderstanding arose. It was not a rigid mind that could analyse the different trends. One had to go down deep into the matter and note the vital factors that were accountable for differences of opinion.

Continuing, Shri Nehru said that a number of Congressmen failed to have any clear concept of Congress ideology. These people secretly worked against the Congress and the moment they got a chance to band together they deserted the Congress. They were not prepared to undertake any responsibility and carry out the programme and policy which the Congress stood for. It was essential that the workers should have clearer thinking. Before Independence this question did not assume so much importance. Some social objectives had indeed been put forward through Congress resolutions, specially in the Karachi Session, but the intensity of the struggle for Independence, engaged the attention of Congressmen most. Now that Independence had been won the Congress had to move towards a positive philosophy. Of course, it started in a free way without any rigid adherence to some theory or doctrine. Congress at its earlier stage presented itself as an organisation meaning well of all and trying to give expression to the same through some emotional phrases. But whenever it was confronted by acute social problems, it found it difficult to find any answer. Big slogans were no solutions. It was precise thinking that could develop positive ideas. During the last two or three years, the Congress-thinking became more definite and the important policy questions that had been discussed through seminars and sub-committees, gave an indication that Congress was in search of a precise social philosophy.

Shri Nehru said that the moment Congress started thinking in precise terms, those persons who failed to keep pace with such thinking became aggressively hostile. The Nagpur Resolution posed some questions which were nothing new but it created a certain stir and protests were made aloud.

The persons who had put up with earlier pronouncements of the Congress found themselves really excited over the Nagpur Resolution since it was realised that Congress meant business. An organised effort was made to collect the people opposed to Congress viewpoints and the entire policy of planned programme was attacked at an intellectual level. The whole basis of planning was objected to. When Congress took the resolve that it should adopt a definite social policy which should mean not merely being good to all but which should release forces that would free the producers from all encumbrances so that production might grow apace, objections were raised and abuses were hurled, against the Congress. Essentially, the Congress had been doing something which released forces both in the agricultural and industrial fields. This was the right step to pull out the people of India from the morass of stagnation which could hardly supply proper incentives to production. With respect to Land Reforms it had been found that there were many Congressmen who were reluctant to welcome fresh innovations such as the imposition of ceilings. These represented the class who would be hit by ceilings and the protests were the natural outcome of their apprehensions. Similarly there was confusion with regard to the industrial development and the demarcation of the spheres of the industries in different forms.

Shri Nehru said that the social philosophy developed in foreign countries through centuries and in the economic context of the respective areas. Mere recitation of socialism did not make one socialist and one could not approach the problem with a vacant mind. It was a clear recognition of the differing character of different countries that could give a correct picture of social evolution and it was a careful analysis that could bring clarity to one's vision.

Shri Nehru stated that the Communists of India failed to understand the different forces that had been working in the country objectively because their minds were conditioned by theories and theses conceived in strange contexts. They have rather a fixed mind and naturally that led to stagnation. They forgot the fact that at the present moment the entire outlook was changing. The approach to economic problems was not the same as it had been in the 19th century. The old forces of industrialisation had been replaced by new forces such as atomic energy. India also had been changing rather rapidly. The spread of education in rural India and the spread of industry, transport and communications brought about a definite change. One could not stop the progress. The social forces had their own impacts and one should see how far progress was made in the right direction.

In reply to a query as to how the Governments should work out the socialistic programme with its conservative frame of mind, Shri Nehru said that it was not the Government that counts but the organisation which gave an

orientation to the people's outlook. The Congress members had their own responsibilities and sometimes the different sections of the people working through the Congress found themselves placed in an awkward situation when they had to accept the programme that affected their own interests adversely. The Land Reforms provide definite instances of such a programme and they were accepted by the Congress and the average member who was a big peasant found that his personal interests were at stake. It was really admirable that most of them stood the test and gave their support to the Congress programme.

With respect to State Trading, Shri Nehru remarked that it was not a necessary element of a socialistic programme. Even non-socialistic countries introduced State Trading. He further pointed out that the introduction of State Trading, of course, without any previous preparation, had some difficulties in its working. The State Governments appoint as their agents persons who were interested in private trade. It was obvious that these agents could not be keen on bringing about the desired results which would mean going against their own interests. The only effective method would be to introduce co-operation in this field and do away with all intermediaries who worked for their own profits.

In reply to a query if the Government should assist the promotion of co-operatives, Shri Nehru said that his idea of a co-operative was that it should be a completely non-government organisation developing on its own and not relying too much on State assistance. The State only came into the picture when it supplied credit and expert advice. Of course, the movement did require some assistance at the initial stage and the Government could help its growth without displaying any form of bossism. The urge to develop should come from within. The success of the movement depended in a large measure on the trained personnel and also on the people who worked with a missionary spirit. It must be, however, seen that the State came into the picture to see that the strong were not favoured as against the weak. The earlier experiences of co-operatives showed that it was the affluent who secured all benefits and not the really needy. That phase had to be revised and the State would indeed be a useful agency to exercise some form of control so as to save the helpless from exploitation.

In reply to another query, if the *Panchayats* should be contested on party basis, Shri Nehru said that it would be preferable not to contest the village *Panchayats* on party basis but Congressmen should be there. Efforts should be made to have really good people in the *Panchayats* and as far as possible they should be unanimously elected. Thereby the village people would gain from united strength rather than dividing themselves through contests.

Answering a query as to how the students could be attracted towards the

Congress, Shri Nehru said that he did not find it objectionable if the students, specially the university students, participated in the constructive activities of the Congress or other parties but there should be no party politics in the university itself. They should have their own study circles to make them fully conversant with the problems that obtained in the country.

To a question raised by a member as to how they should deal with the vested interests that attempted to have control over the organisation, Shri Nehru said at the outset one should be clear as to what was meant by vested interests and if it was found that persons worked against the declared objectives of the Congress and differed fundamentally on the basic questions, they should have no place in the organisation. After all it was the clear enunciation of the policy and its effective implementation that gave strength to the organisation and at the same time made it competent to be of service to the people. It was essential that Congressmen should by their own example influence the public and see that the productive talents were fully utilised in building up a really healthy society.

15. At the CPP⁴

You speak generally on every subject [interruption]. Well, it is indicated that the subject today, it was not marked it was [...] frankly no subject was fixed for today. The main thing we had in mind was that the Rajya Sabha Members would be coming and there would be a number of new Members, so let us have the meeting to meet them. Now, as you know Lok Sabha is sitting there⁵ and rather a small one and even then Rajya Sabha Members are not here and I doubt if many of the new Members are here either, some may be [interruption] yes, no doubt few of them and only a little while ago one of our Members, colleagues, came to me and said about half an hour ago, a little more, should we hold this meeting because the Lok Sabha will sit on for another hour or more. Well, I said it is too late to postpone it and anyhow let us meet the new Members from the Rajya Sabha and fix some other day for further meetings. Of course, if any Member particularly wants to say something he may. This cannot be considered in a full meeting that is true, that is our difficulty. Now, I suggest... Now we considered it in a full meeting that is true, that is the difficulty. Now, I suggest this, there is one we might, there is a condolence resolution

4. New Delhi, 7 April 1960. Tape No. M-49/c, Part I & II, NMML.

5. The Lok Sabha met from 8 February to 29 April 1960.

which we might deal with now, this is about Shri Kailash Bihari Lal.⁶ So, if you agree we shall pass this resolution.

Such new Members of the Rajya Sabha as are here, well, to come here and be introduced to the others, नाम पढ़ो, [interruption] ज़ोर से कहो, श्री कोसे पुनया।⁷

[Translation begins:

Read out the names, (interruption) speak loudly, Shri Kose Ponaiyya.⁸

Translation ends]

Someone: Mr. Ponaiyya.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Ponaiyya come here.

Jawaharlal Nehru: बोलो।

[Translation begins:

Jawaharlal Nehru: Speak.

Translation ends]

Someone: Shri K.L. Narasimha Rao.⁹

Jawaharlal Nehru: अरे नाम ज़ोर-ज़ोर से पढ़ो, उठ के पढ़ो, अरे उठ के पढ़ो भाई, हाँ, last नाम।

Someone: श्री पतनी चंद्र मिश्र।¹⁰

6. Kailash Bihari Lal, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bihar, died on 6 April 1960.
7. Kose seems an error. It is probably Kota Punnaiah, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Andhra Pradesh, 1960-1978.
8. See fn 7 in this section.
9. Dr K. L. Narasimha Rao (b.1899); Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Andhra Pradesh, 1960-1966.
10. The name was probably not heard clearly. The Rajya Sabha records for 1960 list the following three Members with similar surnames: Bibudhendra Mishra, Congress, Orissa since April 1958; Loknath Misra, GNP, Orissa from April 1960; Shyam Dhar Misra, Congress, UP since 1952. However, Pratul Chandra Mitra, Congress, Bihar, who was elected to the Rajya Sabha in April 1960 seems to be the Member whose name was being called out.

Jawaharlal Nehru: अरे last नाम पढ़ो ।

Someone: श्री के. ल. नरसिमहाराओ¹¹ जो अभी आए थे ।

[Translation begins:

Jawaharlal Nehru: Read out the names loudly; stand up and read; please stand up and read; yes, last name.

Someone: Shri Patni Chandra Mishra.¹²

Jawaharlal Nehru: Oh! Read the last name.

Someone: Shri K.L. Narasimha Rao who came just now.

Translation ends]

Jawaharlal Nehru: I should like to say a few words of welcome to our new Members here. They would no doubt realise not only the great importance of the work they have to perform here, the heavy responsibilities we as Members of Parliament have to shoulder and the heavier responsibilities we as members of the Congress party have to shoulder. It is not an easy task. Of course, for a Member of Parliament, it is upto him to make it easy or hard working. But, I believe most of our Members do take a lot of trouble and work really hard, some very hard. [It is] not merely a question of hard work but rather a question of organised work aiming at a certain direction. A great deal of the work of Parliament is such that—no, you might say, no high principles are involved—good governance is a common feature of every party or ought to be anyway. Another part of governmental or parliamentary activities raises important issues of policy, etc. And the Congress naturally stands for certain basic policies. How far we are always thinking of those basic policies, sometimes it is doubtful, forget them. Now, if I go back a little and refer to Congress history and development briefly, you will see that the Congress started—what is it, seventy-five years ago or more, is it seventy-five years—as a small group of what might be called the upper middle class English educated persons. Able lawyers, some professional people, some business people, even some few big landlords

11. See fn 9 in this section.

12. See fn 10 in this section.

who joined the Congress then. That is, they were drawn by a certain urge of nationalism. In those early days the Congress was, as you think now, a very moderate organisation. Almost the first resolution it used to pass was a resolution of loyalty to the British Crown, in the early sessions of the Congress that I attended. [Interruption] — फर्ज करो पार्टी में उनसे न कहें वो कहें पार्टी मीटिंग नहीं है मैं राज्य सभा से बोल रहा हूँ बड़ी मुश्किल है।

[Translation begins:

Suppose they are told this is not a Party meeting, I am speaking in the Rajya Sabha; it is so difficult.

Translation ends]

I am informed that some Members of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha have raised the question that it is improper for the party meeting to proceed while the Lok Sabha is sitting, is that right? [Interruption] What did the Chairman say, what proper? [Interruption] Undoubtedly, undoubtedly, we shall abide by the convention, we should always abide by the convention, that is, our conventions. So, the Party meeting has ended, you may have tea.

[Interruption]

But, there is no reason why, while you have tea, I should not talk to you. [Interruption] क्या कहा आपने? [Interruption] ठीक है मुझे नहीं मालूम था ऐसा कायदा है लेकिन ठीक है [Interruption]। नहीं ठीक है। आमतौर से मुनासिब कायदा है ये हालाँकि सख्ती से इसपे अमल करना, फर्ज कीजिए कोई इमर्जेन्सी हो कि हाउस बैठा भी हो हमें एक दम से meet करके कुछ तय करना हो। ये हो सकती है ऐसी बात कभी-कभी, लेकिन आमतौर से मीटिंग में। खैर उनसे कोई साहब पूछें और आप Chairman और Speaker साहब से, चेयरमैन है, उनसे कह दिया जाये कि उनके हुक्म के मुताबिक हम पार्टी मीटिंग इस वक्त नहीं करते। लेकिन इसमें तो कोई शिकायत नहीं है कि मैं कुछ काँग्रेस का history का कुछ कहूँ [Interruption] हाँ, हाँ,। क्या कहा आपने [Interruption] हर तरह के member के convenience हो जब, वहाँ वो दो जगह तो नहीं हो सकते ये तो बात बिल्कुल ठीक है। लेकिन आखिर जो मीटिंग क्या चीज़ है वो भी तो एक ग़ौरतलब बात है ना। Regular party meeting मैं तो समस्त। आप अक्सर आप लोग अक्सर हाउस चलता है और यहाँ घंटों बैठे चाय और काफी पिया करते हैं फिर क्या। [Interruption]

Some one: बातें भी किया करते हैं [Interruption] नहीं इसमें।

[Translation begins:

What did you say? [Interruption] alright, I did not know there was such a convention, but it is alright. [Interruption] Generally perhaps this is the convention but we can't enforce it very strictly. For instance, suppose there is an emergency, we may have to meet immediately, even though the Lok Sabha is sitting, to take some important decision. It is possible, this kind of situation may arise sometimes. But usually, such meetings.... Well, anyhow, the Chairman and the Speaker may be informed that in deference to their ruling, we will not hold the Party meeting now. But I suppose there can be no objection to my saying something about the history of the Congress. [Interruption] Yes, yes. What did you say? [Interruption] The convenience of the members has to be kept in mind. They cannot be at two places at the same time, that is no doubt true. But what is a meeting, after all; that also needs to be considered, regular party meeting. Even when the House is sitting, you often meet for tea and coffee here for long. Then why not?

Someone: We talk also. [Interruption] No, there is no.

Translation ends]

Jawaharlal Nehru: We need not try to find special ways and means. In effect it is not right normally for a full party meeting to be held when the House is sitting, but of course and here, but, [interruption] alright we won't argue, we shall [interruption] yes, no, no, the meeting. But, the meeting has already been adjourned, there is no meeting now, [interruption]. House at seven. The next few days, well, [are] hectic days; I am speaking for myself, I am going day after tomorrow for three days to Maharashtra. I am coming back for two days from Maharashtra, coming back for two days, then going to Assam. Coming back for two days and then I am meeting Premier Chou En-lai. And that is supposed to last about a week. And after another two days, after that not two days, four days or five days, I am leaving for England and the House will be over too about that time. Well, we can have a meeting let us see. बिल्कुल ठीक। ये तो बिल्कुल ठीक कहते हैं आप और ये हो तो बहुत अच्छा है। [Interruption] पहली बात जो त्यागी जी¹³ ने कही वो ये कि मीटिंग होनी चाहिये, कोई खास वजह नहीं कि मेरे मौजूदगी में हो। ये तो बात बिल्कुल मुनासिब है। तो कहिये कब हो मीटिंग? जैसे अगर आप को suit

13. Mahavir Tyagi, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Dehra Dun, Uttar Pradesh.

करें next meeting शनिचर इतवार को किसी रोज़ कर दें है next हैं। Saturday यहाँ सुट्टी है कि नहीं। [Interruption]

[Translation begins:

Quite correct. You are absolutely right, if this happens, it is very good. First thing that Tyagi ji¹⁴ has said is this that meeting should be held, there is no specific reason that it should be held in my presence. This is quite right. So, when should it be held? If it suits you, it can be organised on either Saturday or Sunday next. Saturday is a holiday here or not? [Interruption]

Translation ends]

I mean to say in my absence I would not say, certainly of course I mean to say, it is quite wrong for you to not to hold a meeting because I happen to be away. [Interruption] No, we come to that let us hold the meeting if it is convenient to you on Saturday [the] 9th. Now, the Lok Sabha is sitting, we do not know, we have to say when the Lok Sabha rises. But, 6 o'clock, say about six. Meetings here and now, from now till the end of the month. I suggest next meeting might be held on Saturday 9th April at six p.m. or when the House rises. I shall not be then present here [interruption] if you wish to have the meeting after that, when I am here, that will have to be on the 13th. That is a second meeting: first meeting on the 9th, second meeting on the 13th, again after the House rises. I do not know on Sunday the 17th, but that is a date fixed for Chief Ministers to meet here, National Development Council, that would not be suitable. Well, after that you can have a meeting when you like, but it may be difficult for me to come because Mr Chou En-lai will be here then. Eve of what? That of course, I have not reached that yet, I have not, [interruption] we will come to the matter. Well, 24th will be, you see, is Mr Chou En-lai's stay here. If I can come I will come, I do not know. [Interruption] No, 26th, no of course.

Someone: 24th election.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Election does not come in the way; on the 26th there is an investiture by the President, military investiture, on the 27th civil investiture. Yes, it goes on like this. 29th is the last day. [interruption] No, I can make it

14. See fn 13 in this section.

[on] the 28th. हाँ because, I can have it at 5.30 if you like, because I have got a meeting at 4.30. [Interruption] All right, we will say 28th at 5.30 or when the House rises. [Interruption] This is not there, this is not [interruption] ruling out meetings, earlier meetings, we usually have meetings towards the end of the session always. So, we can have that meeting on the 28th. You can have earlier meetings as I have said on the 9th and the 13th, and 28th and you may have a meeting in between, let us say, any date, no, provisionally you can fix a meeting on the 23rd also, 23rd, 28th. What subjects will you discuss? [Interruption] Or what is going to be taken up [in] this session. But, that matter had been noted for discussion in the party. Yes, it may be discussed, you may note it down. If a subject far from policy is concerned, you can discuss it. No, it has not been referred to the Select Committee. This I do not know, it is here, Dowry Bill,¹⁵ we prefer to discuss it when the Law Minister has come back.¹⁶ I think in consultation with the Finance Minister so that he has to be present then, I think we have the Finance Bill. Do we disperse? Alright, thank you.

16. At the CPP ¹⁷

सुनिये अब मीटिंग शुरू होती है, और मुझे तो आप माफ करेंगे मैंने कल ही आप से कहा था कि मुश्किल होगा आना। और मुख्तलिफ injection भी मैंने लिये हुए हैं। वो सवाल जो कल था। तो Finance Minister साहब से मैं दरखास्त करूँगा कि ज़रा वो कुछ opening remarks कर दें, शुरू में तो कम बोलेंगे और फिर आप उनसे सवाल जवाब करें।

[Translation begins:

Please listen, now the meeting begins and you will forgive me. As I told you yesterday, it will be difficult for me to attend. I have taken different injections also. About yesterday's question, I will request the Finance Minister to make the opening remarks. Initially, he will say a few words, you can put question to him afterwards.

Translation ends]

15. The Dowry Prohibition Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha on 24 April 1959 and came up for discussion in the Rajya Sabha on 19 April 1960. It became an Act on 20 May 1961 and was brought into force on 1 July 1961.
16. The Union Law Minister Asoke K. Sen was in Geneva for the second Law of the Sea Conference, 17 March to 27 April 1960.
17. New Delhi, 8 April 1960. Tape No. M-49/c, Part-II, NMML.

(b) States

(i) Andaman and Nicobar Islands

17. To R.P. Paranjpye: Visiting the Islands¹⁸

13th April 1960

My dear Dr Paranjpye,¹⁹

Thank you for your letter of the 8th April.²⁰ It was very good of you to write to me about your visit to the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and to give me your impressions.

I have long wanted to go there and I hope that I shall succeed in this wish of mine. The difficulty of course has thus far been that it takes some time to go there by sea. As soon as I can go there by air, I shall pay a visit.

I agree with you that the great need of these islands is adequate communications with the mainland. I am sending a copy of your letter to our Home Minister for his information.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ii) Andhra Pradesh

18. To D. Sanjivayya: Sirpur Shares²¹

April 5, 1960

My dear Sanjivayya,

Please refer to your letter of the 16th March 1960 which you sent in answer to my secret letter of the 9th March.²² This is about the loss to the Andhra Pradesh State of a large sum of money on the sale of some shares in 1955-56.

You say that a police enquiry, as also a departmental enquiry against the officer concerned are now in progress. It seems to me that this is a serious matter and should be dealt with more effectively. It is not enough for some

18. Letter. Dr. R.P. Paranjpye Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

19. Vice Chancellor of Poona University, 1956-59.

20. See Appendix 26.

21. Letter.

22. See SWJN/SS/58/item 8.

departmental enquiry to say that it might have been an error of judgment or negligence of duty.

I might add that I referred this matter to our Finance Ministry who consulted our Comptroller & Auditor-General.²³ The Auditor-General has drawn our attention to paragraph 22 of Audit Report 1958 on the Government of Andhra Pradesh. In this special reference is made to this matter. It is thus not only an old matter but one which has attracted much attention. It cannot, therefore, be dealt with in a casual or routine departmental way, more especially when precise charges are made of mala fides. Both the Finance Minister and I are of opinion that this requires a thorough high level investigation. I suggest, therefore, that, in addition to the enquiries that you are having made, you might ask the Central Special Police Establishment also to make a thorough enquiry. I hope you will do so and that adequate arrangements will be made to meet your wishes. We must not allow people to think that we are glossing over a matter of this kind.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

19. To G.B. Pant: Sirpur Shares²⁴

April 5, 1960

My dear Pantji,

I received a detailed complaint from a person, presumed to be responsible, about a certain deal in which the Andhra Pradesh Government indulged in 1955-56. As a result of this deal, they lost Rs.7.66 lakhs.²⁵ Prima facie, there appeared to be much mala fide about this.

I wrote to Sanjivayya and he replied that the matter was being enquired into departmentally. The attitude appeared to me rather casual for a matter of this kind.

On a reference to Morarjibhai, he consulted the Auditor-General. He also suggested that this was a case fit for the Central Special Police Establishment to enquire into. I have, therefore, written to Sanjivayya asking him to request

23. A.K. Chanda.

24. Letter to the Union Minister of Home Affairs.

25. See SWJN/SS/58/ Appendix 10.

for this assistance of this Establishment. I enclose a copy of my letter to Sanjivayya.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(iii) Bihar

20. To Zakir Husain: Bihar Visit²⁶

March 26, 1960

My dear Zakir Husain,

Your letter of March 24th about my visit to Patna. It is true that I intend going to Patna in connection with the Golden Jubilee of the Law College.²⁷ The Chief Justice of India²⁸ pressed me to do so and I could not well refuse him. There was another reason for my accepting this also. I thought it would be good for me to address a public meeting in Patna.

I have not fixed the exact time for my arrival in Patna yet. I cannot go early that day as I have functions here in the morning. I was thinking, therefore, reaching there at about 3.30 p.m. or so. I would then attend the Law College functions and later in the evening a public meeting. Early next morning at 8.00 I want to take off for Tezpur in Assam.²⁹

I shall, of course, gladly stay with you.

As for my unveiling a portrait of the Chief Minister,³⁰ I do not see how I can find time for it. To push in a small engagement between my major

26. Letter to the Governor of Bihar, File No. 8/140/60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

27. Nehru went to Patna on 14 April. See items 22-26.

28. Bhuvaneshwar Prasad Sinha.

29. See SWJN/SS/60/items 66-71.

30. Zakir Husain had written on 24 March: "Shrimati Krishna Kumari Sinha, wife of our Deputy Education Minister, has presented a portrait of the Chief Minister, Dr. S.K. Sinha, for being hung in the Assembly Hall. It is the general desire of the people here that when you come to Patna for the Law College function you may be pleased to unveil the portrait. The function will not claim more than 25-30 minutes of your time and can be arranged at any hour during your stay here that may suit your convenience." He further wrote: "I am conveying this request, which normally the Chief Minister would have done, as it is his portrait that is to be unveiled."

engagements would be inconvenient for all concerned, including me. Personally I am not terribly keen on unveiling portraits or statues.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

21. To Abdul Qayyum Ansari: Arranging a Public Meeting in Patna³¹

31st March 1960

My dear Ansari,
Your telegram.³² I am agreeable to the public meeting at Patna at 7 p.m. on April 14th. I am afraid, however, that it is not at all possible for me to reach Patna earlier than intended. I have got engagements in Delhi on the 14th morning. The earliest I can start is at 12. That means reaching Patna at 2.40 p.m. Immediately thereafter I shall get mixed up with the Convocation and other meetings.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

Patna Visit 14 April 1960

22. To B. Prasad: Schedule for University Visit³³

5th April 1960

My dear Vice Chancellor,
I have your letter of the 2nd April.³⁴ I note what you say about the time of the special convocation. I am agreeable to this time and would like a brief break afterwards for tea.

31. Letter to President, Bihar PCC. File No. 8/140/60-PMS.

32. Ansari had informed Nehru about arranging a public meeting at Gandhi Maidan, Patna, at 7 p.m. He also requested Nehru to reach Patna by 11 a.m. to address to address Congress workers of Bihar at Sadaqat Ashram at 11.30 a.m.

33. Letter to the Vice Chancellor of Patna University. File No. 8/140/60-PMS.

34. See Appendix 12.

But I beg of you not to press me to attend the dinner. I am not keeping well and going out for dinner at night tends to upset me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

23. At Patna University: Special Convocation³⁵

CASTE SYSTEM ENEMY OF INDIA'S PROGRESS BIHAR'S RECORD NOT BRILLIANT, SAYS NEHRU

Patna, April 14

Addressing the special convocation of the Patna University today Prime Minister Nehru made a pointed reference to casteism and said the caste system had been "the enemy of India's progress for a long time." There was no such thing as democracy or social equality in a caste-ridden society.

"You must realise this," he said, "because many people talk of socialism and democracy but in their personal lives they live as they might have lived a thousand years ago. These contradictions are constantly coming up in our lives and we have to face the situation with courage of mind.

"It is a difficult question and we have to tackle it. The caste system is fading out but it is taking a political colour. It is a very very bad thing. If you go to South India you find the Brahmin-Non brahmin question. In North India, it is between castes and castes. Bihar also hasn't a brilliant record in this respect. It is up to you young men and women to think of it and realise it fully and work to put an end to this chain that bind us."

India, Mr. Nehru said, was on the threshold of a revolution. He had no doubt that in about 10 to 15 years' time the progress of industrial revolution would change the face of India. He hoped it would change it for the better.

"I have given this example," he said, "so that you may appreciate how the old static society has changed into a dynamic society. You may not like the changes but the fact is that they are there and you cannot escape from them."

He said the living conditions had changed and were changing in Europe, America and Russia. Today the basic differences between these countries

35. Report of the address at a special convocation held to confer the honorary degree of Doctor of Law on the Chief Justice of India, B.P. Sinha, 14 April 1960. *The Searchlight*, 15 April 1960.

See also the next item for another and differing report of the same speech.

depended on how industrialised they were. The highly industrialised societies, whether capitalistic or communist, had attained certain standards of living. There was no such thing as capitalist science or communist science. The changes were taking place because of the advance of science and technology. They were releasing tremendous forces for good or bad. The atomic energy, for instance, could be utilised for good or evil. The technological revolution was the greatest revolution that had changed the face of the world.

"When you change rapidly," Mr. Nehru said, "there are always certain dangers and risks. But in such a situation if you do not change you will be left behind. The dangers if you do not change will be greater. A nation that did not keep pace with the changes would become weak," he said.

The Indian society, Mr. Nehru said, was also changing. Where did the law come in? Law came in as a stabilising factor, he said.

The profession of law, he said, was honourable unless somebody made it dishonourable. The teaching and practice of law should be so organised that it fulfilled this basic function. He said he was referring to this as in a rapidly changing society like that of India, there was a tendency to water down quality. Quantity, seemed to swamp quality in the field of education then there was no hope.

"It is only quality," Mr. Nehru said, "that tells. Ultimately, it is quality that tells in a democracy and no numbers."

He made an indirect reference to demands for reservations on percentage basis for some sections of the people and said all these percentages would tend to "drown quality." The moment one group was helped at the cost of quality that group was doomed. He said he understood the demands of special groups. But this should never be allowed to impair quality, he said.

He said that a civilised society must be governed by the rule of law.

Mr. Nehru said democracy in theory stood for individual freedom. It must be remembered however that freedom itself by its very nature involved discipline and surrender of individual freedom to certain extent for the common good. The function of law was to keep freedom within regulations.

Mr. Nehru was addressing a special convocation of the Patna University held here this evening to confer the honorary degree of Doctor of Law (*honoris causa*) to the Chief Justice of India, Mr. B.P. Sinha. Mr. Sinha received the degree from the Chancellor, Dr. Zakir Husain.

The citation read out by the Vice Chancellor, Dr. Balbhadra Prasad said "he (Mr. Sinha) is the first graduate of the Patna University to be elevated to the Bench. He is also the first graduate of the University to be appointed as Judge of the Supreme Court and Chief Justice of India."

"By reason of his rare attainment" it said, "as an advocate, judge and an

educationist, and by reason of his eminent position as the Chief Justice of India, the Patna University considers the Hon'ble Mr. Bhuvaneshwar Prasad Sinha as a fit and proper person to receive the honorary degree of Doctor of Law."

Mr. Nehru said that during the movement for national liberation all kinds of people joined the struggle. There were even some zamindars among them. But there were other zamindars who helped the British against nationalist movement. After Independence even among the fighters for freedom there was division on economic issue because of class interests.

The problem of Indian states had been solved in a peaceful manner. There was no civil war as the Britishers and many others had predicted. The zamindari system was also abolished in a peaceful and lawful way. But the land problem had not been fully solved. There were rajas and maharajas in Bihar who still possessed vast tracts of land although they had lost their zamindari. That inequality would have to be removed.

The communists wanted that class war should be accentuated but the Congress wanted to solve the problem through peaceful and legal means.

CHINESE AGGRESSION

The Prime Minister said that India would not give up her rights over her northern frontiers.

He ridiculed, however, the suggestion of some people that India should enter into military alliance with foreign powers to meet aggression.

Mr. Nehru said "India is proud of her strength and her people would give their last drop of blood for her defence."

Mr. Nehru said those "gallant men" who advocated abandonment of India's policy of non-alignment and suggested military pacts with foreign powers had no confidence in themselves nor in the strength of the country.

He declared it did not matter if India was reduced to ashes provided it stood on her own legs and on her own strength.

"The moment," Mr. Nehru said, "India decides to take foreign military aid, she will lose half her freedom."

CHOU'S VISIT

Mr. Nehru referred to the forthcoming visit of the Chinese Premier, Mr. Chou En-lai and said: "It is my desire, and I hope it is also the desire of Mr. Chou En-lai, to solve the border problem peacefully. I do not know how far we shall succeed in our talks but it is certain that India will never give up her rights

over her northern frontiers.”

For the first time, Mr. Nehru said, the Himalayan border, which was considered safe, was in danger. He said some people were of the opinion that India should march her troops and drive out the Chinese from the occupied territory. The issue was not so simple. Nor could it be solved in a few months, he said.

Mr. Nehru said he was surprised at the suggestion that India should abandon her policy of non-alignment. He said he would oppose this move so long as he was alive.

He said India was held in high esteem in the country of nations not because of her military strength but because of her principles. India had held her head high so far and could not lower it now by abandoning her principles.

PLANNING

Without naming the Swatantra Party, Mr. Nehru said, there was a party which was opposed to planning and abused the Congress for it. It wanted that everybody should be allowed to go his own way. India had to fight against poverty, illiteracy and disease. If she was to succeed in this battle, she must plan.

Supposing, Mr. Nehru said, India had a capital of about Rupees 40 crores. Some people might feel that it would be profitable to open cinema houses throughout the country. It was possible that it might benefit some people. But if the people were left to themselves, he felt, there would be only cinema houses and no steel plants in the country. This emphasised the importance of planning. Idle criticism could not take the country anywhere.

The people, he said must not think not only of the Third Five Year Plan, but also of the subsequent five year plans. The fact was that production had to go up for the progress of the country. Wealth could be distributed only if there was increased production. There could not be distribution of poverty.

Mr. Nehru said there were two sets of people in the country. One group was interested in the welfare of the masses and the others were no changers. The latter, whether they were in the Congress or outside, wanted to safeguard their own interests. This was one of the reasons why the land reforms policy of the Congress had not been fully implemented.

24. At Patna University: Special Convocation³⁶

Individual Freedom in Democracy

Nehru Analyses Importance of Rule of Law

Patna,

April 14

Pandit Nehru said here today that a civilised society must be governed by the Rule of Law.

Mr. Nehru said democracy in theory stood for individual freedom. It must be remembered, however, that freedom itself by its very nature involved discipline and surrender of individual freedom to a certain extent for the common good.

Mr Nehru was addressing a special convocation of the Patna University held here this evening to confer the honorary degree of Doctor of Law *Honoris Causa* on the Chief Justice of India, Mr. B.P. Sinha. Mr. Sinha received the degree from the Chancellor, Dr. Zakir Husain.

"Law, Mr. Nehru said, "is and should be a great force and a great power in any organised society. Sometimes there are criticism of the processes of law and its slow working. A civilised society must be governed by the principles of law. If the laws are not good, they must be changed because the basic function of law is to ensure cohesion in society."

"Therefore," he said, "despite criticisms of the manner of working of the law in a democratic society the function of the law is of the highest importance. Law in a democratic society is supposed to keep the balance between freedom and licence. A democratic society is a free society. But it must be remembered that even the fullest freedom does not mean lack of discipline or something approaching licence." "Law," Mr. Nehru said, "is also supposed to guarantee freedom within bounds."

Mr. Nehru said the dividing line between freedom and licence was very narrow. If freedom forgot discipline it might be suppressed. In a democratic society it was not the law alone that ensured freedom. It could not be maintained unless the quality of the people themselves was high enough to realise the

36. Report of the address at a special convocation held to confer the honorary degree of Doctor of Law on the Chief Justice of India, B.P. Sinha, 14 April 1960. *The Hindu*, 15 April 1960.

See also the previous item for another and differing report of the same speech.

conception of freedom. In a democracy the people had to maintain some national standards.

"You have to train yourself," he said, "rigorously. A soldier leads a life of rigorous discipline. Nobody suggests that he has lost his freedom. Society benefits by discipline. Whatever task you undertake there must be discipline. Without discipline there can be no organised life."

He said discipline could be imposed from above. There could also be self-discipline. He said lack of discipline tended to crack up the organism and then discipline had to be imposed from above. It might be done by a military dictatorship. Nobody liked the idea of military dictatorship. Co-operative self-disciplined living was essential in a democratic society, he said.

"Democracy", Mr Nehru said, "is something into which people grow. Democracy or social democracy or socialism allied to democracy required far higher standards in a people than in any autocratic form of government. Ultimately society depends upon the quality and standard of its members. He said the importance of discipline had to be remembered in this fast-changing world. In "this business of discipline," law played a great part, he said.

Mr. Nehru said the conception of law should be dynamic. In the old days law could not be changed. The essential thing was to realise how society should function and not take a rigid view of ancient laws. Today's society, he said, was a new society and naturally it could not be expected that the laws of Manu should govern questions arising in an industrial society. When human relations changed because of social and economic changes, laws also had to change to keep pace with them.

India, Mr. Nehru said, was in the threshold of a revolution. He had no doubt that in about ten to fifteen years' time the progress of industrial revolution would change the face of India. He hoped it would change it for the better. "I have given this example," he said, "so that you may appreciate how the old static society has changed into a dynamic society. You may not like the changes but the fact is that they are there and you cannot escape from them."

25. At Patna Law College: Golden Jubilee Celebrations³⁷

EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS PRIME MINISTER'S APPEAL

Patna,
April 14.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru said here tonight that the purpose of education should be to train people to meet the needs of society.

He regretted that while the number of universities in India was increasing the standards of education were falling with the result that the value of the graduates was diminishing.

Mr. Nehru was inaugurating the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the Patna Law College. The Chief Justice of India, Mr. B.P. Sinha, a former student and teacher of the college, presided.

Mr. Nehru said everybody should be educated but specialised and higher education should be meant only for meritorious candidates. He said this should hold good for legal as well as other types of higher education. India must attain high standards in the field of education.

He said lowering of standards could not be allowed in any case and indicated that a time might come the doors of the universities for higher education might be kept open only for meritorious students. Others could go in for other types of education, particularly technical education.

At present, he said, four and half crores of students were reading in the schools and colleges of India. India had more university students per thousand than in England. He deplored the tendency to open more and more arts colleges to produce more graduates and senators for the universities. He said, "our system of education can progress only if we have a clear picture of the society we are going to have."

Mr. Nehru said he had received some complaints that the courts were not functioning nowadays as well as they did before. This was possible due to inadequate legal training. The result was that justice was delayed and people were put to more inconveniences and expenses than were necessary. He felt it was necessary to provide better legal education to those who wanted to join the legal profession.

It was not necessary, he said, to get by heart the laws but to appreciate and assimilate the fundamental principles and ethics behind the laws. This was

37. Report of speech inaugurating the Golden Jubilee celebrations of the Patna Law College on the Science College Grounds in front of the University Library, 14 April 1960. *The Hindu*, 16 April 1960.

very necessary in a changing society. A static approach might defeat the purpose for which the laws were framed. He said no society could remain intact without the regulatory power of the law. But the law should not become a straight jacket to prevent its growth, he said.

LAW MUST BE DYNAMIC

The law, Mr. Nehru said, must be dynamic in a living society. The law was framed by legislators but its operation was determined by the interpretation given by leading legal brains.³⁸ In America, its great judges had made the laws of America what they were today. From a farming community the Americans grew into an industrial and a commercial community and the great judges of America through dynamic interpretation of the laws helped the American society grow, he said.

It so happened, he said that a law was good enough for a particular situation. When fresh situations developed which the law did not contemplate either it had to be changed or new interpretations given to meet the changed situation.

"You may", he said, "become a lawyer by cramming case laws and even make a living and earn money but it won't mean that your legal education has been good. Your study of the law should not end with your university career. We need men of deep understanding of the laws in changed social conditions with changing times."

The question in the field of education, Mr. Nehru said, be it legal, scientific or technical, in the end came to one of quality and standards of the human material in a society. The basic quality of character was necessary for a progressive nation. He said: "If you are an engineer, you must try to be a good engineer. The same holds good for students of science, law, arts, etc."

The yardstick of the progress of education, Mr. Nehru said, was the extent, nature, and results of researches conducted by the educational institutions and universities. The western countries were far advanced in this direction. In recent times India had also started making some contributions in the field of research. The researchers indicated that the human material in India was good. He wanted such researches to be encouraged.

38. Reporting this speech on 15 April 1960, *The Searchlight* wrote that Nehru "opined here today that law could make or mar a democratic society." "Law, said Mr. Nehru, was the dress of society and as such it must change with the changes in the social structure and stature."

AGE OF SCIENCE AND SPIRITUALITY

Mr. Nehru recalled a recent observation of Acharya Vinobha [sic] Bhave made in the course of a message to a Delhi girls' college to the effect that "the days of politics and religion are gone and the days of science and spirituality have come." He asked the university students to ponder over it.

Mr. Nehru said although he was a politician himself he felt inclined to agree with the observation of Acharya Bhave. He himself felt that the petty politics in which some people were indulging, could only make sensitive people look down upon it.

Mr. Nehru said the more advanced western countries, including Russia, enquiries were being made continually with a view to gain more and more knowledge of the universe. They had come to such a stage that they were now reaching a supra-physical world. They were also reaching the push-button stage of production. Whether it was good for man or not was a different matter. For the question remained how would they utilise their leisure. In the case of India the question did not arise for she was still far behind them.

"But", he said, "We must at least understand the questions posed by modern world. The youths of today will have to find the reply. If they do not train themselves for the task, India would become a second rate nation."

26. At Patna: Public Meeting³⁹

**"CLASS WAR EXISTS IN INDIA,"—SAYS NEHRU DETERMINATION
TO PUSH LAND REFORMS**

VESTED INTERESTS' MONOPOLY NOT TO BE TOLERATED

PRESS BLAMED FOR BLIND CRITICISM OF GOVT.

(By Our Staff Reporter)

Patna, April 14—"I recognise the existence of class war but I want to solve the problem by peaceful methods unlike other countries where this issue has been settled by bloodshed. One per cent of the people who want status quo cannot

39. Report of speech at Gandhi Maidan, Patna, 14 April 1960. *The Searchlight*, 15 April 1960.

be allowed to impede the progress of the country," said Prime Minister while addressing a vast crowd of about one lakh and fifty thousand in the Gandhi Maidan tonight. He reiterated the Congress objective of a class-less society.

He said there was no doubt that the people were divided in two groups and other was a clear cut demarcation. It was natural that vested interests were resisting all proposals for reforms whether agrarian, economic or others. There were such people in the Congress Party also and it was largely because of their efforts that land ceilings and other agrarian reforms had been delayed. "But I am determined to face the onslaughts of vested interests who are carrying on all kinds of propaganda against the Congress and the Congress Government. There might be defects in the Congress organisation and some Congressmen may be bad but the Congress objective is clear." The press was blamed for reckless criticism of government.

"Law," Mr. Nehru said, "is and should be a great force and a great power in any organised society. Sometimes there are criticisms of the processes of law and its slow working. A civilised society must be governed by the principles of law. If the law[s] are not good they must be changed because the basic function of law is to ensure cohesion in society."

"Therefore," he said, "despite criticisms of the manner of working of the law in a democratic society the function of law is of highest importance. Law in a democratic society is supposed to keep the balance between freedom and licence. A democratic society is a free society. But it must be remembered that even the fullest freedom does not mean lack of discipline or something approaching licence."

"Law," Mr. Nehru said, "is also supposed to guarantee freedom within bounds. Perhaps the most difficult of arts is the art of living together in a free society. Living itself is difficult enough. But to live happily in a cooperative society and recognise the discipline of freedom is a difficult task. There can be no real freedom without discipline."

Mr. Nehru said the dividing line between freedom and licence was very narrow. If freedom forgot discipline it might be suppressed. In a democratic society it was not the law alone that ensured freedom. It could not be maintained unless the quality of the people themselves was high enough to realise the conception of freedom. In a democracy the people had to maintain some national standards.

"You have to train yourself," he said, "rigorously. A soldier leads a life of rigorous discipline. Nobody suggests that he has lost freedom. Society benefits by discipline. Whatever task you undertake there must be discipline. Without discipline there can be no organised life."

He said discipline could be imposed from above. There could also be self-

discipline. He felt self-discipline was the best discipline. He said lack of discipline tended to crack up the social organism and then discipline had to be imposed from above might be done by a military dictatorship. Nobody liked the idea of military dictatorship. Cooperative self-disciplined living was essential in a democratic society, he said.

"Democracy," Mr. Nehru said, "is something into which people grow. Democracy or social democracy or socialism allied to democracy requires far higher standards in a people than in any autocratic form of Government. Ultimately, society depends upon the quality and standard of its members." He said the importance of discipline had to be remembered in this fast-changing world. In this "business of discipline" law played a great part, he said.

Mr. Nehru said the conception should be dynamic and not static. In the old days, law used to be thought of as something that could not be changed. The essential thing was to realise how society should function and not to take a rigid view of ancient laws. The ancient laws, the laws of Manu and the like, might be honoured. But the moment "you think that those laws are unchangeable or immutable, you are not showing respect to the law-givers."

Today's society, he said, was a new society and naturally, it could not be expected that the laws of Manu should govern questions arising in an industrial society. Laws depended upon human relations. When these relations changed because of social and economic changes laws also had to change or keep pace with them. The law should have some stability but it must at the same time have a dynamic approach.

This had to be remembered, Mr. Nehru said, because people were apt to imagine that law was an unchanging business. The attitude that society was static was a completely wrong attitude. Today's society was not the society when the horse was the fastest means of transport. Today one could travel by trains, planes, and send messages by telegraph, telephone and the wireless. During the last hundred years or so the whole texture of the world had changed. The advance of science and technology had had simply uprooted in many ways the old static society.

A number of political parties, Mr. Nehru said, had sprung up and they were making tall claims and provinces and abusing the Congress for its alleged failures. He said they could do so because they had no practical programme to solve the problems facing the country. Problems could not be solved by shouting slogans and showering abuses.

It was surprising, Mr. Nehru said, that some people shut their eyes and refuse to see India's march of progress when foreigners visiting the country were full of praise for her achievements. Some foreigners even felt that "criticism of the Government had become an industry for some people."

He did not want to say that everything that the Congress did was good and that all Congressmen were angels. But he wanted to emphasise that the approach and the stand of the Congress was sound.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

Mr. Nehru referred to the controversy over the private and the public sector and declared "I am proud to say that the public sector in India had achieved a unique success which had no parallel in the world." He said there should not be any rivalry between the two as the private sector had been left with a vast scope for development. The medium and small scale industries were all open to the private sector. He did not want the public sector to interfere in this field.

Mr. Nehru referred to criticisms against cooperative farming and said that the Royal Commission set up 30 years ago⁴⁰ had recommended that cooperative farming was the only way of increasing agricultural production. No one opposed it at that time. But today some people were opposing it tooth and nail. He said if the gram panchayats functioned efficiently and if every village had a cooperative "I shall not be worried who is at the top."

He also stressed the need for decentralisation of power and said full responsibility must be given to the gram panchayats. There should be less of official interference. The gram panchayats might commit mistakes but he believed they would profit by such mistakes in the long run.

Turning to the people of Bihar, Mr. Nehru said they were sturdy people. The trouble with them was that they engaged too much in internal bickering and caste feuds. He exhorted them to rise above casteism and bend their energies to solve the problems facing the state and the country.

Dr. Zakir Husain, Rajyapal, Dr. S.K. Sinha, Chief Minister, and Mr. A.Q. Ansari, President, BPCC, were the only persons seated on the dias which was a portable one.

40. The reference is to the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, 1927.

(iv) Bombay State

27. To Jivaraj Mehta: Charges Against Congress MLA⁴¹

March 27, 1960

My dear Jivaraj,

I have received a letter from M.B. Thakore, MP,⁴² with which he has sent me a statement containing a number of charges against a Congress M.L.A., Shri Jorsinh Kavi of Palitana in Bhavnagar District. I am sending you copies of these documents.⁴³

Since these charges have been made and, it appears, have been repeated in public, I think that they should be enquired into and perhaps some kind of public statement made in regard to them. I hope you will look into this matter.⁴⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

28. To M.S. Aney: Voting on Bombay State Reorganisation Bill⁴⁵

March, 30, 1960

Dear Shri Aney,⁴⁶

I have received your letter of March 27th in regard to the Bombay State Reorganisation Bill.

In view of what you say in your letter and your personal position in this matter, I am agreeable to your speaking and voting in this matter as you may think fit. Normally, of course, as you know, whips have to be observed by

41. Letter to the Minister of Finance in Bombay. Copied to N. Sanjiva Reddy.

42. MJP, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay State.

43. See Appendices 4 (a) and (b).

44. Nehru wrote to Thakore on the same day saying that he was "taking steps to enquire into the charges made in this letter."

45. Letter. Copied to Satyanarayan Sinha, Union Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs.

46. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Nagpur-Umrer, Maharashtra.

Members of the Party. But, as a very special case, you need not be bound by the whip in this matter.⁴⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

29. To R.D. Vera: Complaints from Upleta⁴⁸

April 2, 1960

Dear Municipal President,

I have received your letter of the 23rd March and have read it. I am afraid it will not be possible for me to give interviews during my very brief stay at Rajkot tomorrow.⁴⁹ I am, however, sending your letter to Dr. Jivraj Mehta and requesting him to enquire into this matter. That is most I could do even if I had met you.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

30. To Jivraj Mehta: Complaints from Upleta⁵⁰

April 2, 1960

My dear Jivraj,

I enclose a letter I have received from the President of the Upleta City Municipality, Rajkot District, and a copy of my reply to him. I shall be grateful if you will kindly look into the matter referred to in this letter. It always distresses me to find how dilatory and complicated our procedures are. Perhaps the rules are responsible for this. Anyhow, whoever is responsible, people get irritated and frustrated. I do hope that these complicated procedures will be simplified.

47. Aney was the President of the Maha Vidarbha Samiti and had been advocating the formation of a Vidarbha State. See also SWJN/SS/46/item 11, pp. 125-126.

48. Letter to the President, Upleta City Municipality, Upleta, Rajkot District.

49. For Nehru's visit to Rajkot, see items 2 and 14.

50. Letter.

In the meantime perhaps something could be done about the complaints made in the enclosed letter.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

31. To J.S. Akarte: Division of Bombay State⁵¹

6th April, 1960

Dear Shri Akarte,⁵²

I have received your letter of the 4th April. I can quite appreciate your deep feelings in this matter of the division of the present Bombay State. To some extent, I share them.

We have to face these rather narrow nationalist urges of the time in our country and sometimes we have to compromise with them because not to do so intensifies that particular urge. You need not, however, take this matter to heart as much as you have done. In a long perspective these internal changes are not likely to make too much difference. There are other and greater forces at work moving in the right direction.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

32. To Sri Prakasa: Maharashtra Tour⁵³

Poona,
April 9, 1960

My dear Prakasa,

I am at present flying on my way to Poona.⁵⁴ I find that the plane that in taking me to Poona will go to Bombay this afternoon. So I am sending this letter to you.

51. Letter.

52. (b. 1906); advocate from Amravati; Congress, MLA, Maharashtra, 1962-68; Rajya Sabha MP, 1980-86.

53. Letter to the Governor of Bombay State.

54. On his way to Koyana Nagar on 9 April, Nehru reached Poona at 12 noon by IAF Meghdoot and departed at 1.30 p.m. by car.

You must be busy with President Nasser's visit. I am sure he must have had a good time at Bombay and been impressed by what he saw there of our development. I should like you to convey my greetings to him and tell him that I hope his tours in India have not fatigued him and that he will go back to his great tasks in the United Arab Republic with fresh vigour. Also, that I shall make every effort to pay a brief visit to Cairo on my return from London about the middle of May.

I shall be coming to Bombay on the 30th of April; probably I shall reach there about lunch time, though I am not sure of the time yet. Our party will be a small one, our Secretary-General, N.R. Pillai, my PPS, Kesho Ram, and a P.A. Also Hari.⁵⁵ Indira has given up the idea of accompanying me. Although she has recovered well, she still gets easily tired and she prefers staying here.⁵⁶

I am enclosing a brief letter for President Nasser,⁵⁷ which you please have delivered to him.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

33. Message: Formation of Gujarat⁵⁸

After much travail, the new State of Gujarat is taking birth.⁵⁹ To many of us the splitting up of the old Bombay State has not been a pleasant thought. Now, however, that this has been decided upon, we should go ahead with energy and goodwill. I earnestly hope that the two successor States of the old Bombay State will get rid of the dark shadow of ill-will and frustration and cooperate with each other to their mutual advantage and the good of India as a whole.

To Gujarat, on this historic occasion of its birth as a separate State, I send all my good wishes for the future. Indeed, I am convinced that that future is going to be bright and prosperous, for it has everything that should make it prosper.

55. Harilal, Nehru's personal attendant.

56. This was regarding Nehru's visit to London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

57. See item 198.

58. Message forwarded to Jivraj Mehta, 13 April 1960.

59. Gujarat was formed on 1 May 1960 with Jivraj Mehta as its first Chief Minister.

(v) Jammu and Kashmir

34. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad: L.S. Charak⁶⁰

April 8, 1960

My dear Bakshi,

I have received a letter from one of our ex-MPs, Th. Lakshman Singh Charak.⁶¹
I enclose a copy of it.⁶²

So far as I know, he is a good worker and some such work as in the Bharat Sewak Samaj would be good for him. But it is for you to judge.

I am especially sending this letter to you because of what he says in the last paragraph of his letter.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(vi) Madhya Pradesh

35. To Kailas Nath Katju: Surrender of Dacoits⁶³

April 8, 1960

My dear Kailas Nath,

As you know, Major General Yadunath Singh⁶⁴ has been working for some time past to get what are called Dacoits to surrender unconditionally. Apparently he has had some success and he hopes to have greater success in future. More particularly, he has in mind Vinobaji's visit to these areas.

I think that you should try to help these attempts that are being made and specially take advantage of Vinobaji's visit.

Major General Yadunath Singh has sent me a letter a copy of which I enclose.⁶⁵

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

60. Letter.

61. Nominated Member from Jammu and Kashmir in the First Lok Sabha.

62. See Appendix 22.

63. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

64. Chairman, Public Service Commission, Jammu and Kashmir.

65. See Appendix 14.

(vii) Mysore

36. To R.R. Diwakar: On Linguistic Conflicts⁶⁶

March 26, 1960

My dear Diwakar,

Thank you for your letter of the 24th March and the note attached to it which I have read.

The broad principles that you lay down are right. All of us should ignore these linguistic conflicts and should think on different lines. But where these difficulties arise what is one to do about them? It is not much good taking refuge in broad decisions then. I am not referring to the merits of the case, but the necessity of deciding disputes where they arise. Obviously this cannot be left to physical conflict or something like it. The only other way is by mediation, arbitration or some kind of judicial decision.

If none of these procedures is accepted, then conflict follows.

Even when the last Act was passed creating the new State of Mysore, after the States Reorganisation Bill, it was stated that some of the border disputes will be considered by the Zonal Council.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

37. To D.B. Kalelkar: Belgaum⁶⁷

5th April, 1960

My dear Kaka Sahib,⁶⁸

I have your letter of April 4th about the problem of Belgaum etc.⁶⁹ I am afraid that your suggestion to place this area under Central control is not feasible. However, I am sending your letter to the Home Minister.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

66. Letter to the former Governor of Bihar.

67. Letter. File No. 38/7/60-SR(R), MHA.

68. D.B. Kalelkar, an associate of Mahatma Gandhi and Nominated Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-64.

69. See Appendix 16.

38. To S. Nijalingappa: September Programme⁷⁰

7th April, 1960

My dear Nijalingappa,⁷¹

Thank you for your letter of the 4th April. It is very difficult for me to make any promises or programmes for September next. It is true that I have promised to make every effort to go to Bangalore for the Visvesvaraya Centenary Celebrations on the 15th September. How far I shall be able to extend my stay then it is difficult to say. I shall try to meet your wishes in so far as I can.

The situation we have to face in various ways is so difficult that I find it not at all an easy matter to go about touring.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(viii) The North East

39. To S.M. Shrinagesh: Assam Itinerary⁷²

March 26, 1960

My dear Shrinagesh,

I wrote to you the other day about my visit to Tezpur and suggested that you might come to Gauhati to meet me. I have now discovered that it is possible to go to Shillong by Otter aircraft. I am, therefore, suggesting the following programme for my visit, subject to you and Chaliha⁷³ approving of it.

Reach Tezpur on the 15th April at 10-40 A.M. Go immediately to the Military project for building accommodation. Spend about an hour and a half there inspecting it, etc. and then have lunch with the men there. This would probably be a fairly early lunch, say 12-30.

In the afternoon visit the Missimari Camp for Tibetan refugees and spend about two hours there.

I suppose the best course for me would be to spend the night at Tezpur. If Chaliha so wants, I can have a public meeting there in the evening.

70. Letter.

71. Chief Minister of Mysore from 1 November 1956 to 8 May 1958.

72. Letter to the Governor of Assam. File No. 8/140/60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

73. B.P. Chaliha, Chief Minister of Assam.

Early on the 16th morning, go by Otter to Shillong. Spend two or three hours there for talks, etc. Lunch at Shillong. Immediately after lunch, go by Otter to Gauhati. In the evening public meeting at Gauhati.

17th April - leave Gauhati early in the morning for Delhi.⁷⁴

I am sending a copy of this letter to Chaliha. I should like you to consult him and let me have your reactions to this proposed programme.

I think that my going to Shillong for talks with you and your officers will be better than dragging some of these people to Gauhati. Going by road will take too much time, but now that an Otter is available, this difficulty does not arise.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

40. To B.P. Chaliha: Visits to Troops and Tibetan Refugees⁷⁵

March 26, 1960

My dear Chaliha,

I wrote to you about my visit to Tezpur. I find now that I can reach Tezpur at about 10-40 A.M. On the 15th April. Up to lunch time I shall be busy with our Army people with whom I shall have lunch. After lunch, I shall visit the Missimari Camp for Tibetan refugees. I do not quite know how much time this will take, but I take it that I shall be free in the early evening. Should you so want, you can have a public meeting at Tezpur. But if you think this is not necessary, you need not have it.

I have written to General Shrinagesh suggesting that I might fly by Otter from Tezpur to Shillong on the 16th morning and have lunch at Shillong. After lunch, I could fly to Gauhati. I suppose at Gauhati you will have some kind of a function. Fakhruddin had suggested some panchayat meeting. Or, you can have a public meeting, whichever you like.

I enclose a copy of my letter to your Governor.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

74. See SWJN/SS/60.

75. Letter to the Chief Minister of Assam. File No. 8/140/60-PMS.

41. To S.M. Shrinagesh: Naga Question and Mizo Famine⁷⁶

March 30, 1960

My dear Shrinagesh,

Your letter of 27th March.⁷⁷ I have already written to you that I intend to go to Shillong by Otter plane from Tezpur for half a day. I hope to have some time there for talks with you and others both about the Naga question and about the famine in Mizo District. I had a telegram today from some people in this District saying that people had died of starvation.⁷⁸ Whatever the conditions may be, surely people ought to help each other and not allow anyone to die.⁷⁹

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

42. In the Lok Sabha: Escape of Naga Leader to Burma⁸⁰

Question:⁸¹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that Sir Isa, a representative of the Sema Naga tribe on the Working Committee of the Naga Peoples' Convention, has escaped into Burma to seek arms and financial assistance for the Nagas underground movement?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): We have no information about the alleged visit of Issac Chishi Sema (not Sir Isa), member of the Working Committee of the Naga People's Convention, to Burma.⁸²

76. File No. 8/140/60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

77. See Appendix 6.

78. This telegram dated 28 March 1960 was sent by the Chief Executive Member, Mizo District Council, Aijal [Aizawl], to Nehru regarding starvation deaths in the District.

79. See also item 47.

80. Written answers to questions, 31 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLI, col. 8920.

81. By Congress MP Raghunath Singh, Independent MPs S.M. Banerjee and Jagdish Awasthi.

82. However, in reply to a question in the Rajya Sabha, Lakshmi Menon said on 13 April 1960: "It is true that we have received information that Issac Chishi and Kuhovi Sema who were members of the Working Committee of the Naga People's Convention proceeded to contact Kaito Sema and Kughato Sema, Naga hostile leaders, to arrange discussions between them and the Naga People's Convention leaders. They were detained by the hostiles."

43. To S.M. Shrinagesh: the Naga People's Convention⁸³

April 2, 1960

My dear Shrinagesh,

You wrote on March 15th to our Foreign Secretary⁸⁴ about the future pattern of administration in the Naga Hills-Tuensang Area, dealing with the various aspects of this very difficult problem. In your letter you have made various suggestions for our approach to this problem. I have only seen your letter today. Meanwhile, however, our Foreign Secretary and others in our Ministry have given careful consideration to what you have written. They have also consulted the Home Ministry. K.L. Mehta⁸⁵ has drawn up a note on this subject which is largely based on your recommendations, though with some variations.⁸⁶

This question is an intricate and difficult one and before we send you our final advice in this matter, I should like to consult fully the Home Minister. Unfortunately there is little time, as you are meeting the Naga delegation on April 8. I am leaving Delhi tomorrow for two days, going to Saurashtra. Even after my return, I am heavily occupied and I shall be going to Maharashtra for some days. As you know, on the 15th I shall be going to Assam and I hope to meet you there.

I propose to send all your papers and our notes to the Home Minister so that he can give thought to these matters. On my return from Gujarat, I shall try to have a talk with the Home Minister on the subject.

Meanwhile, I am giving you my broad reactions. I am also asking the Foreign Secretary to send you a copy of K.L. Mehta's note on the subject.

When you meet the Naga delegation, it would be enough if you discuss the matter rather generally, perhaps on the lines of K.L. Mehta's note. It would not be desirable for you to go into a detailed discussion on the proposals of the Naga People's Convention.

I think you might, to begin with, point out that the law and order situation, though it has improved, is certainly not yet satisfactory. A number of hostiles are still creating trouble. This naturally comes in the way of any worthwhile settlement or advance and our attention as well as the attention of the Naga People's Convention should primarily be directed to ending this trouble as rapidly as possible.

83. File No. 57/138/59-Poll(1) pp.46-47, MHA.

84. S. Dutt.

85. Joint Secretary, MEA.

86. See Appendix 11 (a) for K.L. Mehta's note of 1/4.

Nevertheless, we are anxious to go ahead with certain changes and reforms, transferring a good deal of authority to the Naga people. This will necessarily be limited because of the law and order conditions at present.

The governing features of our approach are, as we have stated before, that the Nagas should have the maximum autonomy in the administration of their affairs subject to law and order and general financial supervision. Further, as it is a very complicated matter to change our Constitution, we would like to bring about such changes as are considered necessary now by the President issuing Regulations which he can do under Clause 18 (ii) of the Sixth Schedule read with Article 240 of the Constitution.

Any constitutional apparatus which we build up should not be too elaborate or top-heavy. We are in fact not at all happy with the kind of apparatus we have already got in our States and are trying to improve it so as to make it less top-heavy and easier to work. But these other States are very large areas with big populations and big resources. The Naga area is of course not comparable at all to these States in area, population or resources. The broad principle which is followed by us even in regard to these States is that they must shoulder their own financial burden for the administration and indeed for part of their development. Each State has to contribute something for the larger development of the country. We help the States chiefly in regard to developmental schemes and not for administration.

Therefore, the administrative apparatus has to fit in with the resources, even though help may be obtained for developmental works. It is important, therefore, that the changes that are brought about in the administrative apparatus should be such as not to entail this heavy burden.

Further, we are proceeding even in our other States on the basis of transferring authority to Panchayat Samitis and the like. That is, we are evolving a system more in keeping with the traditions and experience of our people and not something which is imposed from above. It would seem proper and desirable, therefore, for the administrative system for Naga areas to follow this principle. This would mean to evolve something in keeping with Naga tribal customs. This would be much less expensive and authority would be spread out among the people. Gradually changes may be made in this with experience.

The administration, therefore, must fit in with the resources available and should, at the same time, ensure maximum autonomy. Developmental schemes may be considered separately, although even in regard to these the administration should be able to provide for some.

Broadly speaking, these are the principles you have kept in view in your recommendations. So has K.L. Mehta in his note. I suggest, therefore, that K.L. Mehta's note might be kept in mind in dealing with the Naga representatives

though it need not be discussed in detail.

Personally I think that the association with the Assam State should continue in two matters — the Governor and the High Court for appeals. This means that we do not constitute the Naga areas into a separate State like other States, though in practice it will function as a unit under the Governor.

It will obviously be helpful to make such changes as we want by Regulations rather than by changing the Constitution. This is a simpler and speedier process and we can change these Regulations from time to time while changes in the Constitution are difficult and we cannot frequently add to them.

These are my broad reactions. I realise the difficulties you will have to face. At the same time, we cannot accept any basic change which really adds to our difficulties and create a structure which cannot function adequately with the resources available.

As I have said, Foreign Secretary will be sending you K.L. Mehta's note. We shall be considering all these matters more fully with the Home Minister here and then will write to you further, perhaps in greater detail. But it would be better not to go into too much detail with these people at this stage.⁸⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

44. To G.B. Pant: the Naga People's Convention⁸⁸

April 2, 1960

My dear Pantji,

Some rather urgent decisions have to be taken about the Naga issue, as Governor Shrinagesh is meeting a Naga Deputation on the 8th April. He has made some proposals which have been examined by the External Affairs Ministry and the Home Ministry. A note has been prepared by K.L. Mehta. I am asking my Ministry to send you all these papers so that you might glance through them.

I have only seen these papers today. As I am going away tomorrow to Rajkot for two days, time is limited. I suggest that we might discuss this matter, if we at all find time, on the 5th April when we are meeting in your house to consider the China border issue.

87. For Shrinagesh's letter of 12 April about his discussions with the Negotiating Body of the NPC, see Appendix 11 (b).

88. Letter. File No. 57/138/59-Poll (1), MHA. Also available in JN Collection.

I have written a letter to Shrinagesh today. I enclose a copy of it.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

45. In the Lok Sabha: Assamese Officers in NEFA⁸⁹

Shri Basumatari:⁹⁰ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether any representation has been received from the Chief Minister of Assam regarding inadequate appointment in the services in the N.E.F.A. area from the State of Assam;
- (b) if so, the action taken on it so far; and
- (c) the number of officers in different categories appointed in N.E.F.A. from the State of Assam to date.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru) (a) and (b). In a communication which the Chief Minister of Assam addressed to the use of Assamese language in N.E.F.A. schools and also mentioned that according to his information the number of Assamese officials functioning in the Education Department of N.E.F.A. was inadequate. An enquiry showed that this was not the position as out of a total of 346 serving teachers, 188 were from Assam and 79 from N.E.F.A. itself.

- (c) Class I posts – 29.
Class II posts – 110.
Class III posts – 1,612.
Class IV posts – 890.

46. In the Lok Sabha: The Naga Insurgency⁹¹

Shri P.C. Borooah:⁹² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that five Naga hostiles were killed and three injured in an encounter with an Indian Security Force on the 14th February,

89. Written answers to questions, 4 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLII, cols 9564-9565.

90. D. Basumatari, Congress, Goalpara, Assam.

91. Written answers to questions, 4 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLII, col. 9557.

92. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Sibsagar, Assam.

1960 at Molungyimchen village in Jankikong range of the Naga Hills;
and

(b) if so, the details thereof?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):
(a) and (b). On the 11th of February last, three Nagas, inhabitants of Village Molungyimchen near the Sub-Divisional Headquarters of Mokokchung were kidnapped by hostile elements. Our security forces patrol, trying to arrest the culprits ran into a hostile camp on the 14th February last. In the engagement that followed, five people were killed, one injured and a small quantity of arms and ammunition recovered.

47. To S.M. Shrinagesh: Famine in the Mizo District⁹³

8th April, 1960

My dear Shrinagesh,

Thank you for your letter of April 5th about the famine in the Mizo District. As you perhaps know, Chaliha, the Chief Minister, wrote to me asking for permission to purchase 60 jeeps. We have at very considerable inconvenience supplied these 60 jeeps or are going to supply them soon through the Army. You will see that we are doing our utmost in this matter.

I see from your letter how the demand for rice has grown from 10,000 maunds per month to 60,000. This kind of statistical calculation always seems to me to be very inappropriate in famine conditions. People must share and the quantity of rice they normally consume must be reduced for some time. You will remember that when I was in Shillong, I was told that there were plenty of fruits in the Mizo District. Why should not fruits and vegetables or something else partly take the place of rice?

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

93. Letter.

48. In the Lok Sabha: Arrest of Phizo's Brother⁹⁴

Question:⁹⁵ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether a brother of Naga Rebel Phizo was arrested at Dum Dum on the 19th January, 1960 on his arrival from Burma;
- (b) if so, the details of the incident; and
- (c) the reasons for which he was deported by the Burmese Government?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri J.N. Hazarika): (a) Yes.

- (b) Kevi Yalay, a brother of Phizo, was arrested by the West Bengal Police on the 19th January, 1960, at Calcutta on grounds of security.
- (c) He was deported, following his arrest and detention under the Burmese Immigration laws.

Shri P.G. Deb:⁹⁶ May I know whether a charge sheet has been submitted and, if so, when and where the trial is going to take place?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Charge sheet against him?

Mr. Speaker:⁹⁷ Yes.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: In India or where?

Mr. Speaker: He has been arrested. Is it not so? Has a charge sheet been given?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There has been no charge sheet at the present moment.

94. Oral answers to questions, 8 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLII, cols 10297-10300.

95. By GNP MP P.G. Deb; Congress MPs Raghunath Singh, Ram Subhag Singh, S.A. Mehdi, Mafida Ahmed; FB (M) MP Aurobindo Ghosal; RSP MP Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri; Janata Party MP Arjun Singh Bhadauria; and PSP MP Hem Barua.

96. The Lok Sabha MP from Angul, Orissa, P.G. Deb's full name is Badkumar Pratap Ganga Deb as listed in Parliament of India, Second Lok Sabha, *Who's Who 1957* (New Delhi: Lok Sabha Secretariat, July 1957), p. 94.

97. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

For the present he has been taken to Kohima for interrogation etc. After that it will be decided as to what other steps we should take.

Shri Vajpayee:⁹⁸ May I know if the brother of Mr. Phizo was questioned in regard to the whereabouts of Mr. Phizo?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member, I hope, does not wish me to give the results of the interrogation at this stage.

Shri Hem Barua:⁹⁹ May I know whether it is a fact that Kevi Yalay was Divinity Teacher in an American school in Burma for five years prior to his repatriation to this country from Burma and, if so, is it a fact that he escaped to Burma without an Indian passport? How could it be possible for him to go to Burma without an Indian passport? Has that been enquired into?

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member is not questioning the Burmese Government here.

Shri Hem Barua: No. He escaped out of our country without an Indian passport. I want to know whether this has been established during interrogation and how could it be possible?

Mr Speaker: Whatever is going to happen during interrogation is not going to be given out now.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh:¹⁰⁰ May I know whether the brother of Phizo, while in Burma, did try to contact any foreign embassy there and, if so, which embassy? May I also know whether some other persons have also been arrested by the West Bengal Police along with him?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir. He made efforts to contact foreign embassies to get some money out of them, but these efforts failed.

Mr. Speaker: He also wanted to know whether any other person has been arrested along with him.

98. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Jan Sangh, Lok Sabha MP from Balrampur, UP.

99. PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Gauhati, Assam.

100. Socialist Party, Lok Sabha MP from Firozabad, UP.

Shri J.N. Hazarika: Two other persons also were arrested in Calcutta. One of them is Ngutsonyo and the other is Kuolhulie.

Shri P.G. Deb: When were these two people arrested?

Shri J.N. Hazarika: Kevi Yalay was arrested on the 19th January, 1960. Kuolhulie was arrested on the 22nd January, 1960 and Ngutsonyo was arrested on the 29th January, 1960.

Shrimati Mafida Ahmed:¹⁰¹ May I know whether Kevi Yalay was arrested by the Burmese Police in the Burmese territory or in the unadministered area on the Indo-Burmese frontier?

Shri J.N. Hazarika: He was arrested by the Burmese Police in Burmese territory.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether it is a fact that when Kevi Yalay was arrested at Dum Dum airport and was interrogated by the Police he said that he is a man of dual nationality, that is, a Naga first and an Indian next? If so, may I know whether this has been established from him or not?

Mr. Speaker: He established his dual nationality?

Shri Hem Barua: That shows his complicity with Phizo and all that.

Shri Vajpayee: Nagaland is not a nation.

Mr. Speaker: Next question.

49. In the Lok Sabha: Appointments in the Naga Hills and NEFA¹⁰²

Shri Hem Barua: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) the number of Assistant Political Officers (II) in NEFA and Naga Hills Tuensang Area promoted to the ranks of Assistant Political Officers (I)

101. Spelt Mofida Ahmed in Lok Sabha *Who's Who*, 1957; Congress MP from Jorhat, Assam.

102. Written answers to questions, 8 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLII, cols 10369-10370.

- on the basis of the recommendations of the Special Selection Board held in 1953-54;
- (b) the number of Assistant Political Officers (II) and other officers from Defence, I.A.S., I.P.S. State, Central and other Services appointed as Assistant Political Officers (I) on the recommendations of the Selection Board held in 1956-57; and
 - (c) whether it is a fact that the Assistant Political Officers (1) and Political Officers recruited in 1956-57 were made senior to the Assistant Political Officers (1) and the Political Officers recruited in 1953-54 in clear contravention of the statutory rules of the Indian Administrative Service Rules?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

- (a) 6.
- (b) 4 Assistant Political Officers (II); 5 Defence Services Officers; 2 Indian Police Service Officers; 2 State Service Officers and 4 Officers from other services.
- (c) The inter se seniority of officers who were initially appointed in 1953-54 and of those who were recruited in 1956-57 has been fixed in accordance with Rule 15 of the IFAS Rules, 1956, which provides that "the seniority of the members of the Service inter se shall be determined by the Central Government on the advice of the Special Selection Board and after taking into consideration the age, experience, seniority in the parent office, if any, and other relevant factors". The seniority was fixed on certain definite principles adopted by the Special Selection Board. The Indian Administrative Service Rules do not apply to the Service.

50. In the Rajya Sabha: Creation of Nagaland¹⁰³

Shri Maheswar Naik:¹⁰⁴ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that a resolution adopted by a large number of delegates representing all the Naga Tribesmen has been submitted to the Government of India demanding the creation of a new State of "Nagaland"; and
- (b) if so, what action Government have taken in the matter?

103. Oral answers to questions, 13 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, cols 691-693.

104. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Orissa.

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) No such resolution has yet been officially received by the Government of India. But certain recommendations, made by the Naga Conventions, have come to the notice of Government.

(b) No action is proposed at present.

Shri Maheswar Naik: May I know whether it is a fact that a Naga delegation recently waited upon the Governor of Assam and later on the Government of India, and if so, what were the specific matters that were discussed with the delegation?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I believe that a delegation of the Naga Convention met the Governor of Assam probably three or four days ago. That is all that we know about it. We have had no report about this meeting.

Shri Maheswar Naik: May I know whether his delegation waited upon the Government of India, particularly on the Prime Minister?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am saying that no delegation waited on the Government of India or on the Prime Minister. It waited on the Governor of Assam.

Shri Jaswant Singh:¹⁰⁵ Did this convention of Nagas consist merely of Nagas who are friendly with us, those are co-operating with us, or did it contain also the Nagas who are hostile to us?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The convention consisted of a large variety of Nagas not, so far as I know, of those who are considered purely hostile. Some people who were hostile previously but who apparently have ceased to be hostile have joined it but essentially, the active hostiles were not in it.

Shri Faridul Haq Ansari:¹⁰⁶ May I know whether the attention of the Prime Minister has been drawn to the fact that a delegation of this convention met the hostile Nagas and had discussions about the formation of an independent Naga State and afterwards met the Governor of Assam?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I know that some members of the convention asked for permission to go and meet some of the leaders of the hostile Nagas. They

105. Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from Rajasthan.

106. PSP, Rajya Sabha MP from UP.

wanted facilities and so far as I know, those facilities were given by the administration of that area but not for the purpose mentioned by the hon. Member. I am not aware of that.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta:¹⁰⁷ May I know whether the Prime Minister is aware that recently a delegation led by one former M.P. met the Home Minister and the President and proposed to them through a memorandum that Manipur should be granted the privilege of having a Legislative Assembly...

Mr. Chairman:¹⁰⁸ That is another question.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Nagas live near about Manipur. You cannot get at the Nagas without going to Manipur.

(ix) Orissa: Mahtab vs Patnaik

51. To N. Sanjiva Reddy¹⁰⁹

March 27, 1960

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,

I have been so heavily occupied recently that I have not been able to read a number of communications I have received about Orissa affairs. I had a letter from Mahtab¹¹⁰ and another one from B. Patnaik.¹¹¹ With these letters came a printed pamphlet containing exchange of correspondence between Mahtab and B. Patnaik, which it appears has been sent to you and to the members of the Congress Working Committee. I also received a letter from one S.C. Bose of Calcutta.

I have now read all these papers. I am quite unable to understand what has happened in Orissa as these letters do not help in my doing so. It is obvious that Mahtab and Patnaik have fallen out and Patnaik has used very strong

107. CPI, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal.

108. S. Radhakrishnan.

109. Letter to the Congress President.

110. Harekrushna Mahtab, Chief Minister of Orissa.

111. Bijoyanand Patnaik, Congress MLA, Orissa.

language against Mahtab in his letter to him. Reference is made in the letters to something that took place in the Orissa Assembly. Apparently the Industries Minister of Orissa made a statement to which Patnaik took strong exception.

There are two aspects of this case. One apparently relates to the Orissa Textile Mills and the other relates to the Congress organisation. In Mahtab's letter to Patnaik dated 3rd March 1960, it is stated that he is "asking either the Congress President or the Prime Minister to appoint a small committee to investigate into these things." Apparently this relates to the Orissa Textile Mills as well as to an old proposal for the production of synthetic petrol.

I am not sending you these papers because I suppose you have got copies of them. There are only two letters, copies of which I am sending you: one is from S.C. Bose of Calcutta¹¹² and the other from B. Patnaik to me.¹¹³

With his letter Patnaik has sent me a Demand Draft for Rs. 6,70,000 for the Prime Minister's Fund.

I am completely at sea and do not know what to do about these matters. For the present, I am even hesitating in accepting this Draft. I am writing to Patnaik and Mahtab, copies enclosed.

Could you please let me know if you have taken or intend to take any steps in these matters relating to Orissa?

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

52. To B. Patnaik¹¹⁴

March 27, 1960

My dear Patnaik,

I received your letter of the 17th March 1960¹¹⁵ some days ago, together with a draft for Rs. 6,70,000. I also received from Dr. Mahtab a printed pamphlet containing his correspondence with you which apparently you had printed for circulation.

I have been so heavily occupied that I could not read these letters earlier. Having read them now, I am at a loss to understand what all this is about.

112. See Appendix 1 (a).

113. See Appendix 1 (b).

114. Letter.

115. See Appendix 1(b).

There is the question of the Congress Organisation and the other question of the industrial development of Orissa. With the latter are involved the Orissa Textile Mills and the project for synthetic petrol.

I have a vague recollection of the synthetic petrol project which was mentioned to us many years ago. At that time, for a variety of reasons, we could not proceed with it.

You have referred to some statements and counter-statements in the Orissa Assembly. I have not seen these.

According to your own letter, the sum of Rs. 6,70,000 is apparently due to the Orissa Government. If that is so, I do not see how I can accept it for the Prime Minister's Fund. I shall keep the Draft for the present without realising it as I want to know what all this is about before I decide.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

53. To Harekrushna Mahtab¹¹⁶

March 27, 1960

My dear Mahtab,

I must apologise to you for the delay in answering your note of the 4th March with which you sent me a printed pamphlet of correspondence between you and Bijoy Patnaik. As I was very busy and I saw this printed pamphlet, I put it aside for a leisure moment. Now I have read it. I have also received a letter from Bijoy Patnaik dated 17th March. I am at a complete loss to understand what all this is about. Two subjects are mixed up: one relates to some proposals for industrial development, Orissa Textile Mills and the synthetic petrol project, and the other relates to the Congress Organisation in Orissa. For the moment, I am concerned with the industrial proposals and complaints.

I am sending you a copy of Patnaik's letter to me dated 17th March. You will notice that he has sent me a Demand Draft for Rs. 6,70,000 for the Prime Minister's Relief Fund. From his own letter it appears that this money should rightly go to the Orissa Government; but as the Orissa Government has not expressed its willingness to accept it, he has sent it to me for the Relief Fund.

All this is very extraordinary and very confusing. I am not cashing the Draft till I know how matters stand.

I am also enclosing with this letter a copy of my reply to B. Patnaik.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

54. To Lal Bahadur Shastri¹¹⁷

March 27, 1960

My dear Lal Bahadur,

Owing to my other preoccupations, I have been unable to deal with some correspondence. I have found some letters relating to Orissa affairs which I have read with considerable surprise, though not with much enlightenment. The principal letters are one from Mahtab to me and the other from Patnaik to me. I suppose you have received the printed pamphlet containing correspondence between Mahtab and B. Patnaik.

I am sending you all these papers in original or copy as well as my replies. I am keeping the Demand Draft for Rs. 6,70,000 which Patnaik has sent me and not cashing it for the present.

This controversy relates apparently, on the one hand, to Congress affairs, and on the other to certain industrial undertakings of Patnaik, I should like to know from you and your Ministry what the facts are about these industrial undertakings and the charges etc. made. The whole thing appears to be most extraordinary.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

55. To Harekrushna Mahtab¹¹⁸

14th April, 1960

My dear Mahtab,

I am writing to you in answer to your letter of the 30th March, 1960, about the arguments and disputes with B. Patnaik.

There are three matters which have been raised. One of these relates to the Congress Organisation or Congressmen associating themselves with the plan

117. Letter to the Union Minister of Commerce and Industry.

118. Letter to the Chief Minister of Orissa.

for the development of small scale industries in Orissa. The second one relates to Orissa textiles, and the third to the synthetic petrol project.

So far as the first proposal is concerned, it is clear, that the Congress Organisation as such should not get entangled with business projects. It is open, of course, to individual Congressmen to interest themselves in such projects. But that is their own personal responsibility. Patnaik tells me that it was at no time his intention to drag in the Congress Organisation in this matter. There the matter ends so far as I am concerned and I have nothing further to say. If individuals are interested, it is open to them to proceed as they like.

The question of the Orissa Textile Mills Limited is, I believe, being considered by our Commerce & Industry Ministry and it is for them to consider what future steps should be taken. As far as I can gather from this Ministry, they are unable to find any definite mala fide in this matter. Thus, they would not advise any legal action. It does appear to them, however, that a number of irregularities were committed. The question now is as to whether the managing agency should or should not be renewed when it expires in August, 1960. The matter is under the consideration of the Company Law Advisory Commission who will, no doubt, take into consideration your Government's views as also other relevant factors.

Now I come to the synthetic petrol project in Orissa. This is rather a complicated affair. I myself had something to do with it, in rather a distant way, nine or ten years ago. I remember your writing to me on this subject then and Patnaik came to me repeatedly. Patnaik is a man with a great deal of energy and capacity as well as a spirit of adventure. I appreciate these qualities which are rare in India. At the same time I felt then that we had to be cautious in dealing with his concerns as he was apt to go ahead too fast and get entangled with some big venture. Also, the entire question of starting such a synthetic petrol project was not free from doubt in our minds. Our own scientific committee had repeatedly recommended in favour of such a project. But as this involved a vast sum of money, the Government of India hesitated. Also, they were not quite sure of the people in France with whom Patnaik was associated. Thus, while you and the Orissa Government were anxious to go ahead with it, and so of course Patnaik, the Government of India were lukewarm. Our Government did not wish to undertake any special burden in this respect. At the same time, we did not wish to come in the way of the Orissa Government or Patnaik if they wanted to go ahead with it.¹¹⁹

119. Patnaik had explained his position on these points in his letter of 17 March, see Appendix 1 (b).

This was not a very satisfactory position or attitude for us to take up. Anyhow, there it was. The result inevitably was that the project could not be pursued in a big way. So far as the Orissa Government was concerned, they advanced fifty thousand pounds. Patnaik took a number of steps which he had promised. The contract made by the Orissa Government was not a very satisfactory one. But there it was. When the project could not proceed further, the natural consequence was each party blaming the other.

The Orissa Government is naturally unhappy about losing a large sum of money. Patnaik says that this is no fault of his and he has fulfilled his terms of the agreement and that it was for the Orissa Government to have gone further. Your own committees have apparently reported that there is no legal liability on Patnaik to pay this sum back to the Orissa Government. We must accept that position. How far there is a moral liability is another matter which it is never easy to determine.

It seems to me that there have been errors all along the line. They were probably committed with no mala fide intentions. The Orissa Government ought to have been much more cautious in its dealings and should have had a much better contract. Patnaik rushed ahead without adequately laying the foundations for future steps and in the hope, no doubt, that the Government of India will later come into the picture. The Government of India cautiously kept aloof without telling the Orissa Government plainly what it should do.

For Patnaik to say now that the Orissa Government should undertake to carry on with this big scheme is unrealistic. Obviously, this is beyond the capacity of the Orissa Government. So far as the Central Government is concerned, it is not at all likely to take it up because all its possible resources are tied up. Such money as we have we would like to spend on oil exploration which is so promising today and not on a synthetic project.

Thus, the question of taking up the synthetic project and carrying it further does not arise at present.

As I told you, Patnaik sent me a draft of Rs. 6,70,000/- for the Prime Minister's Relief Fund. This is the exact sum which was paid by the Orissa Government for this project. It may be admitted now that there is no legal liability on Patnaik to pay this sum back to the Orissa Government. Therefore, the Orissa Government cannot claim it. If that is so, it is better to avoid ceaseless wrangling over it. At the same time, I feel reluctant to accept this money for the Prime Minister's Relief Fund. For the moment I am keeping it in a separate account and shall decide later how to deal with it after some further correspondence with Patnaik.

One of the letters that Patnaik wrote to you was very offensive and objectionable. Possibly, he has some justification for saying that he has not had

a fair deal. But that did not entitle him to write that objectionable letter. He apologised for it and that goes some little way.

Anyhow, whatever our decisions may be, I hope that this kind of public argument and running down each other will cease. This does no good to anybody.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Lal Bahadur Shastri as it is really his Ministry that is concerned with most of these matters.

I was sorry to learn that you have been unwell. I hope that you are better now.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

56. To B. Patnaik¹²⁰

14th April 1960

My dear Patnaik,

I had your letter of the 2nd April a few days ago. I have been heavily overworked and cannot go deeply into these matters. I am, therefore, writing to you rather in a hurry at present.

So far as development of small-scale industries in Orissa is concerned, the point we have borne in mind is that the Congress Organisation as such cannot get entangled in it. Individual Congressmen or others of course are welcome to take part. You have yourself stated this.

As for the Orissa Textile Mill Ltd., this is a matter being dealt with by the Commerce & Industry Ministry.

As for synthetic oil project, you will remember your coming to me on many occasions nine or ten years ago. Our scientists had recommended some such project. But, for a variety of reasons, our Planning Commission and the Government of India were rather reluctant to go forward with it at the time. It was a very big project and it could be fitted in with our then planning. At the same time, we had no desire to come in the way of the Orissa Government or you if they wished to proceed with it. This was not a very satisfactory attitude to take up.

As far as I can see, this project was taken up rather in a hurry and this led to subsequent difficulties. I cannot blame you for them except that you have an adventurous spirit. The Orissa Government with little experience of such matters

proceeded with it without making their own position clear. I really do not know who can be blamed for all this mess that came up subsequently. In any event, it seems to me that there is no legal liability on your part to pay that money back. That has been said even by the Orissa Government committees.

You have sent me a draft for Rs. 6,70,000/- for the Prime Minister's Fund. You have said that this is not connected with the synthetic oil project. But as it happens it represents exactly the same sum of money and we cannot help connecting it. I do not particularly like the idea of accepting this money for the Prime Minister's Relief Fund. I should have thought that the right course would be for you to give this money to the Orissa Government not because of any liability attached to you, but rather as a graceful gesture. After all that means the money goes to the people of Orissa. I should not like to deprive them of it. That may be used for further developmental purposes.

I do not think it is at all possible for the Orissa Government to proceed with the synthetic oil project now. They cannot do without the help of the Government of India and the Government of India are not in a position at present to undertake it. Such resources as we have, and they are limited, will be thrown into oil exploration and exploitation which is so promising now.

I was sorry to read the letter you wrote to Mahtab. This was very objectionable even allowing for some measure of irritation on your part. You have apologised for this. Anyhow, I do not think that this kind of personal controversy does good to anyone.¹²¹

I have written to you rather in a hurry as I am leaving soon for Patna and Assam.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

121. Nehru sent copies of his letters to Mahtab and Patnaik to Shastri for information.

(x) Punjab

**57. To Partap Singh Kairon: Investigating Dahina Village
Dacoity¹²²**

April 2, 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

Your letter of March 29 in which you have referred to a dacoity in village Dahina, District Gurgaon.¹²³ Obviously this matter should be proceeded with efficiently and at an early date.

You suggest that an officer from Central Intelligence should be appointed as some important political personalities are involved. Normally, this seems to me the responsibility of the State Government. They should take care to appoint an officer whose impartiality and competence cannot be doubted. It does not seem proper to me that the Central Government should undertake such activities. However, I am sending these papers to our Home Minister for his advice to you.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

58. To G.B. Pant: Dahina Village Dacoity¹²⁴

April 2, 1960

My dear Pantji,

I enclose various papers which Sardar Partap Singh Kairon has sent me about a case of dacoity etc. Apparently some important people in the Gurgaon District are involved in this. Even Rao Birendra Singh, the Minister, is somehow connected with the charges made. Because of those political complications, Partap Singh has suggested that some Central investigation should take place. I do not particularly like this idea, but I have written to Partap Singh that I am referring this matter to you for your advice. Will you kindly consider it and advise Partap Singh accordingly?

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

122. Letter to the Chief Minister of Punjab.

123. *The Tribune* of 9 March 1960 reported a dacoity in the house of Kanhya Lal in village Dahina on 8 March.

124. Letter.

59. To R.M. Hajarnavis: The Rarewala Tubewell Case¹²⁵

April 2, 1960

My dear Hajarnavis,

At my request, the Law Minister has been dealing with a case about the purchase of a tube-well from Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala, a Minister in the Punjab Government. This has taken a long time. After going through all the papers sent to me fully, the Law Minister recorded a note about this case. In effect, he said that the transaction has not been a very proper one and it would be better if Sardar Gian Singh took back his tube-well. Sardar Gian Singh, however, was not satisfied and wanted to place his case again before the Law Minister. I agreed that this should be done and Sardar Gian Singh forwarded various papers to the Law Minister. These papers were with the Law Minister for a considerable time. There was delay because Gian Singh Rarewala wanted to see him personally. Ultimately the Law Minister wrote to me on the 13th March and said that it would be necessary to examine six persons, all engineers. Further, in his letter of the 13th March, he indicated on what points the evidence of these persons would be necessary. (This letter of the Law Minister is in the file.)¹²⁶

Thereafter I wrote to the Chief Minister of Punjab sending him a copy of the Law Minister's letter.¹²⁷

I have now received a letter from Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, dated 25th March. With this letter he sends me some statements, in writing, of some of the engineers named, which had been taken previously.

I am sending you all these papers to you as the Law Minister is away. I would suggest that a competent officer of the Law Ministry might go to Chandigarh and take the evidence of the persons named in the Law Minister's letter, bringing out the points mentioned. If this is done now, all the papers will be ready for the consideration of the Law Minister when he returns to Delhi from abroad. I am sending you the file.

Of course, when your officer goes to Chandigarh, he should previously inform Sardar Partap Singh Kairon and Sardar Gian Singh Rarewala so that a suitable date might be fixed for his going there. Your officer will naturally acquaint himself with the nature of the case and more particularly with the

125. Letter to Hajarnavis, Union Deputy Minister for Law.

126. See SWJN/SS/58/ Appendix 26.

127. See SWJN/SS/58/ item 29.

statements already made by some of these engineers, which are enclosed, and then note down the particular points to which the Law Minister has referred.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

60. To Partap Singh Kairon: The Rarewala Tube-well Case¹²⁸

April 2, 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

Your letter of the 25th March about the tube-well case of Gian Singh Rarewala. As our Law Minister has gone abroad to attend a conference in Geneva, I am sending these papers to the Deputy Minister for Law and requesting him to arrange for an officer of the Law Ministry to go to Chandigarh to get the statements of the engineers concerned. This officer will of course inform you about his visit. It would be desirable to inform Gian Singh Rarewala also.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

61. To Partap Singh Kairon: Renewing Chandigarh Contract to Le Corbusier¹²⁹

April 5, 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

Your letter of March 30 about the renewal of the contract with Le Corbusier¹³⁰ for the Chandigarh Capital Project and connected projects. On the whole, I think that you are wise in renewing this contract because Le Corbusier is one of the most eminent of architects at present living. It may be, of course, that his ideas do not always appeal to some people. But as he has been connected with Chandigarh intimately, it is desirable to keep him on.

128. Letter.

129. Letter. File No. 7(118)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

130. French architect and town planner, and adviser to the Government of Punjab for the Capital Project at Chandigarh.

To suggest that someone else should be trained to take his place has no particular meaning. You can either let him go altogether, because we cannot afford him, or have him. A half and half business will not help much.

I am writing to our Works Ministry also on this subject. Of course, it would be desirable to associate young Indian architects with him so that they may learn and get fresh ideas, but to imagine that the new man can take Corbusier's place fully is hardly correct.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

62. To K.C. Reddy: Le Corbusier's Genius¹³¹

April 5, 1960

My dear Reddy,

I enclose a letter from Partap Singh Kairon just for your information. On the whole, I think it is wise of the Punjab Government to renew the contract of Le Corbusier. If they can do so with less expenditure in foreign exchange, all the better. It would be right also to associate young Indian architects with him so that they may learn new ideas. But to say that somebody else should take his place because he is competent enough to do so has little meaning. It may be that our young architects are really good. I believe they are. But Corbusier is a genius, and geniuses are not produced to order.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

63. To N.V. Gadgil: Tired of Master Tara Singh¹³²

April 6, 1960

My dear Gadgil,

I did not inform you previously about the visit to me of some of the Akali MLAs from the Punjab, who urged me to take some step to please Master Tara

131. Letter to the Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply. File No. 7(118)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

132. Letter to the Governor of Punjab.

Singh.¹³³ I made it perfectly clear to them that I was not interested in this kind of politics. People should choose according to their convictions. I was a little tired of politics being governed by personal whims. My past experience of dealing with Master Tara Singh had not been happy. It was, therefore, up to them to decide what they were going to do. No one can have it both ways.

Thus I did not encourage them at all. I have thought of writing to you today because of a press message from Chandigarh which has appeared in the *Evening News* today and which is likely to appear in the *Hindustan Times* tomorrow.¹³⁴ As usual, this is not a correct piece of news and it gives the impression that I am waiting to see Master Tara Singh. I have no such intention. Indeed, I cannot even find the time now. In two days' time, I am going to Maharashtra.¹³⁵ On return, after a day's stay in Delhi, I go to Patna and Assam. Soon after my return from there, I start my talks with Chou En-lai. And then I go to England.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

64. To Partap Singh Kairon: Akali MLAs Visit¹³⁶

April 6, 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

As a somewhat misleading message from Chandigarh appears in the papers this evening about the Akali MLAs' visit to me some days ago, I thought I had better clear this up, and have written to Governor Gadgil accordingly. I am enclosing a copy of this letter for your information.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

133. Six Akali Dal MLAs, led by Sarup Singh, met Nehru on 27 March, according to a report in *The Tribune*, 28 March 1960.

134. For the report in *The Hindustan Times* of 7 April, see Appendix 21.

135. For Nehru's Maharashtra tour, see items 4-11.

136. Letter.

65. To Bahadur Singh: Ignore Tara Singh's Call to Quit Congress¹³⁷

April 6, 1960

Dear Bahadur Singhji,

Thank you for your letter of April 6 informing me that you do not propose to take any notice of Master Tara Singh's call to quit Congress. Your decision is, I think, completely correct. Our politics surely are based on some principles and not on the whims of individuals.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

66. To Partap Singh Kairon: Local Police to Investigate Gurgaon Dacoity¹³⁸

April 12, 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

You will remember writing to me about the case of a dacoity in Gurgaon District at Police Station Khol. You suggested that, in view of a certain possible political implications, a person from the Central Intelligence might carry out enquiries. I wrote to you that I thought that this should be left to the local police, but I sent your letter to our Home Minister.¹³⁹ Pantji has now written to me that he feels that the Central Intelligence Bureau need not be brought into the picture. The case is a simple criminal case and the local police have already investigated it. He is, therefore, of opinion that you should proceed with this case in the normal way.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

137. Letter to Bahadur Singh, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Ludhiana, Punjab.

138. Letter.

139. See items 57-58.

(xi) Uttar Pradesh

67. To Sampurnanand: Kamalapati Tripathi Case¹⁴⁰

April 6, 1960

My dear Sampurnanand,

I enclose a copy of a letter¹⁴¹ from Raj Narain, a member of your Legislative Assembly. I do not quite know what I have to do about this matter now. Up to what stage has the case in the law court proceeded?

Your sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

68. To Sampurnanand: Yadunath Singh's Dacoits Surrender Efforts¹⁴²

April 8, 1960

My dear Sampurnanand,

As you know, Major General Yadunath Singh has been working for some time past to get what are called Dacoits to surrender unconditionally. Apparently he has had some success and he hopes to have greater success in future, more particularly, he has in mind Vinobaji's visit to these areas.

I think that you should try to help these attempts that are being made and specially take advantage of Vinobaji's visit.

Major General Yadunath Singh has sent me a letter a copy of which I enclose.¹⁴³

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

140. Letter to the Chief Minister of UP.

141. See Appendix 13.

142. Letter.

143. See Appendix 14.

(c) Goa

69. To M.J. Desai: Insult to Goans¹⁴⁴

I am sending you a letter¹⁴⁵ from the publisher of *Goan Tribune*¹⁴⁶ and also a copy of this paper. This contains an open letter addressed to me and it gives instances of the insulting treatment given to Goans at Majali. This matter has come up before us again. I do hope that we are dealing with this effectively now and making it quite clear to our police and customs people that Goans should be treated with decency and politeness and no hindrance should be placed on their going in or out.

70. To M.C. Setalvad: The Hague Court Judgement¹⁴⁷

April 13, 1960

My dear Setalvad,

After long waiting, at last the Hague Court have delivered the judgment.¹⁴⁸ I only know the broad outlines of that judgment yet. But on the whole it appears to be satisfactory.

I should like to express to you my deep gratitude for the great trouble you took over this case. Perhaps you could convey my gratitude also to your colleagues in this case.

Mukhi¹⁴⁹ has worked hard and competently and deserves credit.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

144. Note to CS, 5 April 1960.

145. Letter not available.

146. Lambert Mascarenhas, publisher and editor of the *Goan Tribune*, published from Bombay.

147. Letter to the Attorney-General of India.

148. In 1955, Portugal had asked the International Court of Justice to declare that India had committed a breach of international obligations, and had claimed right of passage for both armed forces and officials from Daman on the West Coast, which she still governed, to the inland enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, over which she had lost control in July 1954 after a rising. On 12 April 1960, the International Court of Justice ruled that Portugal had right of passage to enclaves in India for private persons, but not for the armed forces. See *The Statesman*, 13 April 1960.

149. J. M. Mukhi, Legal Adviser in the Ministry of External Affairs.

(d) CAG's Constitutional Role

71. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: CAG's Report on Defence Ministry¹⁵⁰

April 13, 1960

Dear Mr. Speaker,

I received a letter from the Comptroller & Auditor General of India today in regard to certain comments that had been made about his Report on the Defence Ministry.¹⁵¹ This afternoon I also met about 20 Members of Parliament who drew my attention to what they considered were some unusual features in these reports.¹⁵²

It has not been our practice or convention to interfere in any way with the work of the Comptroller & Auditor-General. I would, therefore, rather keep out of this controversy that appears to have arisen. I advised the Members of

DROWNING THE REPORT



[V.K. Krishna Menon on right]

(From *The Times of India*, 13 April 1960, p.7)

150. Letter to Ayyangar, Speaker, Lok Sabha.

151. See Appendix 30.

152. According to a report in *The Hindu* of 15 April 1960, fifteen Congress MPs met Nehru to discuss the report.

Parliament who came to see me to approach you on the subject and ask for your advice.

I am enclosing a copy of the letter of the Comptroller & Auditor-General addressed to me.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

72. To Morarji Desai: CAG's Report on Defence Ministry¹⁵³

April 13, 1960

My dear Morarji,

I received a letter from the Comptroller & Auditor-General today. This was in regard to some comments and criticisms made in the course of the recent

[ADMINISTRATION IS POLITICS]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



*Yes, I am the administrative officer here. But those politicians think
I interfere too much in the administration*

(From *The Times of India*, 13 April 1960, p.1)

153. Letter to Desai, Union Minister of Finance.

debate in the Lok Sabha on the Defence Estimates.¹⁵⁴ This afternoon I also received a deputation of about 20 Members of Parliament who drew my attention to these criticisms.

I told these Members of Parliament that I did not wish to interfere in this matter in any way. If they so wished, they could see the Speaker and take his advice in the matter.

I am enclosing, for your information, the letter that the Auditor-General has written to me.¹⁵⁵

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(e) Administration
(i) General

73. To the Police Welfare Exhibition¹⁵⁶

I send a message of greeting and good wishes to the Police Welfare Exhibition and Cultural Meet which is going to be held in Simla early in May. The work that the police does is of the most vital importance to the community. But the value of this work can be judged in many ways. One test is the cooperation of the people which the police succeed in getting. This depends very greatly on their reputation for integrity and fair play, I hope that our police officers and men will always bear this in mind and thus maintain a fine tradition of service.

154. On 8 April 1960.

155. See Appendix 30.

156. Message forwarded to Shamsher Singh, IG, Police, Punjab, 28 March 1960.

74. To Sarwar Ali Khan: Kaiser Jahan's UPSC Application¹⁵⁷

29th March, 1960

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I have your letter of the 25th March. I am sorry there was some confusion and delay in forwarding your daughter's application for appearing in the IFS examination. I have enquired into this matter and I have been told by the Chairman of the Public Service Commission that they are very strict and rigid in these matters. The only delay they might condone is the delay in the post. No other reason has been considered adequate.

You will appreciate that I cannot interfere in this matter as the Public Service Commission is a completely independent body and for the Prime Minister to interfere would be improper. If it was not on account of the post, then I fear the Commission will not condone it.

This is certainly a pity. Anyhow, Kaiser should not take this to heart. She will be all the better prepared for the examination next time.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

75. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Kaiser Jahan's UPSC Application¹⁵⁸

29th March, 1960

[My dear High Commissioner],

The Nawab of Kurwai wrote to me that there had been some slight delay in his daughter Kaiser's application for appearing in the IFS examination being forwarded to the UPSC. He asked me to get this delay condoned. I asked our Secretary-General to enquire from the Chairman of the UPSC who said that they are very rigid in these matters and even a day's delay cannot be condoned. Only if the delay has been caused in the post would they agree to condonation,

I cannot do anything more in this matter and it is very improper for me to interfere. I am sorry for this. I wonder if the delay was due to Kaiser or to our people in the High Commissioner's office. Anyhow there it is.

157. Letter to the Nawab of Kurwai, Madhya Pradesh.

158. Letter to the High Commissioner to the UK.

I have written to the Nawab of Kurwai accordingly, copy enclosed.

[Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru]

76. To M.J. Desai: The Bhopal Succession¹⁵⁹

This representation from Princess Abida Sultana of Bhopal has already been received by me previously and forwarded to the Home Minister.¹⁶⁰ You may, however, send Shri Rajeshwar Dayal's¹⁶¹ letter with its enclosure to the Home Minister as this will probably expedite the consideration of this case.

2. I might inform you, however, and you may have this information conveyed to our High Commissioner in Pakistan for his personal use, that this question raises rather important matters. We have to determine not merely as to who is the successor of the late Nawab of Bhopal¹⁶² in accordance with the rules laid down by him for this purpose, but also whether, in the circumstances, we can recognise any successor to the ex-ruler at all. The Nawab's personal property will, of course, go to the children and widows in accordance with Muslim law. The question is about the succession to the ruler and to the Privy Purse. It may perhaps be decided that, in the peculiar circumstances of this case, the President need not acknowledge any successor.



[From right: Rajendra Prasad, G.B. Pant, royalty]
(From *Shankar's Weekly*, 3 April 1960, p.12)

159. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 2 April 1960.

160. Nehru wrote to G.B. Pant on 28 March 1960: "I am enclosing a letter from Princess Abida Sultana of Bhopal in which she advances her claims to the succession there."

161. India's High Commissioner to Pakistan.

162. Nawab Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal had died in February 1960.

3. If, on the other hand, the President decides to acknowledge the successor, then another question arises as to whether this lady who renounced her Indian nationality, gave up the part of the Privy Purse which she was getting and became a Pakistan national and later an Ambassador of Pakistan, is at all entitled to anything from us. The fact that she is prepared to resume her Indian nationality now does not make much difference.

4. These are important questions for us to consider. Shri Rajeshwar Dayal need not say anything about this matter to the Princess. All I have written is for his personal information.¹⁶³

77. To B.C. Roy: Employing a Hindu from Pakistan¹⁶⁴

April 7, 1960

My dear Bidhan,

You will remember the case of A.K. Dutta-Choudhury, a Hindu officer of the Civil Service of Pakistan who resigned recently and came to India. There was some idea that he might be given a suitable appointment in India. We have received a letter from our Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca. Although this is a top secret and personal letter, I am sending you a copy of it. But please do not transfer it to official files or allow others to see it.¹⁶⁵

In view of this position, it will not be wise for the Government of West Bengal to employ A.K. Dutta-Choudhury, at least for some time to come. You may try to get some employment for him in a private firm or corporation.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

163. On 13 April, Nehru forwarded to Pant yet another telegram from Abida Sultana dated 12 April from Karachi: " My presentation dated 23 March sent registered airmail not yet favoured by postal acknowledgement. Copy of same also forwarded through courtesy of Indian High Commission. Pressure from public Bhopal increasing daily compelling me to urgently request Your Excellency for personal discussion. I am unable to ignore requests from Bhopal. Will be most grateful for an early opportunity of visiting Your Excellency and other Government officials."

164. Letter to the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

165. See Appendix 17 for V.C. Tripathi's letter of 4 April.

78. To P. Subbarayan: Junkets on Inaugural Flights ¹⁶⁶

April 8, 1960

My dear Subbarayan,

I enclose a letter which I have received. It is not signed. Nevertheless, I think you might see it.

The objection taken to some Indian diplomats having come here is not justified. It is the normal practice of the airlines on their proving flights to take some diplomats.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(ii) Corruption

79. To C. Subramaniam: Kamaraj's Irritation with Thyagarajan ¹⁶⁷

March 30, 1960

My dear Subramaniam,

I have your letter of 28th March about the Madurai college affair.

I appreciate what you say. I can understand Kamaraj's ¹⁶⁸ irritation in this matter. It is irritating. The point to be considered, however, is not the goodness or badness of Thiagaraja ¹⁶⁹ and his ways, but how the interests of education could be best served. It would be unfortunate if it appears that the Madras Government comes in the way of the growth of colleges which are so much required. Of course, it should be made quite clear that conditions must be strictly laid down and that they are not misused. ¹⁷⁰

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

166. Letter to the Union Minister of Transport and Communication. File No. 27/63/60-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

167. Letter to the Minister of Finance, Madras.

168. Chief Minister of Madras.

169. Karumuttu Thyagarajan, Freedom fighter and industrialist from Madurai, established many educational institutions. Different spellings have been used: Thyagaraja, Thiagaraja, Thiagarjar, Thiagaraya, Theagaraya.

170. On Thyagaraja College, Madurai. See also SWJN/SS/58/ items 72-94.

80. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Flooded with Complaints¹⁷¹

31st March, 1960

My dear Sukhadia,

Ever since I announced that I was prepared to receive any complaints of corruption, etc., I am getting a large number of such things. I deal with them as I think best. In this connection, N. Salivati¹⁷² has been troubling me a great deal by sending me frequent enquiries. I do not propose to encourage him.

Nevertheless, since he has written to me in his letter something referring to you, I am sending you an extract from that letter. I do not propose to answer his enquiry.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

[ENDLESS CORRUPTION]



(From *The Times of India*, 27 March 1960, p. 9)

171. Letter to the Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

172. Editor, *Salivati Newsletter*, Bombay.

81. To M.J. Desai: Legal Advice to Krishna Menon¹⁷³

Defence Minister spoke to me today about the case in London.¹⁷⁴ He said that the Law Secretary had apparently misunderstood him about his preparing a "proof" or statement of the evidence he might give. He was agreeable to preparing this. But for this purpose he would like some competent legal advice.

2. He suggested, and I agreed with him, that Shri G.S. Pathak (who is now a Member of the Rajya Sabha) should be asked to look through these papers. He can then be in a position to advise the Defence Minister.

3. Please inform Shri G.S. Pathak accordingly.

4. As for the date of the Defence Minister's departure for London, it would be rather awkward for him to go as soon as the Premier Chou En-lai comes here.

82. To S. Radhakrishnan: The Thyagaraja College¹⁷⁵

8th April, 1960

[My dear Radhakrishnan,]

I enclose a copy of a letter from C. Subramaniam.¹⁷⁶ I spoke to you about this the other day.

[Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru]

173. Note to the CS, 7 April 1960.

174. The Jeep Case.

175. Letter to the Vice President.

176. See Appendix 19 for Subramaniam's letter of 5 April.

83. To C. Subramaniam: Valuing Land for the Thyagaraja College¹⁷⁷

April 12, 1960

My dear Subramaniam,

Your letter of the 9th April has just reached me. This is about the Thiagaraja College at Madurai.¹⁷⁸

I am not a very competent person to advise you about fixing the price of land, but I imagine that the proposal you have made, that is, that a senior official might value the land, is suitable.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

84. To S. Radhakrishnan: The Thyagaraja College¹⁷⁹

April 12, 1960

[My dear Radhakrishnan,]

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Subramaniam,¹⁸⁰ which takes us a little farther in this matter of Thiagaraja College at Madurai.

[Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru]

177. Letter.

178. See Appendix 29 for Subramaniam's letter of 9 April.

179. Letter.

180. See Appendix 29.

85. To S.R. Das: His Letter to C. D. Deshmukh¹⁸¹

April 12, 1960

My dear Shri Das,

I have just returned to Delhi after a tour in parts of Maharashtra. On my return I have received a copy of your letter dated April 7, 1960, addressed to Shri C.D. Deshmukh.¹⁸² So far I am concerned, I entirely agree with what you have written.

[Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru]

86. To B.C. Roy: Black Marketeering of Newsprint¹⁸³

April 13, 1960

My dear Bidhan,

We have been receiving frequent complaints about the black marketing of newsprint. I see that recently in the *Statesman* it was stated that stolen newsprint was seized in considerable quantities in Calcutta. I do hope that this matter will be pursued and whoever might be responsible should be made to suffer for this criminal activity. Possibly some of those who are connected with this mischief will try to shield themselves or hush up the affair. I hope that this will not be permitted.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal]

181. Letter to the Vice Chancellor of Visva-Bharati.

182. Chairman, UGC.

183. Letter to Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

(iii) Passports

87. To S. Dutt: Passport Scandals¹⁸⁴

I do not know if you have got the report from the Intelligence Department about the passport scandal. I have received such a report which I am sending to you. In this report it is stated that they hoped to finalise investigations by the end of April.

2. The Intelligence people have sent a list of passport agents and travel companies who were involved in these passport scandals. Presumably some of these will be proceeded against in the law courts in connection with the passport cases. Apart from that, as I have suggested elsewhere, these companies should be black-listed and Government and other offices and agencies should be informed not to deal with them.

3. There are again some other companies mentioned which had links with these bogus travel agencies. These other companies should also be informed that they should not deal with the bogus companies.

(f) Social Groups¹⁸⁵**88. To P.T. Borale: Scheduled Caste Benefits for Converts to Buddhism¹⁸⁶**

April 8, 1960

Dear Shri Borale,

Thank you for your letter of 30th March.¹⁸⁷ It was good of you to have written to me on your relinquishing the high office of Mayor of Bombay.

I have given much thought to the point you have raised in your letter. The people who have been converted recently to Buddhism should certainly be treated with sympathy and consideration. But so far as the law is concerned, we have been definitely advised that they cannot be treated as if they continue to be governed by the provisions meant for the Scheduled Castes. To change

184. Note to FS, 2 April 1960.

185. See also, Nehru's address to a conference of denotified tribes at Umedpur, Sholapur, on 11 April 1960, during his Maharashtra tour, in speeches in General, item 9.

186. Letter to Borale, Mayor of Bombay till 31 March 1960. File No. 2 (172)/57-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

the law is a difficult matter and I do not think that that is worthwhile in so far as certain political privileges are given. There remain educational and social facilities. There is nothing that can be done, so far as I know, by law in regard to social facilities. The law is clear enough and is against all discrimination. For the rest, it is a question of educating public opinion. That too, I believe, is being done.

Then we come to educational facilities. There are two types of such facilities, one particularly meant for the Scheduled Castes, and the other for backward people generally. I think that there should be no distinction made in future between various castes, but these particular facilities should be given on the basis of economic conditions. For the present, however, we are a little tied up with the rules governing the Scheduled Castes. But progressively we are shifting over to educational facilities for others also. In regard to the bright students, many States have already introduced full facilities for education, including technical education.

There has been more than one committee to consider the question of improving conditions in villages, towns and cities in regard to housing etc. This problem is a vast one and can only be tackled progressively. It should undoubtedly be considered important.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

89. To Amrit Kaur: Enough of Fletcher¹⁸⁸

April 13, 1960

My dear Amrit,

I have your letter of April 9th with which you have sent me a long memorandum by Fletcher.¹⁸⁹

I really have no time to read this memorandum. As a matter of fact, I have read long notes by him previously on this very subject and we considered this question of Dandakaranya repeatedly and at some length. Fletcher might be a good officer. That was my own impression of him. But he did not fit in at Dandakaranya and we have had to suffer because of some things that he did or

187. See Appendix 10.

188. Letter to Amrit Kaur, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Punjab.

189 A.L. Fletcher, Chief Administrator, Dandakaranya Development Authority, 1958-60. See also SWJN/SS/54/p. 331.

did not do. Dandakaranya cannot function without the full cooperation of the Bengal Government and the Bengal Government could not put up with him.

[Yours,
Jawaharlal]

(g) Language

90. To G.B. Pant: A Second Official Language Commission Premature¹⁹⁰

April 8, 1960

My dear Pantji,

Your letter of April 8th about the proposal to appoint a second Official Language Commission.¹⁹¹ I am not competent to discuss the legal aspect of this question. And so, naturally, I accept the Law Minister's opinion.

But from every practical point of view, to appoint a second Official Language Commission now when we have hardly finished with the first commission would be odd and undesirable.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(h) Representative Institutions

91. To M.N. Kaul: Discrimination Against Japanese Correspondents¹⁹²

March 28, 1960

My dear Kaul,¹⁹³

As you probably know, some Japanese correspondents complained to me that they had not been invited to Parliament House on the two occasions when President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev addressed Members of Parliament,

190. Letter. File No. 52(13)/58-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

191. See Appendix 27.

192. Letter. File No. 43(148)/60-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

193. M.N. Kaul (1901-1984); Secretary, Lok Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi.

although other correspondents had been invited.¹⁹⁴ I was surprised to learn of this and I asked my PPS to enquire as to who had been invited. I found subsequently that some Japanese correspondents had actually been invited, and that the complaint they had made had no basis. I asked my PPS to send for these correspondents and face them with this fact that they had actually been invited and yet they had complained.

I gather from my PPS that Shakhder¹⁹⁵ apparently objected to the Prime Minister's Secretariat having anything to do with this matter and, in fact, not only refused to attend this meeting with the Japanese correspondents, but even took exception to the fact that Ramachandran¹⁹⁶ had been asked to attend.¹⁹⁷

This is very extraordinary and I think this matter should be cleared up with the Speaker. There is no question of the Prime Minister's Secretariat or anyone else interfering with the discretion of the Speaker in these matters, but the External Affairs Ministry has to deal with foreign correspondents and naturally when a complaint is made, I had to enquire. I propose to speak to the Speaker about this matter. Before I do so, I should like to know if the facts I have stated above about Shakhder are correct.¹⁹⁸

Yours sincerely,
J. Nehru

194. See SWJN/SS/57/items 149 and 150.

195. S.L. Shakhder, Joint Secretary, Lok Sabha Secretariat.

196. K.S. Ramachandran, General Manager, PTI, and chairman of Press Gallery Committee.

197. For K. Ram's note of 28 March, see Appendix 7.

198. Kaul replied on 29 March that he had looked into the papers in his Secretariat and the facts as represented to Nehru were not correct. He wrote: "Shakhder did not object to the Prime Minister's Secretariat having anything to do with this matter. He was not asked to attend the meeting and he took no exception to the fact that Ramachandran had been asked to attend."

92. To Rajendra Prasad: Reinstate Tara Shankar Banerjee for Rajya Sabha Nominations¹⁹⁹

March 29, 1960

My dear Mr. President,

I am writing to you about the Presidential nominations to the Rajya Sabha.

In your letter of the 14th March, you were pleased to agree to nominate the following four persons.

1. Shri Tara Shankar Banerjee,
2. Shri M. Satyanarayana,
3. Professor A.R. Wadia, and
4. Shri K.M. Panikkar

Thereafter I brought to your notice that the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Shri V.T. Krishnamachari, was resigning from the Planning Commission soon and we had had in mind that he should come to the Rajya Sabha. In fact, he had been informed of this. He would naturally have been a very desirable appointment.²⁰⁰

Of the four names you had approved, the only person whose name could be taken out to make room for Shri V.T. Krishnamachari was that of Shri Tara Shankar Banerjee. Even this created some difficulty because of some assurance given to the Chief Minister of West Bengal. However, you were pleased to agree that in place of Shri Tara Shankar Banerjee's name, Shri V.T. Krishnamachari's name could be substituted.

Later, you were pleased to draw my attention to certain legal aspects of these nominations and whether it was possible to keep one of them vacant for some time. Consequently, I had this matter examined by the Home Ministry and we felt that the four nominations should take place at the same time. This had created a difficulty because Shri V.T. Krishnamachari cannot be nominated till he leaves the Planning Commission and it is not convenient to him to leave it before finalising the draft of the Third Five Year Plan. This means that he has to remain in the Planning Commission till about two months more.²⁰¹

I have discussed this matter with the Home Minister as well as Shri V.T. Krishnamachari. In the circumstances, there is no choice left to us but to leave

199. Letter. File No. 48/60., President's Secretariat. Also available in File No. 37/7/60-Pub.I., MHA and JN Collection. Copied to G.B. Pant.

200. See also SWJN/SS/58/items 114-116.

201. Krishnamachari continued as Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission till 21 June 1960.

out Shri V.T. Krishnamachari's name from the present list. All that we can say is that whenever a new vacancy arises, his name will be the first choice. Shri V.T. Krishnamachari has appreciated our difficulty and agreed to this.

I am, therefore, reverting to my first recommendation to you, which indeed you accepted then, and suggesting the following four names for nomination by you to the Rajya Sabha:

1. Shri Tara Shankar Banerjee,
2. Shri M. Satyanarayana,
3. Professor A.R. Wadia, and
4. Shri K.M. Panikkar

I hope you will be pleased to agree. The Home Ministry will thereupon take the necessary steps and have a notification issued.²⁰²

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

93. To B.C. Roy: Tara Shankar Banerjee for the Rajya Sabha²⁰³

March 29, 1960

My dear Bidhan,

There has been some difficulty about the Presidential nominations to the Rajya Sabha. We find that they have to be made all together and cannot keep one vacant for V.T. Krishnamachari. V.T. Krishnamachari cannot leave the Planning Commission for another two months. Therefore, we have to leave him out from our present list. I am now recommending again Tara Shankar Banerjee's name to the President.

I hope this is all right.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawahar]

202. Rajendra Prasad replied on 30 March that in the circumstances the names mentioned in the previous list might be notified.

203. Letter.

94. To K. Ram: Ramachandran's Mischief²⁰⁴

Shri M.N. Kaul and Shri Shakhder came to me the other day and were rather apologetic.²⁰⁵ It seems to me that Ramachandran has been a bit of a mischief-maker in this matter. However, the matter may rest now, and nothing further need be done.

(i) Legal System: Nanavati Case**95. To Sri Prakasa²⁰⁶**

March 26, 1960

My dear Prakasa,

Your letter of the 25th March about the Nanavati case.

I do not think that the Bombay High Court have functioned with much dignity in this matter. However, there it is and we need not worry about it.

I am quite clear in my mind that if the decision is against us, we should not come in the way of Nanavati being sent to jail. It really does not matter very much if he goes there or not. If ultimately necessity arises for us to change the Navy rules, we shall do so. For the present, it is no good carrying on a struggle with the High Court on this issue.²⁰⁷

Therefore, if the Full Bench decides against us, we should of course ask for a stay order to give us time to appeal to the Supreme Court. In all probability this stay order will not be given. Nanavati can then be taken to prison. He should nevertheless appeal to the Supreme Court.

One thing I cannot understand is why there has been so much delay in an appeal being preferred to the Supreme Court on behalf of Nanavati from the original Judgment of the High Court. From the very first day I have been insisting that this should be done without delay and yet no step is taken to that end. If such an appeal had been put in in the Supreme Court earlier, as it should have been done, we could immediately move that Court.

However, we have now to accept the High Court's judgment, whatever it may be, and expedite the appeal to the Supreme Court. It is not desirable for us

204. Note to PPS, 2 April 1960. File No. 43(148)/60-61-PMS.

205. See item 91.

206. Letter to the Governor of Bombay.

207. See also SWJN/SS/58/items 120-126.

to encourage the popular idea of a struggle between the Judiciary and the Executive. Certainly this was not my idea at any time.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

96. To Y.B. Chavan²⁰⁸

March 26, 1960

My dear Chavan,

I am writing to you about the Nanavati case which has become a much bigger affair than I ever imagined. I have written to Sri Prakasa separately.

I do not know what the Full Bench of the Bombay High Court will decide. But it appears that for some technical reason or other they will decide against us. If so, we should submit to their judgment. We may ask for a stay order so that the matter can be taken to the Supreme Court. But probably they will refuse this.

Submitting to their judgment means that Nanavati will be sent to jail. We need not get perturbed about this. If necessity arises, later the Navy rules can be changed. For the moment we should carry out the High Court's directions.

One thing that has surprised me is that there has been such delay in a regular appeal to the Supreme Court being made from the main judgment of the Bombay High Court. I have been pressing for this from the very first day and yet nothing has been done, so far as I know.

There has been enough fuss over this case about struggle between the Judiciary and the Executive. I have never looked upon it like this and I do not want anything done to encourage this idea.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

97. To Sri Prakasa²⁰⁹

2nd April, 1960

My dear Prakasa,

Your letter of April 1st. I am sorry for the slip on my part in not writing to you about my going to Rajkot and Cambay. I thought that Chavan, would inform you of it. Also about my later visit to Koyna, Sholapur, etc.

My Rajkot visit was in effect for a Congress programme and I did not think it would be necessary or desirable for you to come up there just for a few hours to meet me on that occasion. Cambay was subsequently added as I happen to be near the place.

I quite understand about your not meeting me at Poona or elsewhere when I go there next week. I knew that you would be busy with President Nasser.

I quite agree that it would be quite unwise for us to take any steps in regard to the judgment of the Nanavati case. We should allow matters to rest where they are.

But one thing I cannot understand. Why this great delay in preferring an appeal to the Supreme Court over the judgment of the High Court on the main issue? Greater the delay, the worse effect it will have.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(j) Media**98. To B.V. Keskar: No Time for Interview to
*Times of India*²¹⁰**

I have read your note. I am not aware yet of any request from the Editor of the *Times of India*²¹¹ seeking an interview with me.²¹² It is unlikely that I shall be able to give him an interview in the course of the next two or three days before

209. Letter.

210. Note to the Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting, 5 April 1960. File No. 43(134)/59-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

211. N.J. Nanporia.

212. *The Times of India* requested permission to renew their agreement with the Associated News Press Service for supply of foreign news.

I leave Delhi on a tour of Maharashtra. Soon after my return, I shall go to Assam and then Premier Chou En-lai comes here.

2. The general attitude you have taken up appears to be correct. If you think it necessary or desirable to allow the *Times of India* to carry on with their present arrangements until the P & T are able to give to the newly formed news agencies²¹³ facilities for taking foreign news, you may do so. But this is entirely for you to decide at your discretion.

99. In the Lok Sabha: Spanish Press Delegation²¹⁴

Shri Aurobindo Ghosal: ²¹⁵Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Spanish Press delegation has recently visited India; and
- (b) if so, what for and on whose invitation?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes.

(c) A delegation consisting of 4 leading Spanish journalists was invited by the Government of India to visit this country to enable them to have a first-hand knowledge of our development projects and educational and cultural activities.

Shri Aurobindo Ghosal: What is the present relationship of our country with Spain?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: Very friendly, Sir.

Shri Joachim Alva: ²¹⁶ On a former occasion, when a foreign Editors' delegation came here, I had put a question that these delegations are taken

213. The United News of India, founded in New Delhi in 1960, distributed the foreign services of the Associated Press (AP), the Deutsche Presse Agentur (DPA) of West Germany and Tanjug of Yugoslavia, besides a comprehensive internal news service. The Eastern India News Agency, came into being in Calcutta in 1960 with bureaux in New Delhi and Cuttack, specialised in news from Eastern and North-Eastern India, including Sikkim, Bhutan, Nepal, NEFA and other border areas.

214. Oral answers to questions, 8 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLII, cols 10308-10309.

215. FB(M), Lok Sabha MP from Uluberia, West Bengal.

216. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Kanara, Mysore.

in a kind of way outside and none of them is allowed to meet the journalist-Members from all parts of this House, and the hon. The Speaker was good enough to say that the Ministry would take note of this suggestion and that something would be done. May I know why, when the Spanish Press delegation came, especially in view of the Goa question, they were not permitted to meet a few journalist Members of this House?

The Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Usually programmes of these foreign visitors, journalists or others, are drawn up in consultation with their own Ambassadors here. In fact, largely their own Ambassadors' wishes are followed in this matter. There is no question of their not being allowed to see anybody. They came for ten or twelve days to go all over India. They are a bit rushed.

Shri D.C. Sharma:²¹⁷ May I know if the hon. Speaker will set up a committee to find out the real journalists and the prospective journalists of this House?

An Hon. Member: With Shri D.C. Sharma as the Chairman!

Mr. Speaker: Next question.

III. DEVELOPMENT

(a) Economy

100. To FICCI¹

Mr. President,² Members of the Federation, and friends,

Year after year, you do me the honour of inviting me to inaugurate your annual sessions, and year after year I come here and listen to your presidential address and say something also. Although you have just been pleased to say in your address that you do not consider this as some kind of an annual ritual, nevertheless it tends to become that, and perhaps we repeat, more or less the same things with suitable variations.

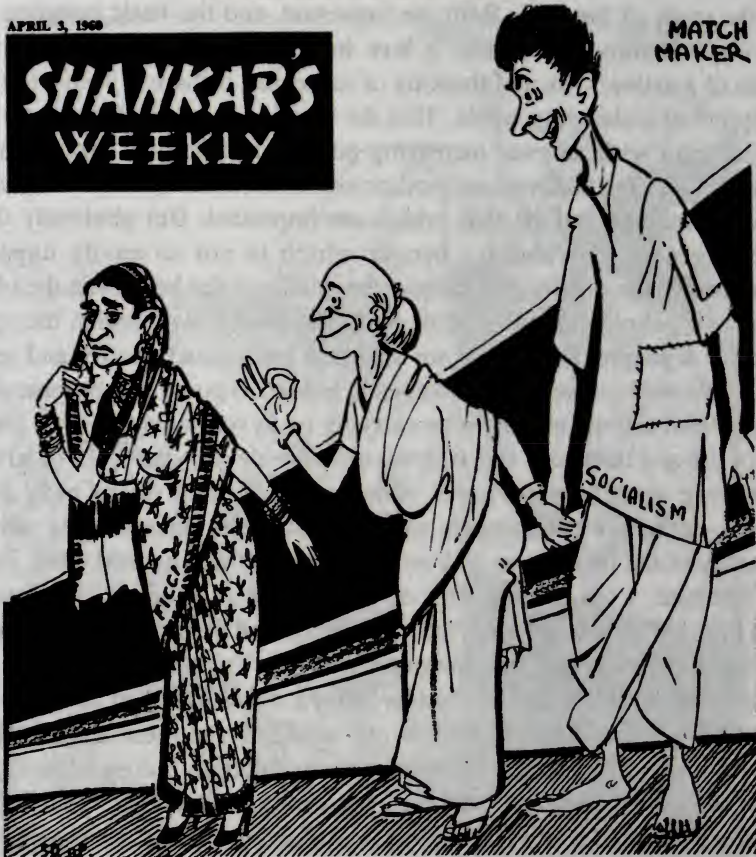
You have laid stress in your address on the large amount of agreement that exists between your thinking and the policies and activities of Government. You have also pointed out an area of disagreement. Both are there. I am grateful to you for the good things you have said about some of our policies and I welcome the criticisms you have said or left unsaid, also because the most important thing for us is to have clear thinking, to have a certain integrity not only in our lives and actions, but in our minds and our thinking. Every country, every community has or strives to attain a certain rhythm in its life as every individual presumably does. That rhythm is upset, when two things are not in line with each other, the basic rhythm of the community's life and the changing rhythm of, shall we say, the international order. When there is a conflict between these two rhythms, then you have to find some kind of a synthesis. There are those who would say that a country and a community must, shall I say, live in accordance with its past traditions.

There are others, who say that we must jump into the new regardless of the past, and adopt the new methods of living which have been evolved elsewhere. Now I do not think that there is that type of divergence, although of course, there is some kind of a pull in different directions. It would be quite absurd to say, as Kalidas said, that everything old is bad because it is old and everything new is good because it is new. Neither the old nor the new have a monopoly of goodness or badness. The fact that the thing is old, because you have certain traditions, grown up in a country is important, because we are ourselves the

1. Speech inaugurating the annual session of Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi, 27 March 1960. From PIB files. As the AIR recording is incomplete, the PIB version has been used.
2. Madanmohan Ruia.

[THE RELUCTANT BRIDE]

APRIL 3, 1960

**SHANKAR'S
WEEKLY****MATCH
MAKER**(From *Shankar's Weekly*, 3 April 1960, cover page)

product of that bunch of traditions, customs, thought and activities of past ages. And we cannot and should not uproot ourselves from them. At the same time it has to be remembered that if we always remain as we were, well, we make no progress. There is no change for the better, that is presuming that there can be changes for the better, as I imagine, you will agree there can be. On the other hand, if we pull ourselves out completely and try to imitate what others have done, we are apt to become without roots. We can never, specially a country like India with a distinct and rather wonderful past, forget that past. We have to remember it, both for the good it has brought us, as well as for the many lessons that it has taught us, as to what we should avoid and do away with it. But anyhow, we have to be in rhythm with the genius of the race. That rhythm of life is important.

On the other hand, it is at least as important that we should keep in rhythm with the spirit of the time. Both are important, and the basic question which faces a community or a nation, is how to synthesise these two rhythms, the rhythm of a nation's life and thinking of its genius, if there is such a thing, and the rhythm of a changing world. That the world is changing there is no doubt, and changing with an ever increasing pace and rapidity. There are various methods of judging that, various yard measures, economic, the national income, per capita income and all that, which are important. But obviously there is something else too, about a people which is not so easily capable of measurement, the quality of a people, the quality at the base even the physical quality of a people, but more particularly the intellectual quality, the spiritual quality of a people. Because if we lose that intellectual quality and spiritual quality, then we have nothing fundamental to keep us going. We become second-rate and third-rate people, may be carrying on in some way, but not with that spirit of life and invention and progress and dare-devilry, the spirit of adventure which have made nations great, however small they might have been in numbers—numbers don't count, nor all the shouting counts—it is ultimately the quality of the intellect as well as some spiritual quality, and when I use the word spiritual, I am not thinking of the dogmas of religion, but something which may be outside religion, part of religion and even the quality that gives integrity to a person and to a community.

Looking at India as it is today, I have no doubt, that in spite of the innumerable difficulties that face us we shall survive them and we shall go ahead and after the fashion of some nations become industrialised, greater production, greater income, national, per capita and all that. That I think is inevitable, although it will take a great deal of doing because we have to do it in a relatively short space of time. There is no choice about it, we cannot lengthen that period. Nevertheless, while we have to concentrate on that, and while most of our planning in everything depends upon this business of economic betterment, let us always remember that behind it lies the basic quality of the human being, of the individual as well as the community. Without that, the future will not be such as we have imagined or dreamt of. I have referred to that because as I do attach value to it, even though we may not talk about it in terms of economic planning and the like.

Now, we come to more matter of fact things, if I may use the word—how to take out our country from this present low level, from its present state of poverty for the great mass of our people and unemployment and all the brood of poverty which are so bad. When we think of that, we have to think, I suppose, of some kind of objective. It may not be very clearly defined in precise terms. Nevertheless, we have to think of some objectives that we are

[THE ADORATION OF THE PLAN]

MARCH 27, 1960

**SHANKAR'S
WEEKLY**

ORACLE OF DELHI

(From *Shankar's Weekly*, 27 March 1960, cover page)

aiming at. Having got that objective, we have to devise methods of reaching that objective. It is with that end in view, that people plan. There are two ways, well hardly two ways, there is the way of a planned approach to our problems and there is the way of leaving things to chance, and to the desire of the individual to better himself, and in that process perhaps bettering the community as a whole. Now when a crisis confronts a country, how does a nation react to it? Suppose there is a crisis of war. At that time because it becomes a matter of life and death for a nation, there is a great deal of planning. Whether it is good planning or bad planning is another matter, but everything has been planned to one end, that is the end which aims at the survival of the community—nothing else counts.

Now I do not pretend to say, that the crisis before us at the present moment is a crisis of war, although you have mentioned in the early part of your address, the new dangers that confront us on our frontier, the incursions that have been made into our territory, and what is more, the basic change that has come about in our frontiers, the frontier that is a quiet, passive, almost dead frontier has suddenly become not only a live frontier but a frontier bristling with dangers. I wonder, how many people realise this although so many talk about the frontier troubles and all that. And perhaps they think of them as something new and something temporary, not realising that it is a long term affair, that the change that has come, whatever the immediate consequences, good or bad, that it might bring, that change itself is a basic change in our relationship to the world, and it brings all kinds of obligations and responsibilities in its train. Now, whether those responsibilities are going to be a very heavy burden on us or a burden not so heavy, the future will show. In any event it is going to be a burden and it is a burden. You must realise that. That burden is not going to be discharged, on our part, by some angry or passionate approach to this problem but by preparing ourselves and our country to face that burden with a stout heart. Now, the ultimate crisis of war is not upon us. But surely there are other crises upon us, the crisis which a country has to face when it seeks to go ahead at a fast pace, a country which has a vast population has to face, and oddly enough, the more we advance in these lines, the more problems face us. That is the inevitable result of advancing. We may measure these problems in many ways—agricultural, industrial, production etc. the general well-being of the community—and that is why we go in for all kinds of statistical analyses, which is right to tell us what the picture is. But the fact remains that it is a serious and difficult moment in our country, that we are passing through, a period rather—partly it is of our choice, but much more so, it is inevitable in the circumstances, and we have to think of all this with all clarity of thought and integrity and not lose ourselves in slogans or some theories which you may have read about in old books of yore. Probably, your broad approach to these problems is not the same as my broad approach, although I agree that in actual practice, there may not be a very large field of disagreement. But probably the basic picture one has of a society—I have and you have—may differ.

I do not pretend to have all the truth in me. But for the last thirty or forty years of my life, I have given a measure of thought to these problems, tried to study them, not only in the national context, but in the world context, and naturally, at the age of seventy, one grows, perhaps unfortunately, a little well fixed in one's ideas. I hope I am not; I try not to be. But when I find that people, even in their early youth, are not only fixed in their ideas but more fixed that I am at seventy, I am a little pleased about this comparison in regard to

myself I mean. Because the one lesson that I have learnt has been one that you cannot be loose in your thinking; you cannot just be open-mouthed, accept anything, that somebody has said in any country or any other country. You cannot be merely carrying on a tradition which may have outlasted its day. At the same time while one must not be loose in one's thinking, one has to think. The other day, I was reading what a very eminent man—not an Indian, a world figure—said, and he said that one of the greatest unfortunate things in this world today is that people have given up the art of thinking, they go about repeating, repeating ever more loudly, but repeating, and the result is, if you give up thinking, obviously, you cannot grope mentally and intellectually with the problems of the day. You, as a group, probably will go on repeating; maybe that I go on repeating what I say. Nevertheless, I have to be I hope frank with you; I try to be frank. I have to approach this question before you, as elsewhere, with some integrity, not rigidity I hope, but with integrity.

I have believed for a large number of years, that India—and by that I mean, the people of India—must get out of the various ruts they are in—physical ruts, ruts of poverty, low level of living, low level of thinking, ruts of superstitions, ruts of bad social habits which keep them down—community habits or individual habits. Yet, at the same time, I have attached the greatest value to what I consider the basic genius of the Indian race, and that basic genius is certainly enshrined in our past thought wonderfully. I have also admired always the common folk of India, more especially the peasant of India. I am no peasant; I am as far removed from a peasant as anyone can be, but I have admired him, and liked him and he has done me the honour of giving me his affection, and there has been this bond between us and it is because of that bond, that I have sustained myself in the various works and responsibilities that has come by my way, because I have believed in my people, because I am convinced of the ultimate quality of my people, the basic quality, and therefore, I am convinced of their future. For a person who has no faith, there can be little solid achievement. You want faith; your measure of faith may be religious or something else; I have pinned my faith in the Indian people. That is enough religion for me. It does not very much matter what happens to my individual self; every individual comes and goes, and my time to go may not be far distant, and I shall be happy to go when the time comes, because I shall be happy not only because of the achievement of the Indian people in the fairly long life that I have led and when I have seen that achievement with my own eyes—but I shall be happier still in the promise of greater achievement which I see in the future. So, this is not an individual matter; it is something bigger because the faith of our circumstance has put us, has made us live at a particular time of history, in the history of India and in the history of the world. We may

make mistakes—that is inevitable. It is only the people who do nothing at all, that make no mistakes. The people who have a spirit of adventure and who want to achieve something are bound to make mistakes. The real thing is not the avoidance of mistakes—although one tries to avoid them—but to have the living urge to do something, to achieve something big in which you are nothing; your individual self, but you become parts of this great movement which takes a country or the world forward. If you have that urge then you even individually, become a big person, because the bigness of the task comes upon you. So, we have experienced in India some of these big movements and big urges shaking the hundreds of millions of our people, and now we are experiencing these further efforts at changing the whole life of 400 million people. There can be no mightier task than that.

Now as I said you can measure your progress by many standards but the ultimate standard, in my mind, is the standard of how far the common people make progress the peasant in the field or the worker in the factory or the assistant in the shop or anywhere else, whatever their labours may be. You can measure them in various ways. I see them in large numbers, not individually so much, although individually I meet a very large number of people. But I see them in large groups, meetings, thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands. And I go through their villages and towns, and my mind is stocked with thousands and thousands of pictures; pictures which I have put in the gallery of my mind during the last forty years or more, fifty years nearly. And I see this changing India—I use to spend a great deal of time with the peasantry long ago and I have that vivid picture of the semi-naked, hungry peasant always with me, that moved me most in my earlier days and that has been in my mind all this time when I go now to the same places I see a different picture—better-fed people, better clothed people, their living conditions better and what is much more, with more life in them. I see a very considerable change in them. For the moment, I am talking about the evidence of my own eyes and ears and not of statistics, although statistics are important. In a country like India you will always find patches, big patches of the good and big patches of the bad. You can take your choice. It is difficult to keep up to same level everywhere. But broadly speaking, I see this changing India not only in the big factories, in the big chimneys, in the big river valley schemes and all that, it is growing up not only in the large number of smaller industries growing up but essentially in people in the fields. I see those changes and the changes are for the better. Therefore, I feel hopeful, I feel confident. But I also see the difficulties of the task which are tremendous and they can only be overcome ultimately, by bringing in the tremendous capacity of the Indian people to them, and not by a group controlling the government or a group controlling industries or a group anywhere.

The only way to get going is, to bring that vast energy of the Indian people, turn it in this direction and that is the biggest problem of planning, not merely giving priorities and the like.

Now, I have to be frank with you and it is because I have ventured to be frank with my own people, the peasants, the workers or the others living in cities and villages, that I have been honoured by their affection. We talk today more perhaps than previously of socialism and the like. And some people seem to imagine that this idea of socialism, whatever may be in their minds, is some concept which is bad not only for India but is an emanation of the evil one, the devil. Well, obviously, if I thought so, I would not be a socialist as I am. I believe in socialism, have believed in for the last 50 years of my life and until I am convinced to the contrary, which is unlikely at my age—but possibly always—I shall continue to believe in it and work for it. I am not apologetic about our ideal being socialistic. I think it is the ideal which ought to be the ideal of every humane person and every humane group. However, whatever form it may take is a different matter. And it is a matter of fact, modern thinking all over the world, by whatever name it may call itself, whatever label it may give itself, has increasingly become socialistic. It is inevitable. It is only if you are completely out of touch with modern conditions, not only in any part of the world as well as in India, that you will think differently. I am not wedded to any particular dogma of socialism or to any dogma of religion or anything else, but I do believe, whether you call it religion or not, in the innate spirituality of the human being. I do not call it a dogmatic religion. I do believe in the dignity of the individual and I do believe that every individual should be given equal opportunities. I believe, as an ideal which may be difficult to reach in an egalitarian society with no great differences. I dislike the vulgarity of the rich and as much as the poverty of the poor. Both are bad, both are degrading. I want higher standards for my people. I am not anxious for them to flaunt their standards. You may call that whatever you like and all this can be said even without socialism if you like, certainly but I do believe also in a certain economic approach, broadly speaking, which is so called socialistic. I do not believe in many things that go by the name of communistic. Apart from the technique of introducing it, which I do not like at all, apart from the regimentation that accompanies it, which I do not like at all, but the normal approach of socialism, both utopian and practical and scientific, does help one, within limits, to understand things. For the rest, it is up to us pragmatically to approach problems, and adapt them to our own national conditions and national thinking. Therefore, I am entirely opposed to what goes today in the name of thinking—which is negative thinking, cursing somebody you do not agree with, cursing capitalism, cursing communism, cursing anti-capitalism, anti-communist, anti this, anti

that. Being too much anti, they cease to think positively of anything positive. They are just negative individuals, taking part in negative thinking. Therefore, all this approach of mine—and you will forgive me to be rather personal in what I tell you—all this approach of mine has led naturally to my pressing forward, what is called our foreign policy. It is not a negative policy, although it may be a non-alignment policy. It is a positive, definite, I hope clear thinking policy; not only of the present but of the future and it tries to avoid hatreds of countries, of other people. I disagree with many countries, I disagree violently at the present moment, with what has happened in South Africa but I do not still think of the South African people whatever they are, not only the Africans but the descendants of the Europeans, I do not wish to think them as my enemies. I wish them well, but I am not prepared to tolerate the kind of thing that is happening there, apartheid and all that. My own people are concerned, anyhow the descendants of our people but much more so the African nation is concerned, and it seems to me monstrous beyond measure, this kind of thing should be tolerated in the modern world. But I do not think that the way to meet this is the way of hatred and violence. I do firmly believe in that. I am not a pacifist, I never have been, because in the conditions of today, I just could not convince myself that pure pacifism was a right approach and the only approach, but I do believe that hatred and violence are bad for an individual, for a group, for a community. I believe that a social order that an international order should try to do away with them. It may take time. I do believe that a social order should try to do away with them as far as possible. Of course, we are human beings and we cannot rise above our failings, but at any rate our ideals should be there. They should pull us up from time to time, and I do believe that this is the order which may be called the socialist order, it is an order, it is the individual quality that would tell, and your professing some religion does not make you religious, and your professing socialism does not make you necessarily a social individual. You may be very anti-social, although you may quite call yourself a socialist. But these are the broad approaches.

Now we come to our problem in India. May I say right at the beginning that I entirely agree with President when he said, that the danger on our frontiers should not allow us to tone down and our advance on various economic fronts. Indeed, I would go a step further and say, that because of these dangers we have to accelerate our economic advance, not lessen it. In fact the only ultimate protection for our country is to advance in the economic and industrial front and make our country strong in that respect. War today is not merely a question of some gallant soldiers behaving gallantly. It is essentially a question of the industrial might of a nation, of the productive apparatus of a nation. Therefore, even from that restricted point of view of war—which I hope we shall have

never to face anywhere—nevertheless, even from that point of view, it is the industrial strength of a nation that counts as well as of course, the prosperity of the people. Therefore, we come back again with even greater conviction to the necessity of economic, industrial and agricultural growth. How are we to bring about this agricultural, industrial growth? The two are inter-related, inter-connected. People talk about priorities—first priority agriculture. Certainly agriculture from a variety of points of view is of the most fundamental importance in India. No industry can grow without a prosperous agriculture and, anyhow, about 70 or 80% of our population depends upon agriculture. But to talk about first priorities in agriculture or industry, is, I think, rather a wrong way of looking at it. Each depends upon the other. Maybe, sometimes a little emphasis is placed on a particular thing. Even agriculture depends upon, let us say, steel production. Steel is essential today in the world for industry for every kind of thing, but even agriculture depends on steel production. I have received complaint after complaint during the last year or so of the lack of steel for agricultural implements. I hope that lack is gone now, and I am told so; there will be no lack in the future. But personally what steel I have, I would give it to the farmer first before I give it to the industry so that his ploughs may be better, his implements may be better, he may produce more and so on. So, agriculture and industry go together hand in hand.

The second thing to remember is that all over the world, as we see, methods change. The biggest revolution ever, was the introduction of agriculture to a nomadic people. The other great revolution was the introduction of fire. There was the introduction of the wheel and so on and so forth. Everything has been changing, improving the techniques. Now, the Western world has advanced because of new techniques, which they have derived from applied science and technology, which has come out of pure science. Now, it is clear, that a country progresses nowadays in this limited field, even of agriculture or industry by applying new techniques, new methods, applied science, technology and the like. It is obvious. You cannot go ahead otherwise. That has been the way of the world, and that is bound to be in the future too. Therefore in agriculture and industry we have to adopt new techniques. These new techniques bring about revolutions in our way of living and when our way of living changes, our way of thinking also changes. The two are interconnected. What has often amazed me is that many people who adopt, without demur, and enthusiastically, the latest techniques, still in their minds live in some age long past which has no connection with the modern age. Naturally, that is lack of integration between their thinking and their action. They hire an expert to put up a factory and the expert technician puts it up and they are happy. But there is no correlation between their minds and their ways of living and the modern world of technology

and science except some narrow link. Now, if we are to profit by these new scientific innovations, we must enter into the field of science, mentally, intellectually and spiritually, because science is also a very spiritual. If you know anything about modern physics, you will find it is amazing how modern physics takes you back almost to Buddhist philosophy or some such philosophy. You will be surprised to hear this. I am not making that is a positive statement; I am merely saying that the line of thinking goes far beyond your turning a wheel in a machine and engaging a man to do so. Why? And if you are advanced, it is not because of few mechanics but because of their thought. European civilisation in the last 100 years or so has been a great thing, in spite of the fact that it dominated over other continents and countries. It has been a great thing because of its thought, because of its science and the many things that came from its thought and science. Now, we seem, some of us seem to imagine, and we can take the machine they have produced without the thought behind that machine. Of course, we can take the machine and use it. But we won't go far ahead. The machines will remain just the same machine, while other countries will make better machines, better techniques. So, we have to enter into this world of science and technology, with full heart and full mind. It is not a question of buying a few machines here and there and trying to make money out of them. We have in fact, to put ourselves in line with this rhythm of life in the world today.

And that rhythm is changing. We enter the jet age, we enter the space age, we enter the atomic energy age. Curiously, in this country of India, we are entering into them rather effectively, in spite of the fact that we still living, in a very large measure, in the cow-dung age—as I said—for power production, in spite of the fact that we are still, in a very large measure, using the bullock-cart as a means of transport, nevertheless, as you perhaps know, the developments we have made in atomic energy are very, very creditable, and apart from a very few countries, we are rather ahead of most countries in this matter. It shows the complexity of our problems in India, the complexity not only of problems of the cow-dung as a producer of power and atomic energy as a producer of power, and the bullock-cart as a means of transport and the jet engine also as a means of transport. Not only that but what lies behind it, the minds that think in both directions at the same time, the cow-dung direction and the atomic energy direction. Naturally, a sudden conflict arises in the mind and if our thinking becomes confused it is not surprising; it is bound to happen in a changing time—I am not blaming it, I am merely pointing out these things. In order to deal with this problem obviously one has to give concentrated thought, not of an individual but of groups, so as to get the best out of them, and proceed pragmatically by a trial and error. If you are afraid of error, you are

afraid of advancing. That is the essence of planning. If some people say you must not plan that shows that very amazing confusion of mind between the cow-dung age and the atomic age. There is no link between them. We have to carry on with the cow-dung and we have to carry on with the bullock-cart. I am not throwing them away. But we are replacing them with as much speed as possible, with new techniques and new methods of supplying power. So we have to plan. And to say as some people say today, that planning is a bad thing—you don't say it evidently. In the President's address, you have laid stress on planning, but to say that does seem to me that there is an extraordinary confusion in thinking. We have to plan to the best of our ability and plan with certain objectives. What are those objectives? You may put them down as minor objectives, more this, more that; more steel, more food production. But the major objective is the peasant in India; how does a peasant, a man, lowest in the scale, progress; how do we lessen the gap between the rich and the poor. As I said that big gap is bad for the rich and bad for the poor. Richness produces vulgarity; it does not produce culture, that is bad. We want higher standards everywhere.

The President talked about the profit motive and all that, and said people should have higher standards. Of course, I am all with him; I want higher standards. But what are higher standards and for whom? For large numbers of people or for a select few? Because when you have the higher standards for a select few, they entail lower standards ultimately in those select few, in lower cultural standards; money has never been the standard of quality. It has been in a way a very helpful thing in achieving things.

I do not deny the importance of money but it has also had a powerful effect of lowering the quality of the individual ultimately. A person who makes money because he is able, is a worthwhile person. Because he is able, he makes money. It does not necessarily follow that his son who inherits the money is a worthwhile person. Probably he is a very second rate person because he grows up in a context of second rateness. Being looked after and all that, he does not get the vitality that a growing child should have. He is too much cuddled. A king may be a great king, he built up an empire but his descendants fade out. So that we have to aim at something which raises the quality of the people and the quality, of course, is material well-being. It is important, you cannot have a starving man, a miserable person who thinks of the higher things of the life. Now, in this context, then we think, let us come down to material well-being. Immediately we are confronted with the problem of greater production. Obviously, without the greater production, there is not much to distribute—production in the field, production in the factory—big factories, small factories. Now, we have a good deal of experience before us, in what

other countries have done during the last 100 or 200 years, whether they are the western countries, which have grown so much in material prosperity or some of the Communist countries which have in the last thirty-forty years made a great deal of growth also in material prosperity and industrialisation. We can learn from all this, realising always that we have to function in our own country and in the conditions that prevail in our own country and in the background of our country, with the genius of our country, with the failings of our country. We cannot just try to make ourselves petty and rather futile imitations of some other country. Even if a few of us thought we could do it, we could never make our four hundred million people imitations of somebody else. Either we separate ourselves as groups from the 400 million, a few thousand or a few hundred thousand or even a million if you like and live a life apart. That is not good and even it was possible good enough, it is not possible. If you have a democratic apparatus, you will not be allowed to do so by the other 399 million ultimately. So you have to plan for all this. In planning, apart from agricultural progress which is inevitable, we see that industrialisation becomes essential in all its phases, heavy industry, middle industry, small industry, cottage industry, whatever you may like to call it. Industrialisation inevitably depends on certain basic factors out of which industry has grown in other countries—steel and coal and such like things. There is no industrialisation without enough steel, without enough coal. And you can have no rapid industrialisation without building machines yourselves. We come back to these basic things. Now, these things do not immediately produce results. They do not produce consumer goods which the people want but they produce the machine and the apparatus to produce those goods that the people want. Therefore, we have to concentrate on heavy industry, on steel, on coal, on machine building, and we have to concentrate in completely different sense. In the modern world on atomic energy as I said on electronics, the modern world becomes more and more electronically minded. I wonder, how many of you, ladies and gentlemen here, have much conception of electronics.

So, we are entering a new world not only in the physical sense of a Lunik going to the moon or some rocket going to the moon. We are entering completely a new world of intellect and thinking. We may be on the verge of all kinds of new discoveries or new disasters whichever way you like to look at it and for us to think in the old way is to stagnate. Now I am not going to enter into discussion about planning except that having kept those objectives in view, we try to the best of our ability in consultation with as many people as we can to come to some decisions about the perspective that we have, the perspective for the next ten, fifteen or even twenty years—not a rigid perspective, a flexible one, and at the same time a more precise plan for the next few years say five.

There is no virtue in five years and there is no rigidity even about those five years. But, one has to plan in order to proceed methodically and not just leave things to chance. I have never heard of anyone suggesting that, let us say, there is a war, it should be an unplanned war. I have never heard of anybody suggesting that carrying on of a war should be left to the Forum of Free Enterprise. There would [not] be much of the freedom left if [we are] to consult it. Free enterprise is a very fine thing. The individual must have enterprise, must have capacity. I dislike the regimented individual. I want the adventurous quality of the human being and all that. So it is not enterprise that one is against. There should be full field for it, but as far as I can see this conception of free enterprise is a conception of completely unfree enterprise. Very often words are used in an amazing sense today. It means today free enterprise, the creation of monopolies—which prevents others from progressing unless they come under the shadow of that monopoly. The monopoly may be good or bad, may do good in some ways, I admit that, but it encourages something the very opposite of free enterprise. That is, what is called, free enterprise today. It is extraordinary to me. I want the real type of free enterprise. May I remind you that even in our Constitution of India, it is laid down among the objectives and ideals we aim at, that we shall not encourage monopoly. You must remember always that. This is a common matter, common thing which is not confined to socialistic thought. Even modern capitalistic thought is opposed to monopolies, more or less in different countries, so that these words have no meaning to me. I want enterprise, I want the enterprise of the individual who tries to climb up Everest. I want the enterprise of a man, who risks his life and who has full capacity of growth, mentally and otherwise. I want that freedom because I do believe in the freedom of the individual. But what is, in a wrong way, called free enterprise today, ultimately leads to the lack of free enterprise. It leads inevitably to the growth of monopolies, and a monopoly inevitably leads to a restriction of the spirit of enterprise of individual except the few. That has to be remembered. Therefore, our clear thinking is affected by these words whether it is some slogan of the communist or some slogan of free enterprise. They are both divorced of thought and they are only meant to appeal to some sub-conscious emotion in us. We talk about the public sector and the private sector. If we have to have planning, obviously the activities of the public and the private sector must fit in with the broad plan you have. I do not say that you should ticket and docket everything, but it must fit in. Otherwise there is no planning if they pull in different ways. Now, in India, particularly today, there is need for every effort everywhere to be directed to our growth, to production etc. One should encourage not only the public effort but also the private effort. There is a vast field for private effort. After all the public effort

OPEN COMPETITION



(From *The Times of India*, 6 April 1960, p. 1)

necessarily has to be limited in scope, but it may, and it does I hope, control the strategic points of the economy. Look at land. Land of course is all private and it is going to be private, whether it is cooperative or not; it is a private sector. Look at this vast field of industry. My mind straggles at the vastness of it, and what can be done in this respect in the shape of middling industries, small industries. Millions and millions of enterprises should grow up in India. There is all that field. The controversy comes in, you must remember, over a very few selected items of big industry. That is where a kind of controversy comes in. Even there private enterprise or the private sector has some play, it may have more play. But I want you to realise how small, though very important, is the area of controversy. Why does not the private sector take charge of a million small enterprises in India, I want to know. Why does it not? One million or ten million, if you like middling enterprises, small enterprises—there is the field open to it. No, but it wants, sometimes, particularly some major enterprises, not only because it is major but presumably because it brings economic power in its train. Now that is a question for us to consider. Even though I may be Prime Minister, I do not believe in too much centralisation. Essentially I believe in decentralisation, of political power as well as economic power. I know, that in the modern world there has inevitably to be centralisation to a large extent,

and this is the problem of the modern world, to how to have the essential quantum of centralisation and yet preserve individual freedom. That is a big problem, I do not know how it will be solved. Anyhow I am all for decentralisation, and that is why I have welcomed it—this process of decentralisation in our rural areas beginning with Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh, where gradually all developmental activities are being handed over to the panchayats and the panchayat samitis and the zila parishads, ultimately all developmental activities. I think this is one of the bravest things that has been done in recent years, and even in the last six or eight months it has shown good results. I want it for the whole of India. So, I am all in favour of decentralisation. But of course a measure of centralisation becomes essential, whether it is a Central Government, whether it is a Central Supreme Court of India, whether there is a Central Army, these things are essential. One has to do it. There is the Central Planning Commission to a large extent. But essentially I believe in decentralisation, and not in the concentration of economic power in a few hands. Again, we come back to monopolies. That is the question before us. It is not a question of individuals and others, but a basic approach to things.

One thing I noticed in the President's address—he referred somewhat slightly, I thought—to the “so-called cooperatives.” What he meant by it, I do not know. Why a cooperative should be “so-called”, I do not know. Of course, there may be bogus cooperatives—that is a different matter—just like there may be bogus industries which are often to be found. But we do not normally refer to industry as the “so-called” industry because there may be bogus industries. We do not refer normally to the average member, I hope, of this Federation as a bogus industrialist because some of them might be. I do not understand that. Take cooperatives. On the ideological basis, let us begin with that. It seems to me obviously good for work to be done cooperatively. You can apply that to the international plane, national plane or any other plane, or industrial plane. It is good. That is a right way for humanity to progress. You may say that people are not ready for it or people are too selfish for it but we must accept that as an ideal, and in fact in every country whether it is capitalist or communist or socialist cooperation is an accepted ideal of working. It does, it functions in a very big way through all these countries. Why people get alarmed about it in India, has always been a matter of wonder to me. They say “well, cooperation will lead to communism.” If you once admit, that cooperation which is a very good thing leads to communism, it is a strange argument, and strange conclusion of the argument. Where does non-cooperation lead to, I should like to know. What does it lead to? Does it lead to anywhere at all? (Someone from the audience: What has non-cooperation led to?) That non-cooperation was against a foreigner and there was the most intense cooperation

within India amongst ourselves. I wish we could see that cooperation in India today amongst ourselves. The whole conception is I submit based on so much confusion of thought and vague fears and imaginings that I just cannot grasp it. Cooperative working need not always come of course. It does not mean that everything should be cooperative, there may be industries which are so small where the question of cooperation does not arise. Let them function. But the question arose in regard to agriculture. You may remember—or you may not—that the Royal Agricultural Commission appointed by the thirties by the British Government in India came to the conclusion—it consisted of a number of English experts plus a few Indians—that there is no future for Indian agriculture except through cooperation. There was no argument in those days. They came to that conclusion. Now, when I am using the word cooperation, I don't suppose those people were thinking in terms of joint cultivation. I know that, I admit that, but they said there was no future for Indian agriculture except in terms of cooperation. Those people who were not socialists or communists; they were conservative British people, conservative Indian people, who said that because there is no argument.

Therefore, we have to come to the conclusions, inevitably, and there is no other escape from it, and I am talking about what is called service cooperatives for the present—that cooperation is the right way and the only way for Indian agriculture. It is not to be imposed upon them, not everywhere. It all depends, because our basic approach to agriculture is the approach of the peasant-farmer, a peasant-farmer cooperating with farmers, in the village, in a larger group, in service cooperatives, as they do elsewhere in the rest of the world. That is the basic approach. I really would like you to understand, because I can often understand even the other person's viewpoint. I should like to understand, to have some glimmering of understanding, how any person in India, that is, can object to this ideal of peasant-farmers in India, that is, land to go to the cultivators, to the peasant, and those farmers having service cooperatives. That is not an arguable point. Then comes the next point of whether there should be joint cultivation or not. That, I admit, may be an arguable point, and therefore we have said that this is a thing, which we approve of as an ideal, but it depends on so many circumstances, first of all of course on the willingness of the people. Apart from that, it may be that in some conditions it is feasible, in some others it is not; there is neither any compulsion nor any rigid approach to the problem. Why then should one talk about what is called joint cultivation, for the simple reason, not as a high principle to be adopted everywhere, but in a country where the holdings are very small, as a rule—one acre or two acres, I do not know—but the great majority, eighty per cent or ninety per cent, I forget what the figure is, are these very, very small holdings. Now a person owing an acre

or an acre and a half, in some cases it is less than an acre, he cannot adopt any new devices, modern devices, since he is too weak economically and otherwise, but joining together with fifty or hundred others in his villages, he is in a much stronger position. He owns his land; nobody takes away his land from him. His share of the produce is given to him, his share of the work he does, is given to him. He loses nothing. He gains as always, strength from cooperating. But that, as I may say, is something which may be feasible somewhere, may not be feasible everywhere—it is not a universal thing. It may be feasible, let us say, for the wheat-growers; it may not be feasible for paddy-growers. These things can be looked at from a pragmatic point of view, what is feasible and what is agreeable. Why then all this shouting? I submit with all deference, that it has no relation to the reality. These are just slogans that we have learnt and that have been raised in authoritarian countries, to befog the mind. Whether the authoritarianism is of the communist kind or of the fascist kind, both are authoritarian. And sometimes I am apt to think that some people, who talk so much about democracy, really at the back of their minds would probably approve of some form of fascist authoritarianism. However, these are the problems before us and, as I said, we have to approach them pragmatically, with clear thinking, and without merely shouting at each other. They are difficult problems, as the problems of 400 million people must necessarily be, of the 400 million people living at a time of intense change all over the world, scientific change and all the other changes. I think we are fortunate in living at a time of such tremendous change, and we have to adapt ourselves to this change maintaining our roots in this country.

(b) Community Development and Social Welfare

101. To Roda Mistry: Women's Employment³

March 28, 1960

Dear Shrimati Mistry,⁴

I have seen your letter of March 21st and the report of the Women's Employment Scheme Industrial Cooperative Centre which you have sent for me. I am glad

3. Letter.

4. Roda Mistry (b. 1928); (wife of H.P. Mistry), Member, Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly, 1959-67, and Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council, 1968-80; Minister, Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1968-71 and 1978-80; General Secretary, APCC (I), 1977; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1980-86. President, Women's Employment Scheme, Secunderabad, at this time.

to learn from this report of the various activities that your Centre is taking up in order to give employment to women. I wish you success in your work.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

102. To Morarji Desai: Taxing Cooperatives⁵

April 2, 1960

My dear Morarji,

I mentioned to you the memoranda that Professor Gadgil⁶ gave me yesterday about the taxation on Cooperative institutions.⁷ I am also getting other papers, telegrams, etc. One from Salem is enclosed.

THE ENDURANCE TEST



Every means of raising resources for the next plan will be exploited,
says a report

[On left: Morarji Desai]

(From *Shankar's Weekly*, 27 March 1960, p. 17)

5. Letter to the Union Minister of Finance. File No. 37(95)/60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
6. D.R. Gadgil, Director, Gokhle Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona.
7. Budget proposals for income tax on cooperatives.

S. K. Dey⁸ has sent me a copy of the note which I believe he has sent you and the Finance Ministry about the possible consequences of taxing cooperative institutions as proposed. All this does deserve careful consideration, both from the practical point of view as well as the psychological. It would be unfortunate if, while we talk so much in terms of Cooperatives, we should produce an atmosphere opposed to them. You will no doubt have all these matters fully examined.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

103. To S.K. Dey: Community Development Important⁹

8th April, 1960

My dear Dey,

Your letter of 7th April.¹⁰ No one doubts the importance of community development and cooperation movement and I hope we shall be able to help you to the utmost of our capacity. There is no need to get excited about it. That does not help.

I wanted to see you and have a talk but this has not been possible and I am going away tomorrow to Maharashtra. When I come back, I hope to see you.

Yours sincerely,
J. Nehru

8. Union Minister of State for Community Development and Cooperation.

9. Letter. File No. 17(28)/59-62-PMS.

10. Extracts available, see Appendix 23.

(c) Food and Agriculture

104. To Bhai Fateh Jang Singh: Land Ceilings¹¹

March 26, 1960

Dear Bhai Fateh Jang Singh,¹²

I have your letter of March 25. I would gladly have met you, but I am too heavily occupied and soon President Nasser is coming here.

So far as the principle of land ceilings is concerned, I think that considering every aspect it is a right principle in conditions in India at present. But, of course, the manner of giving effect to it has to be considered separately in each case.

I hope you do not mind my sending your letter to the Chief Minister of the Punjab. I am doing this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

105. To Partap Singh Kairon: Land Ceilings¹³

March 26, 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

I enclose a letter I have received. There is only one thing in this letter which has induced me to send it to you. I am quite convinced about the ceiling on land, but the implementation of that without proper machinery may create trouble and that land may not be cultivated. As this point seemed to me deserving of consideration, I thought I had better send this letter on to you.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

11. Letter to a resident of Ambala.

12. Former Punjab MLA.

13. Letter.

106. To Partap Singh Kairon: Powdered Dry Leaf Manure¹⁴

April 2, 1960

My dear Partap Singh,

Your letter of March 31 about the use of dry leaves as a source of manure.¹⁵ I know very well that dry leaves have been used for a long time by putting them in pits, etc. Green manure is most important and should be encouraged. But what I wrote to you was something different. Dry leaves can be kept in a powdered condition and used with water. This has a special quality of lessening alkalinity which green manure has not got. That is why I drew your attention to this.¹⁶

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

107. To V.T. Krishnamachari: Land Ceiling for Sugar Factories¹⁷

2nd April, 1960

My dear VT,

You will remember my sending you a letter from Kamaraj about the question of land ceiling being applied to sugar factories. I have now received a reminder from Subramaniam saying that the Bill is being introduced in the Assembly on the 6th of April and they want an immediate reply from us in order to finalise the Bill.

I think that in such matters we should give freedom to the States. We may advise them, of course, if we think proper. But if they are keen on any course

14. Letter. File No. 31/73/58-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

15. Kairon had written: "Thus the suggestion that the dry leaves should be collected, powdered and applied to alkaline soils for reclamation purposes is a good one and should be adopted wherever possible but more economical and practicable way of reclaiming such soils is by growing green-manuring crops in the fields themselves. In large tracts affected by kallar, the tree growth is stunted and vegetation is scarce."

16. See also SWJN/SS/58/ Appendix 57.

17. Letter to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission. File No. 17(96)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

of action, they should be allowed to go ahead with it. Otherwise, there is friction and any policy we recommend is not seriously implemented.

I suggest you write directly to Kamaraj or Subramaniam.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

108. To C. Subramaniam: Land Ceiling for Sugar Factories¹⁸

2nd April, 1960

My dear Subramaniam,

Your letter of April 1st in regard to the question of land ceiling being applied to sugar factories. When I received Kamaraj's letter on the subject, I immediately forwarded it to the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission. I thought that he would be writing to you. I am again referring the matter to him.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

109. To Kailas Nath Katju: Land Ceiling¹⁹

April 5, 1960

My dear Kailas Nath,

I have today received a letter from Rameshwardayal Totla, one of your MLAs, about your Land Reform Bill fixing ceilings on land holdings. Obviously, I cannot interfere and I have no wish to interfere in this matter at this stage. But I thought I might send this letter on to you because some of the points he has made appear to deserve consideration. I am, therefore, enclosing that letter.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

18. Letter.

19. Letter.

110. To Rameshwardayal Totla: Land Ceiling²⁰

April 5, 1960

My dear Rameshwardayalji,

I have received your letter without date today. This deals with the Land Reform Bill for the fixing of ceilings. You have yourself appreciated that it will be very difficult and hardly possible for me to interfere in a Bill of this kind at this stage. All I can do is to send on your letter to the Chief Minister, which I am doing.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

111. To Chaudhary Ishrat Ali: Farm Credit²¹

April 6, 1960

Dear Ch. Ishrat Ali,

Thank you for your letter of the 4th April.

I suppose everybody knows and realises that our farmers need credit more than anything else. Perhaps enough was not done in this respect for some time past. But lately a great deal has been done and indeed I agree that more should be done. I do not remember the figures, but I think that the figures given for credit to farmers have shot up tremendously. The main purpose of our Reserve Bank and the State Bank, apart from other agencies, is to give that credit. Previously there were some difficulties in dealing with individual small farmers. We are trying to overcome them. But the best way to do so is obviously through cooperatives.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

20. Letter to Totla, Congress MLA, Madhya Pradesh.

21. Letter to a resident of Lucknow.

(d) Industry

112. To S.T. Raja: You are Doing a Good Job²²

April 1, 1960

Dear Raja,²³

I understand that you are expecting a letter from me. I am, therefore, writing to you to inform you that I have a high opinion of the work you have done in Hindustan Antibiotics and the progress that has been made there since you took over charge. This is not only my personal opinion, but the opinion of our Government. It is for this reason that I asked you to continue there when you came to see me a few days ago and I was glad that you agreed to do so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

113. To Swaran Singh: Iron and Steel Output Projections²⁴

April 1, 1960

My dear Swaran Singh,

This afternoon we had a meeting of the MPs Informal Committee on Planning. A paper had been circulated on industrial and mineral development in the Third Plan. In this paper something was said about iron and steel and coal, etc. Probably you have not seen this paper. So I am sending it to you.

There was a good deal of discussion on steel. First of all, we were asked why the target of ten million tons for the Third Plan had been whittled down to 8.8 million. The answer given was that that target remained and there was no desire to lower it, and further that Bokaro would be in the public sector. It was

22. Letter. File No. 17/272/57-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

23. (1914-1972); Dewan of Jawhar, Janjira and Akkalkot States in Maharashtra, 1942-46; Director, Food and Civil Supplies, Deccan States, Kolhapur Residency, 1946-47; Administrator, Tubewell Projects, Ministry of Agriculture, 1953-56; Managing Director, Hindustan Antibiotics Ltd, Pimpri, 1957-62; General Manager, Rourkela Steel Plant, 1962-64; Managing Director, National Coal Development Corporation Ltd., 1964-67.

24. Letter to the Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel. File No. 17(324)/58-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

hoped that Bokaro would start producing to some extent by the end of the Third Plan.

A number of other points were also raised. The future expansion of Bhilai had been stated in some paper as 1.8 million tons. My own recollection was that we had accepted the figure of 2.5 million tons expansion in the Third Plan.

The question of time lag in iron and steel production was discussed. This was in connection with the Second Plan. We were asked that a paper should be prepared on this question giving an objective analysis of various factors which had delayed production in the Second Plan.

From this it was argued that our estimates for the future of steel production may not be realistic and we would not be able to achieve them.

I agree that a paper might be prepared by the Iron & Steel Ministry. I further suggested that a meeting of this MPs Committee might be held at which you could be present and we could discuss this matter with them. The date is to be fixed, subject to your convenience, on the 15th or 16th April at 5 P.M. I shall not be there then as I am going out of Delhi on those days. That will not matter. I suggest that you fix this date as convenient to you and inform the Planning Commission about it. Also you might have a paper prepared as suggested.

At this meeting the questions to be considered will be iron & steel and coal.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

114. To the All India Manufacturers' Organisation²⁵

Mr. President²⁶ and friends,

It is very good of you to invite me to your annual sessions every year. I welcome this opportunity even more than my going to many other functions because we talk a great deal and rightly about our very big enterprises; perhaps we don't talk quite enough about that wide network of middle industries and small industries that are so essential for a nation's growth. The big enterprises are necessary of course because out of them flow the small ones. That is true that

25. Speech inaugurating the annual conference of the All India Manufacturers' Organisation, New Delhi, 3 April 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

26. N.D. Sahukar.

is the base, without that one cannot go ahead, and we have been laying, therefore, stress on the big things because otherwise our future progress will be slow. But we must always remember, that if this country is to be industrialised, there must be hundreds and hundreds of thousands of smaller industries growing up all over the country.

You please stop this thing. I am sorry I am getting a very cold blast from this cooling apparatus which I dislike intensely.

First of all, I should like to add my tribute to the President, to Shri Visvesvaraya, who happily we have still with us and who is now approaching the completion of his 100 years.²⁷ And we look forward to celebrating this event in a few months' time. In Shri Visvesvaraya's message which was read out to you, he expressed his disappointment at the rate of educational progress, especially technical education. Perhaps, if I may say so with all respect, the figures he had in mind are out of date. They are not present day figures. He said something about 80% illiteracy and about technical education also being very backward. Well, undoubtedly we want both general education and technical education to go ahead faster and faster. But the amount of success that we have achieved is very considerable and I am, therefore, sorry that Shri Visvesvaraya had in mind some old figures or statistics which are not applicable today. I cannot give you the present day figures of literacy or of the number of people that are being educated in schools and colleges. But they are very considerable. In fact, the problem that troubles us, at any rate, is not so much the quantitative one but the qualitative one. Quantity grows and will no doubt grow as it should. I don't know but I imagine that probably in our schools and colleges today the numbers concerned are anything from forty-two to forty-five millions, which is a substantial figure, larger than the population of most countries. And it is increasing at a rapid pace and the proportion of technical education is also becoming bigger and bigger. I will suggest to the Planning Commission or the Ministry of Education to take the public more into their confidence about this rate of growth of education giving them figures which an ordinary person can understand. How many people? Because when you talk about literacy naturally every percentage has to deal with four hundred million people. Now, the fact of the matter is that of the school going age in India, a very large proportion is going to school. It is not twenty per cent, it is not forty per cent, it is much more—fifty per cent and more than that. Probably I don't exactly remember the figure. It is going up and up. It is rather difficult to

27. M. Visvesvaraya, the founder-President of the All India Manufacturers' Organisation, turned 100 on 15 September 1960.

tackle the older generation of the mass of our village people although we try to tackle them; but the new generation that is growing up is going for school education, and I am talking of the villages, not of the towns, and this will go on increasing.

We are very conscious of the need of technical education. There again, I don't know how many of you have seen certain reports, certain figures, etc. about the rate of progress of ours, let us say, of engineers, rate of production of our engineers, if I may use the word. We should like it to be greater, but nevertheless it is very substantial and people are surprised to see it. People don't know what is happening in this country, that is the difficulty, and oddly enough, the people who know least of what is happening in this country are the people of this country. Foreigners, at any rate those who take interest, apparently know more about what is happening in this country, than many people who write long articles in the newspapers.

The other day a very eminent foreigner who came here mentioned to me that one of the things that surprised him most in India was the attitude he found among many people whom he met, of not only self-criticism, which is always good, but self-condemnation and self-deprecation and generally putting on a very lackadaisical attitude about things in India. He said the impression he had gathered from his study outside or inside India was completely different.²⁸

Now, I am not quoting a foreigner's instance because he is a foreigner. Not that but it is an interesting fact that just when the outer world has begun to realise, and realise with some shock or surprise, what India has achieved in the last few years and what she is achieving today and what she is bent on achieving tomorrow, just at this time some of our people are so out of touch with events in India, with what is happening in India, with our objectives in India, that becoming their lot, the lot of this country and generally trying to create an atmosphere of misery and sorrow; just at a time when every man's effort should be directed to creating an atmosphere of hope, of strength, of self-reliance. Rather extraordinary is this, and rather unique I should say, because most countries take pride in their achievements and our country, many of our people, seem to delight in insisting that we do not achieve.

Well, you have Mr President in your address referred to various matters in a spirit of friendly and cooperative criticism, which I welcome, because we want to be critical. It is bad to be complacent, it is equally bad of course, to lose all sense of perspective and live only in this miasma of self-deprecation. Much that you have said in your address probably most of us will agree with,

28. Paul H. Appleby also said it in his report; see SWJN/SS/35/p. 586.

certainly I will agree, not with everything that you have said, but with your broad approach there is a great deal of agreement. Nobody can deny the importance of agriculture, or the importance of industry, they are basic. And whether it is industry or agriculture there is one always, we have always to guard against one danger that is following the easy path of getting things from abroad, imports. Obviously we require imports, and where we require them, we have to get them. But that is the easy path of ordering something by telegram or letter instead of making it yourself. I think that, and you have pointed that out in your address, Mr President, there are many things that we can produce in this country, if we are pressed to do so under the compulsion of events. Indeed, in the last two years or three years since this foreign exchange crisis came upon us, we were compelled to produce many things which we could not get and we did produce them for the good of the country, and our people. [Applause] And therefore, I think, we can produce many other things, because you have referred to the fact that many industries here, small and middling, had to lower their production, they could not do as much as they would have done, because of restrictions on imports. Well, it may be that some imports were essential. But I am convinced that by and large it is good for this compulsion to make us produce things ourselves.

For the last, after all, for the last hundred years or more, we suffered under various restrictions, governmental, British governmental and all that; and we developed a mentality more specially in governmental circles, but also outside, of getting things, or importing machinery. And we built up a very big railway system in India which is over a hundred years old. But the whole policy underlying this system was to import everything that was important, not to make it here, which is absurd. In a hundred years, you could make anything. It was only under stress of war conditions, slightly, the First World War, more so, the Second World War, when these policies had to be varied against the wishes of the then government and things began to be produced in India under that stress. Otherwise, it was a governmental policy to get things from abroad and it was so much easier to send an order than to take the trouble to make a thing yourself. It is only in the last dozen years or so really that our railways have made progress in producing things in a big way, I mean, which they are doing. Yet even now, I find in our general apparatus, not railways only, that that old idea is lingering, which it is easier to fit something and the thing, that is made outside, may be better too. Well, I do not accept that.

Take another thing, take defence. In the old days, practically everything that our defence services required was very important, was obtained from abroad, chiefly from the United Kingdom. It was the normal course. In fact, our ordnance factories were not encouraged to make things which they might

have made. Again, it was during the First World War and later the Second World War that under compulsion of events, the ordnance factories had to make things because they could not get them from abroad. The routes were not opened. [...] It was again in the last few years, ten years or so, that our defence factories have expanded, ordnance factories, and we have built up an absolutely first rate Defence Science Organisation, comparable to any of its size and we are expanding and utilising even our present equipment and our present technical personnel in the service to great advantage. It is unused, it is wasted partly. People do not realise fully, I think, how much unused equipment and trained manpower there is in India. They are beginning to realise how much untrained material of manpower is wasted in India; that of course, there is so much in India which we can use. There is the masses of people which are just untrained manpower, which gradually you can train and improve but which you can use as untrained manpower, sometimes often enough. But then I am referring more specially to the trained manpower and equipment that we have spread out in India, whether it is in the railways or defence or in other major governmental factories or in private enterprise. There is plenty of it and we do not use it to the utmost, use it a little, not as fully as we can. Now, that is a great waste. Therefore, we have insisted, say in our defence, say in our railways or anywhere, that what we have got should be used to the utmost.

Some criticism has been made, sometimes, oh! this is not the function of defence industry or the public sector. That is a very odd criticism, everything that the public sector can do is its domain. Let us understand that. It is quite absurd for me to have a machine and not use it for production, because somebody does not like the idea. That aspect of the private sector approach does more harm to the private sector than anything. This kind of acquisitive action, this kind of frog in the well aspect—nobody should touch it only we can do it—do it by all means, if you can do it better. You have all the chance in the world but you will have to be pretty quick on your feet to catch up with others who are fast. I want, as much open competition between the public sector and the private sector as possible [applause] because I think that that will be good for both, both will have to keep on their toes, both will have to show results, both will have to see how they can produce efficiently, rapidly and cheaply. That is what I want. I want an element of competition, friendly rivalry between the two. The fact is that we have such an enormous domain of work to do that it seems to me quite absurd for this kind of approach of rivalry, approach of haggling and niggling at each other. I don't understand that. So far as the most of the industries that your organisation represents, those industries by and large cover such a vast field that there is no end to it—and all that vast field is as I said, by and large a field for the private sector, for private enterprise, these

middling industries and small industries—and I am quite convinced that this requires encouragement and help in every way.

In encouragement and help how should that be given by government, of course, cases differ. But there is far too much reliance on money being poured out from government coffers to private industry. How does it remain private industry if it is run largely by government funds? It is astonishing that every virtue of private enterprise is lost sight of when too much government help is required. It should be helped I have no doubt, facilities should be given, credits created, all kind of things. But it has to be remembered that it cannot be nursed too much, otherwise it loses virtue. Anyway I do think that it is our business to create conditions for the rapid spread of middle and small industries all over India.

In the President's address, I think there was a reference to Ludhiana. Now here, Ludhiana is a place which is an example of the growth of middling industry in a very big way, in a very satisfactory way, chiefly because of the enterprise and ability of the people running it. That can happen anywhere in India and facilities should be provided. Now, I find again, and here I am slightly criticising some of our semi-governmental agencies, that even the aid we give, or the institutions that we have created for aid, are drawn too much towards aiding the big shows and a little less the smaller shows. Somehow, even the money we set aside for aiding middle industry and small industry gradually drifts in to some big thing. The small thing remains well, either unaided or rather in the background. This has all surprised me that the very purpose for which we started those organisations is not completely fulfilled and the big thing may be good. I am not criticising that, but the whole purpose of governmental aid is to develop the middle industries, the small industries, to help private enterprise in those fields by loans, credits etc. Now, if all the money available and most of it is taken in large chunks to some big scheme, well, it comes in the way of that basic approach. Again, I say I am not criticising, the big scheme may be very good, it may be deserving of help, but I am merely saying that those, that particular approach of government, was meant for the middle to helping private enterprise in these smaller sectors.

So again, we hear a great deal and quite rightly about a balanced and integrated approach in India, balanced territorially, that is there is always a tendency for the industrialised cities to become bigger and bigger, more and more industries; for the industrialised areas also to get more and more of industry there because some facilities are there, and it is easier to take advantage of them. People like the easy path, they don't look ahead a little. Any person, any industrialist looking a little ahead, would I imagine, would like to start in a relatively newer field, not be restricted by the cities of Bombay and Calcutta

and such like things. It may be easier to begin with and you get this and that. But it is not easy in the long run nor better, if the thing is at all ahead. And therefore, I am insofar as possible for the discouragement of the starting of fresh industries in great cities in India. Let them spread out, let them go to new places, let them even go to the middle of an agricultural area. Of course, some things are essential. Electric power is essential. You cannot do without it and other things are essential; but even the essential things are more essential for the really big enterprises than for the middling one. The middling one can grow up almost anywhere subject to electric power, etc. So, I do think that from this point of view of spreading out our industry, this fact should be borne in mind; also from the point of view of not increasing the gap between our rural areas and our cities.

One of the most terrible things in India is a difference between the city and the village. There will never be any balanced economy in India from any point of view and more specially the psychological point of view if this vast difference remains. And if people go on being attracted from the village to the cities, the bright people come, they do no good to the cities. They may be unemployed here but they do a lot of harm to the village from which they come away. All the bright people leaving the second rate people in the villages. This has to be stopped; this can only be stopped by the village coming up, coming up in various ways, agriculturally and otherwise. That is one of the reasons why we have laid stress on cooperatives in villages, immediately a cooperative works efficiently and gives a different tone to the whole place there. But I am particularly referring now to industries, small industries being started in rural areas. And they will have plenty of scope for growth there and not many of the inhibitions that they might have difficulties and costs etc. and town land is expensive, everything is expensive in the towns.

Now, there is one thing may I express, I think the Chairman of the Reception Committee referred to this organisation starting an "Industrial Information Bureau" for new aspirants. I think that is an excellent idea and I should like to congratulate you upon it. And I am sure, that in this government will cooperate and give every help. In fact such information bureaus should really not exist in one place in India but in many places.

Right at the beginning of your address, Mr President, you referred to your having this organisation having pleaded for a planned approach to these problems for the last twenty years. I am glad, you reminded us of that. You may remember that it is more than twenty years ago, that the National Planning Committee was formed, and was it in 1939 or 1938, I think at the end of second half of 1938 the National Planning Committee was formed; of course before that there had been talk of planning and discussion and all that, but anyhow the first

organised attempt was made in 1938. It was an old committee, sponsored non-officially by the Indian National Congress but consisting of many official elements; well, at that time it was provincial autonomy, people came as Ministers, and also a number of experts whom those provincial governments allowed us to have. That National Planning Committee functioned rather in the air naturally, and soon after it got entangled, it got affected rather, by the war that came, to the Second World War, and many of us connected with the Committee were imprisoned and other things happened. It never finished its labours although I believe it produced about twenty or thirty volumes of sub-committee reports.²⁹ One element about planning which is very impressive is the quantity of literature that it produces. So this was my first experience of the National Planning Committee.

My subsequent and much greater experience has been about our Planning Commission which has produced most excellent papers on innumerable topics in uncounted numbers. That is inevitable of course, although it has drawn it back because you rather sink under the weight of all these papers. But it represents the constant effort at approaching these problems in a well thought-out intelligent way. You may be right, you may be wrong, it is immaterial because ultimately by discussion you weed out the wrong, and by experience. There can be no other way except the planned approach to any problem whatever the problem may be. It means the intelligent approach. To say that planning is not necessary is to say that intelligence is not necessary; that I hope no member of your organisation is prepared to say.

And now when we plan, and we are on the eve of the Third Plan, and we are busy now with the first draft which may perhaps with this first tentative draft see the light of day in a couple of months or so, I cannot say precisely, but thereabouts. It will be published for criticism, for discussion in Parliament, and after some months all the criticisms would be considered and a more final draft prepared. Even that final draft will not be final—as it is called, will always be a flexible draft because rigidity in such matters is bad. We have to adapt it to changing circumstances and the like.

Now, in this approach towards the Third Plan, what you have said in your Presidential Address, many of the things you have said I agree with, we agree with, that is, it has to be inevitably planned on a much bigger scale than

29. Set up by the Congress President, Subhas Bose, in October 1938, with Nehru as its chairman, the National Planning Committee appointed twenty-nine sub-committees to make detailed investigation and submit their reports in about a year's time. See SWJN/FS/9/pp. 367-402.

previously, it has to lay stress on agriculture, it has to lay stress on certain basic things on which all industrial plan depends—steel and coal and machine building, and oil, and of course power, and if I may add something else, technical education. These are the basis on which you build and you cannot build a superstructure without it. If you can put up some textile mill here and there it may do a little good. It is of no consequence to me wherever you want, a few textile mills or not, from any basic point of view. It may be of local consequence because it does not produce anything but a consumer good which is necessary no doubt, but not in that basic way. If the base is there, the textile mill will come if you want them at a moment's notice. And machine building, therefore, becomes important. Oil is something the importance of which everyone recognises and something which is supposed to be a bit of gamble, in the exploration for oil. Fortunately, if it is a gamble it is a gamble which is succeeding in India; I cannot say in what measure the success will come, but there is no doubt that it is succeeding in some measure. And only today or was it yesterday you might have read, a fresh strike of oil at Cambay, a new well. In fact round about this time tomorrow I shall be looking at it in Cambay.³⁰ And I am going soon now immediately after this Conference to Rajkot³¹ and from there to Cambay tomorrow morning.

So, all these things are basic things. But the most basic of all, after all, is the quality of the human being and when I say quality I refer of course to the training we give him, the technical training etc. but I refer even more to something, even more basic than the actual technical training you give. India will progress ultimately as every country does by the quality of these people, basic quality, not merely the quality which you get in a polytechnic, although that is important. But the basic character, hard work, ability of a people. A country progresses by that, not by numbers, not by shouting. If India has that, as I believe it has, it will progress. I believe not today but from many many years. I have felt convinced of the quality of the Indian people not only by bright examples but by my experience of the solid Indian peasant, [applause] and the artisan and you know how freely he works. You know that the artisan if put in a different environment becomes an extraordinary good, highly skilled worker on precision work in industry, because his hands and mind is used to precise work, he goes into it. An Indian learns precision work probably more rapidly than most of the people, starting from scratch. So, we have the material. We have I mean to say the raw material, the human material and almost

30. See item 3.

31. See items 2 & 14.

everything which if put together in a proper way can give rapid result. The thing that is necessary, therefore, is creating first of all a proper thought-out planned approach; and secondly, creating the atmosphere to encourage those people to do their utmost. Obviously, it is of the highest importance to create that atmosphere of hope, optimism which makes people work hard, work hard for an objective not for a daily wages or a monthly salary but when they have a sense of mission, a crusading spirit in them and when they think that what they are doing, however small it may be, it is part of a vast undertaking that is the building up of India. Then you get that air which draws the best out of human beings. All of us have bad in us and good in us. The question is which primes us, which can be drawn out. Gandhi had the capacity to draw out the best from individuals. The individuals who came to him were not very extraordinary, ordinary folk, but he made them rather extraordinary by bringing out the best in them and even ordinary folk, to some extent, became heroes and functioned heroically. It is an extraordinary thing. Well, we don't have Gandhis except very, very rarely but we have to remember that it is that spirit of somewhat forgetting ourselves in the cause we take up, somewhat losing that sense all the time of self-interest in a larger interest, and the capacity to work for that, that makes even a second-rate person first-rate and even of heroic mould; and that makes a country suddenly rise up to considerable heights of endeavour. Therefore, we have to think, that whatever we do, we encourage that feeling in the country and not discourage it. To create a feeling of lack of confidence, lack of self-reliance, a feeling akin almost to despair about the future is the very worst possible service that a person can render at a crucial stage of a nation's development. Normally, it does not matter.

Now you said Sir, in your address, and everybody says so that we are passing through, and the Third Plan, it means that we are entering a crucial stage. Of course, the whole world is passing through crucial stages and all kinds of entirely new novel problems are coming before us. We can only face them with pure thinking and stout heart, and with a sense of mission. If any of these elements is lacking then we do not make good to the extent that we should.

In another place, you referred to come down from big things to small, to tax-evasion, and you made a suggestion which rather interested me though how one is going to give effect to it, I am not quite sure. You suggested in your address Sir, that there should be a socio-psychological study of the working of the tax-evaders' mind. Now, this is a fascinating subject for inquiry [laughter] and may I say to you on behalf of Government that we shall gladly organise such a study. You will produce the subjects of study and we shall study them. [Laughter]

Just one or two more things. When we talk about starting talk about machine-building and all and putting up new plants, obviously the first thing one has to learn or do is to know how to design these things. Again in this matter, we have been very slow in the past; not now, I think, we are trying to catch up now, but we have been slow. And again the tendency to rush to some foreign firm, some foreign person, with a big name and a big reputation, it is so much easier to get that than take the trouble to think and do things for ourselves. But unless one designs oneself, one cannot get going. In most countries, whether it is the Soviet Union or elsewhere, every industrial establishment has its own big scale designing apparatus attached to it. It should, and that should happen in India, everywhere. I am surprised that even our big establishments here never thought on those lines. As I just said, our railways had existed for about 110 years. Now of course they are doing this; some of our steel plants have been there for fifty years or so and yet they are relying very largely on the outside, for fifty years not thinking of starting to build from scratch themselves. It is of the highest importance and I am glad that the attention is being paid to that in our steel, now new steel plants, etc., are paying great attention.

Talk about steel, you referred Mr President, to small steel production and in which private enterprise could help.³² I am sure that our Government will welcome that wherever that is feasible or possible and if you put forward any feasible scheme for this kind of small steel plants we will be very happy.

Now, I have mentioned, referred to a number of subjects which I had in mind, and which came to my mind on listening to you, to your address, but the field you are dealing with and the field we are dealing with is enormous. And we can talk about it at considerable length, and yet not exhaust the subject. But the main thing is not the detail, which should be considered in a detail, but rather the wide approach, the mental approach, the approach of some excitement and of dealing with mighty problems, and dealing with a subject which means changing the face of India, changing the four hundred million people. And if you think of it in that way you come out, we come out of our little selves and even we humble folk become rather big because every person who deals with a big problem, has sometimes the bigness of that problem cast upon him.

Thank you. [Applause]

32. Sahukar had suggested that steel-making in low shaft smelting furnaces should be encouraged in the private sector.

115. To Manubhai Shah: Small and Cottage Industries³³

April 4, 1960

My dear Manubhai,

Your letter of April 4 and the two pamphlets you have sent. As you have yourself stated in your letter, I am anxious that small and medium industries should spread out in India in a big way, and I have been laying stress on this. It is rather difficult for me to say exactly what allocation should be made for them as this is always a matter of adjustment with other demands.

There is one aspect, however, to which I referred in my address to the All India Manufacturers' Association. This is our dependence on raw materials from abroad for our medium and small industries. Because of the strict import regulations a year or two ago, a complaint was made that our small industries programme was suffering. This was presumably true. But I have a feeling that our people did not try hard enough to produce those raw materials. Some were produced under compulsion of events. The moment this stress goes, people take to the easier way of getting them from abroad.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

116. To V.T. Krishnamachari: Small and Cottage Industries³⁴

April 5, 1960

My dear VT,

I have been laying stress in recent speeches on our trying to produce more of the basic raw materials which are desired by our small and medium scale industries. In the past two years or more, our production has suffered because of the limitations on imports of these raw materials. On the other hand, these limitations have given some kind of an impetus for the production of these raw materials.

33. Letter to the Union Minister of State for Commerce and Industry. File No. 17/(139)/58-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

34. Letter. File No. 17 (139)/58-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

I wonder if particular attention is being given to this question of our producing some of these basic raw materials. The Planning Commission could well think of that and thus not only add to our production, but remove some bottlenecks. This could be done especially in consultation with the Ministry of Commerce & Industry. I gather that we have the necessary primary indigenous raw materials in plenty in the country. It should not, therefore, be difficult to produce those basic raw materials and produce our goods.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

117. Cabinet Meeting: Foreign Exchange Allocations for April-September 1960³⁵

Cabinet considered the summary dated April 4, 1960, from the Ministry of Finance (Department of Economic Affairs).

2. Having regard to the very difficult foreign exchange position, Prime Minister observed that the Ministries concerned should make every possible effort to produce indigenously as much as possible of the goods and materials which are being imported. With the machinery, equipment and technical personnel available in the country, it should be possible to achieve a substantially higher rate of production than at present.

3. During the discussion regarding the proposed allocations of foreign exchange to the various Ministries, the Minister of Defence made the point that the allocation to his Ministry might have to be increased in case it was found necessary to incur any emergency expenditure. The Minister of Commerce & Industry stated that the amount of foreign exchange allotted to his Ministry would not enable industrial production to be maintained even at its present level. He pointed out that, unless the imports essential for increasing indigenous production were agreed to, it would not be possible to reduce foreign exchange expenditure on future imports. Prime Minister agreed that the Government's efforts to conserve foreign exchange resources during the current year should not be allowed to have the effect of reducing industrial production in the next year and suggested that the point raised by the Ministry of Commerce & Industry should be carefully examined by the Ministry of Finance.

35. Meeting of the Cabinet, Case No. 192/19/60, Wednesday, 6 April, 1960. File No. 40/1/CF/60, Cabinet Secretariat.

4. Subject to the above, the proposed foreign exchange allocations to the various Ministries were approved. Defence requirements would be separately considered by the Defence Committee of Cabinet.

118. To Sri Krishna Sinha: Third Plan Steel Target³⁶

8th April, 1960

My dear Sri Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 6th April. I think that there is every possibility of our keeping our steel target for the Third Plan at 10 million tons; also to begin with Bokaro during the Plan period.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

119. To D. Sanjivayya: Visit by East German Industrial Experts³⁷

April 8, 1960

My dear Sanjivayya,

Your letter of the 7th April about the visit of a team of East German experts to Madras State. We have felt all along that this visit is premature at this stage as some committees are considering these very problems. But since the Madras Government had made a commitment, we told them that we had no objection.

I do not know how far it will be possible or desirable for this team to take up other work which necessarily will have to be in the very initial stages. However, you have written to the Ministry of Steel, Mines & Fuel and they will no doubt deal with this matter.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

36. Letter to the Chief Minister of Bihar.

37. Letter to the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.

(e) Labour

120. To K. Ram: Posts & Telegraph Employees' Strike³⁸

You might see the attached letter from the Federation of P. & T. Employees. In reply to it, please say that I am always willing to meet their representatives, but it is almost physically impossible for me to do so in the near future. I am going out of Delhi now, returning for a day, and then going to Assam. On my return, I shall be fully occupied with important talks with Premier Chou En-lai and I can have no interviews then. After Premier Chou En-lai goes, I shall have to leave for England.

[DECENCY DEMANDS...]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



No, Sir, I'm not asking for another extension—I want to be confirmed before I retire!

(From *The Times of India*, 1 April 1960, p.1)

38. Note to PPS, 8 April 1960.

I do not wish to say anything about the claims of the P. & T. employees. But it does seem to me very odd and unfortunate that at a crucial moment in our history, when our future depends upon the success of our Second and Third Five Year Plans, any section of Indians should think of striking and of demanding something which must necessarily affect the whole basis of our planning. As it is, the position is a very difficult one. It would become almost unsolvable if additional burdens are cast on the community generally. That such a sort of striking should come after a high powered Pay Commission has reported, is still more unfortunate.³⁹

[STRIKE FOREVER]

You Said It

By LAXMAN



By the way, what are our demands? We've been on strike so long that I've forgotten them!

(From *The Times of India*, 26 March 1960, p.1)

39. For Central Government employees' strike in July 1960, see SWJN/SS/61.

(f) Education

121. To Zakir Husain: Don't Resign over Aligarh Muslim University Trouble⁴⁰

March 26, 1960

My dear Zakir Husain,

I returned from my visit to South India this afternoon. Soon afterwards I got a message from the President asking me to see him. I went there this evening. He showed me your letter to him. I had not then received your letter to me. It was only rather late at night that I read your letter to me.

I found that the President was not fully acquainted with recent happenings in regard to the Aligarh University.⁴¹ I therefore told him all that I knew about it and what the present position was. I mentioned to him also your brief talk with me on this subject when you came here last.

I suggested to the President that he might discuss this matter with the Vice-President, Dr. Radhakrishnan.

I know very well how distressed you have been and must be now about these various happenings. I have not been happy at all myself. But I do not see what purpose would be served by your resigning from your present position. My advice to you would certainly be not to do so. That is what I told the President also.

May I add that your offering to resign, though not justified, was perhaps right. But there the matter should end and you should not pursue it further.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

40. Letter to the Governor of Bihar.

41. See SWJN/SS/58/item 2, fn 41.

122. Reply to Prithvi Singh Azad: Allocation for Cricket⁴²

30 मार्च, 1960

प्रिय महोदय,⁴³

आपका पत्र दिनांक 22 मार्च, 1960 मिला, जिसके साथ आपने ट्रिब्यून अखबार में छपे तीसरी पंचवर्षीय योजना में क्रिकेट शीर्षक समाचार की एक कतरन भेजी है।⁴⁴ हकीकत यह है कि शिक्षा सम्बन्धी योजना में युवक कल्याण कार्यों के लिए दस करोड़ रुपये की रकम की व्यवस्था किए जाने का सुझाव दिया गया है। इन कार्यों में शारीरिक शिक्षा, श्रम तथा समाज सेवा कैम्प, खेलें आदि शामिल हैं। खेलों के लिए कितनी रकम की व्यवस्था की जाए इसका अभी निश्चय नहीं किया गया है।

भवदीय

सर्व प्रकाश खन्ना

प्रधानमन्त्री जी के निजी सचिव

[Translation begins:

30 March, 1960

Dear Sir,⁴⁵

Received your letter of 22 March, 1960, with which you have sent a cutting of a report from the *Tribune* with the heading Cricket in the Third Five Year Plan.⁴⁶ In fact, there is a proposal to provide ten crore rupees for youth welfare in the education allocations. These will include physical training, labour and social work camps, sports and so on. It has not been decided how much should be allocated for sports.

Yours,

Sarva Prakash Khanna

Private Secretary to the Prime Minister

Translation ends]

42. Letter. Prithvi Singh Azad Papers, NMML.

43. Azad, a former director of the Institute of Physical Culture in Saurashtra, was setting up Self Culture Institute at Chail; see also SWJN/SS/47/item 164 and SWJN/SS/48/item 95.

44. The news report in the *Tribune* on 22 March 1960 said that six crores had been set aside for cricket out of a total of 11.2 crores for sports.

45. See fn 43 in this section.

46. See fn 44 in this section.

123. Inauguration of the Janki Devi Mahavidyalaya⁴⁷

चेयरमैन साहब,⁴⁸ बहिनो और भाइयो और लड़कियो,
लड़कियाँ दोनों खानों से कुछ बाहर रह गयीं, बहिनों और भाइयों कैसे? [हँसी] मुझे आज यहाँ आने में, दो वजूहात से, वजहों से खुशी है। एक तो ज़ाहिर है कि शिक्षा का फैलना और लड़कियों की तालीम का विशेषकर एक ऐसी बात है जिसमें हम सभी को दिलचस्पी होनी चाहिए और है भी बहुत कुछ और मुझे ख़ासतौर से है। दूसरे यह कि मेरे पुराने मित्र और साथी बृज कृष्णजी ने जब मुझे यहाँ आने को कहा और मैं समझा कि उनकी एक पुरानी इच्छा पूरी हो रही है इससे, तो उसमें शरीक होना भी मैंने खुशी से स्वीकार किया।

तो आपने अभी यहाँ कुछ भाषण शिक्षा के बारे में सुने और ख़ासतौर से यह कि जो यहाँ महाविद्यालय बन रहा है वह किधर झुकेगा, किधर देखेगा, कुछ गाँधीजी का नाम भी इस सिलसिले में आया और आचार्य विनोबाजी का शुभकामनाओं का जो सन्देशा आया है⁴⁹ वह भी शायद आपने देखा हो, जैसा कि अक्सर विनोबाजी की बातें होती हैं, उसी तरह यह भी ज़रा अनोखी बात है। यह मैं अच्छे मायनों में कह रहा हूँ, बुरे मायनों में नहीं कह रहा हूँ। ज़ाहिर है कि वह बहुत दूर तक देखते हैं। विनोबाजी और हम लोग जो फंसे रहते हैं अपने रोज़मर्रा के कामों में, दिक्कतों और परेशानियों में, जिन बातों तक हमारी निगाह नहीं जाती है उनकी पहुँच जाती है। उसमें उन्होंने लिखा है, “मैं याद से कह रहा हूँ, कि सियासत और मज़हबों के दिन लद गये और अब दिन आये हैं साइंस के और रूहानियत के।” काफी गहरी बात उन्होंने कही है। मेरे लिये कुछ कहना इसके बारे में तो बिल्कुल एक फ़िज़ूल बात हो क्योंकि मैं कोई खास ऊँची पदवी किसी खाने में भी नहीं रखता इन दोनों में। लेकिन यकायक जो मेरे ऊपर असर हुआ उनका सन्देशा पढ़कर वह यह कि एक फ़िक्के में उन्होंने कितनी गहरी और मौजू बात कही है आप खुद उस पर सोचें कि उसके माने क्या हैं? मैं उस पर नहीं जाता क्योंकि उसके माने बहुत दूर तक पहुँच सकते हैं और मेरी राय में सही तरफ जाते हैं।

लेकिन बात तो यह है कि हम जिस रास्ते से अभी आगे बढ़े हैं हिन्दुस्तान में उसमें शिक्षा की, तालीम की ज़रूरत है हरेक की। लोग कहा करते हैं कि ख़ास एजुकेशन हो, हर एक को शिक्षा हासिल करने का मौक़ा मिले। यह ठीक बात है और ऐसा होना चाहिये लेकिन शिक्षा किस तरह की हो इसका दारोमदार दो बातों पर है। यानी कहाँ तक वह क्रौम को आगे ले जाती है

47. Speech inaugurating the Janki Devi Mahavidyalaya, 30 March 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

The College was established in memory of Janki Devi, by her two sons, Sri Krishna, the journalist, and Brij Krishna Chandiwalla, the social worker and Congressman. See *National Herald*, the *Times of India* and *Tribune*, 1 April 1960.

48. Sri Krishna, chairman of the governing body of the college.

49. The *National Herald* reported Vinoba Bhave's message as follows: "the days of politics and religion were over and those of science and spirituality had come to stay. If education imparted kept this thing in view, he was sure the Mahavidyalaya could become a model of what Gandhi had wished."

और एक मजबूत ज़मीन पर उसको क़ायम रखती है। ख़ाली हवाई नहीं कर देती और कहाँ तक वह आजकल की मजबूती भी हो और कहाँ तक आजकल की दुनिया की जो हवा है उसको भी वो समझती है। अब विनोबाजी ने कहा है साइंस और रूहानियत। इसमें वो दो बातें ले आये। साइंस में वह आजकल की दुनिया को ले आये हैं और रूहानियत में वह हमेशा की दुनिया को ले आये हैं। और खासकर जो हमारे देश में समझा जाता है कि जिधर एक क्रौम का ध्यान कुछ न कुछ लगा रहता है। हर देश आज यह समझता है कि आपके देश में वह खूबी नहीं है। हर देश वाले समझते हैं कि हम किसी न किसी बात में दूसरे देश से आगे बढ़े हुए हैं। दूसरे देश में जाइये। वह अपनी निस्वत ऐसा ही समझता है, लाचारी है, कमज़ोरी है हर इंसान की, हर क्रौम की क्योंकि वह अपने को ज़्यादा जानता है और अपनी क्रौम को, ज़्यादा उसकी निस्वत अपनी राय क़ायम कर सकता है और दूसरे जरा दूर होते हैं। तो इन दो बातों को जोड़ दिया आजकल की दुनिया से साइंस की, और कल जो गुज़र गया, या कल जो आने वाला है, हर ज़माने में जिसकी ग़ालेबन ज़रूरत रहेगी, यानी रूहानियत या स्पिरिचुएलिटि की, इन दोनों को जोड़ने से ग़ालेबन नतीजा अच्छा होगा।

हमारे यहाँ हिन्दुस्तान में हज़ारों सवाल हैं और इस समय देश बदल रहा है काफ़ी तेज़ी से, और बदल रहा है महज़ यह नहीं कि एक कारख़ाना खड़ा हो गया है और एक भाखड़ा-नांगल हो गया या ऐसी बातें हुई बल्कि बदल रहा है उस बुनियादी तौर से कि लोग बदल रहे हैं लोग बदल रहे हैं, नये पेशे, नये काम, नयी तालीम बहुत सारी बातें आ रही हैं और सबसे बड़ी क्रान्ति आखिर में देश में होती है एक माने में पढ़ने लिखने से, क्योंकि उससे चीज़ें निकलती हैं। पढ़ाई सब में बड़ी क्रान्तिकारी चीज़ है एक देश में आम पढ़ाई ज़्यादातर लोगों की। वो बात हल्के-हल्के या काफ़ी तेज़ी से हमारे देश में आ रही है। उसमें भी स्त्रियों की पढ़ाई, लड़कियों की पढ़ाई ज़्यादा क्रान्तिकारी है। इसलिए कि उनका असर घरो पर होता है और घर एक समाज की एक जड़ होता है। घरेलू ज़िन्दगी, घर एक जड़ होता है। पुरुष लोग पढ़ें, लिखें, उसका घर पे असर होता है। स्त्रियों का ज़ाहिर है ज़्यादा होता है तो एक समाज की एक बिल्कुल जड़ में उसका असर पहुँचता है। एक माने में कहा जा सकता है कि इस समय हमारे देश में एक बड़ी क्रान्तिकारी चीज़ यही है कि लड़कियों की पढ़ाई बढ़ती जाती है और उससे सारे समाज की जड़ में असर पड़ता है और पड़ेगा।

कुछ लोग थोड़ा सा इससे कुछ परेशान होते हैं, घबराते हैं लेकिन और उसमें हमेशा जब कोई भी क्रदम उठाया जाये तो उसमें, तो उसमें कुछ न कुछ अंदेशा होता है ग़लत बातें हो जाने का। होता ही है, लेकिन इसमें कोई शक नहीं कि यह एक आवश्यक बात है कि चाहे इसमें कोई अंदेशा भी हो, ख़तरा भी हो और एक अच्छे तरफ ये मुल्क को ले जायेगी। चुनांचे मैं, पढ़ाई का जो कुछ हो, विशेषकर लड़कियों की पढ़ाई को बहुत आवश्यक समझता हूँ। क्योंकि एक तो अच्छी है ही चीज़ वो मुल्क के बढ़ने के लिए लेकिन क्योंकि यह बहुत आवश्यक है, मैं समझता हूँ कि हमारे समाज का जो ढँग है वह हिला दिया जाये और कहीं-कहीं बदल दिया जाये, उखाड़ दिया जाये। साफ मैं कहता हूँ आपसे शब्दों में। हमारे समाज के ढँग, मैं इस वक़्त याद रखिए उन बातों को नहीं कह रहा हूँ जो हमारे बुनियादी ध्येय हों, हमारे लक्ष्य हों, हमारे सिद्धान्त हों, हमारी रूहानियत हों, वौ और बातें हैं। मैं तो कह रहा हूँ आपस में समाज के जो संगठन होते

हैं उसका। समाज के संगठन में एक बड़ी भारी बात जातिभेद की है, कास्ट सिस्टम की है हमारे हिन्दुओं की समाज में, जिसने काफ़ी भारत को गिराया और काफ़ी बंधन कर दिये कि बढ़ नहीं सके आगे। काफ़ी उसने ऊँच-नीच की और लोगों को दबा के रखा। काफ़ी उसने बहुत सारे लोगों को, जो हमारे हरिजन भाई इत्यादि कहलाते हैं उनको बढ़ने नहीं दिया। तो यह तो एक बहुत ही बड़ा गुनाह किया। हमारे समाज में यह हुआ जिसके खिलाफ़ कितने ज़ोर की आवाज़ ग़ान्धीजी ने उठायी थी। औरों ने भी उठायी है और जो हट रहा है, मुझे खुशी की बात है। हालांकि अब तक उसका काफ़ी असर है, बहुत काफ़ी असर है और हमारी राजनीति में उसका असर आ जाता है जो कि ग़लत बात है, और भी ग़लत बात है।

हमारी जो स्त्रियों के साथ हमारे समाज का बर्ताव रहा, अच्छा नहीं रहा। हाँ, व्याख्यानों में, भाषण में, लेखों में वो सीता और सावित्री की प्रशंसा हो जायेगी और ठीक है, सीता, सावित्री, दमयंती बढ़ें लेकिन जो समाज का दस्तूर है, भावनायें हैं, क़ायदे हैं, क़ानून हैं वो उसके सब विरोध में थे। यहाँ की स्त्री जाति के अब कई क़ानून बने हैं पिछले पाँच-सात बरस में, आप जानते हों शायद, जिसने कुछ यह बोझा कम किया है और नये तरफ़ दिखाया है। और सबसे बड़ी बात तो यह है कि बढ़ने के मौक़े उनको मिले हैं, वो बढ़े हैं और उससे वो खुद अपने को सम्भालें, कोई दूसरा तो सम्भाल नहीं सकता है लेकिन अब तक मैं तो हैरान होता हूँ। अभी वहाँ सौराष्ट्र में और सौराष्ट्र एक भारत का बहुत सुन्दर हिस्सा है और अच्छा है, खुशहाल है। यानी बमुक़ाबले और बहुत जगहों के सौराष्ट्र बड़ी खुशहाल जगह है। वहाँ इतनी बड़े नम्बर में आत्महत्या होती है स्त्रियों की कि तबियत घबरा जाती है, क्यों? क्यों होती है आत्महत्या? इसलिए कि वो खपती नहीं, समाज के झगड़े, घरेलू झगड़े जो भी कुछ हों, समाज का कसूर है और यह आमतौर से यानी यह न समझिए कि बड़ी गरीबी से होती है यह नहीं। वो दूसरी बात है महज़ एक, एक कुछ जमती नहीं अंदर समाज के, ठीक चलती नहीं और ऐसे हिस्से में, भारत के सुन्दर हिस्से में, खुशहाल हिस्से में कि जो समाज को दिक्कत हो कि ढँग में ख़राबियाँ यह हैं। तो ये सब बातें हैं।⁵⁰

इसलिए यह आवश्यक बात है लोग राजनीतिक क्रान्ति की चर्चा करते हैं, राजनीतिक क्रान्ति हमारे यहाँ हुई, हम आज़ाद हुए, आर्थिक क्रान्ति का कहते हैं, जो हो रही है। हमारे यहाँ औद्योगिक क्रान्ति, इण्डस्ट्रियल रेवोल्यूशन क्या-क्या आ रहे हैं लेकिन उसके साथ यह आवश्यक है कि सामाजिक क्रान्ति हो जिससे समाज निकले, अपने बहुत कुछ पुराने और ख़राब बंधनों से और एक नयी दुनिया का सामना कर सके। हाँ, अपने पुराने सिद्धान्त को रखें तो इन सब बातों के पीछे तो आखिर में शिक्षा है, ठीक शिक्षा। और यह जो महाविद्यालय यहाँ शुरू हुआ है, यों भी एक इसका स्वागत करता था और विशेषकर जिस ध्येय को रखकर जो लक्ष्य, जो लक्ष्य उसका था, उसको रखकर के किया है और भी स्वागत होता है। और आज एक शुभ काम के लिए आपने मुझे बुलाया, खुशी से मैं आया और अपनी शुभकामनाएँ आपको देता हूँ। [तालियाँ]

50. See also item 2, fns 18 & 19.

[Translation begins:

Mr. Chairman,⁵¹ sisters and brothers, and girls,
The girls fall into a separate category from both the bahnnon aur bhaiyon.
[Laughter] I am very happy to be here for two reasons. One is obviously because it means spread of education, especially for girls, in which everyone must be interested. I am particularly interested in this. Secondly, an old wish of my friend and colleague, Brij Krishnaji, is being fulfilled, so I accepted gladly coming here and participating in this task.

You have heard some speeches about education and more particularly about this new college and the direction in which it will lean. Gandhiji's name cropped up in this connection and you may have also seen the message of good wishes that came from Acharya Vinoba Bhave.⁵² As everything else about Vinobaji his message is also unique. It is obvious that I am not trying to point out that it is good or bad. Vinobaji looks far ahead and sees things which we, engrossed in the difficulties and problems of day-to-day living, often fail to. He has said in his message—I am saying this from memory—that the days of politics and religion are gone and the time has now come for science and spiritualism. What he has said is of very deep significance. It will be absurd for me to say anything about this because I have no particular standing in either field. But I was profoundly impressed by the significant and extremely relevant things he has said. I will leave you to think about it yourselves. I shall not go into it. What he has said is of far-reaching significance.

However, the fact of the matter is, no matter which path we choose, education is very essential for India. People say that there should be mass education so that everyone can get an opportunity to improve his position. But the kind of education that is provided depends on two things. One, how far it succeeds in keeping the nation's feet firmly on the ground, and secondly whether it comprehends the trends of the modern age. Now, Vinobaji has talked about science and spirituality. Spirituality and the world hereafter is something that India has always been preoccupied with. Every nation considers itself superior to the others. This is the common failing of every individual and nation that it arrogates to itself the right to speak with more authority than the others, about a particular matter. However, there is no doubt about it that it will be a very good thing to merge the past and present with the future, science with spirituality.

51. See fn 48 in this section.

52. See fn 49 in this section.

Innumerable problems confront the nation today. India is changing very rapidly, not merely because an industry has been set up or Bhakra-Nangal has come up, but in a very fundamental way. The people's way of life is changing, with new education and new professions becoming available. The biggest revolution that can occur in a country is, in a sense, through education because it generates other activities. Mass education is the most revolutionary thing in a country. That is slowly spreading all over India, particularly, education for women. The influence of women on a household is great and the house is the basis of society. It is obvious that women's education has more impact on a household than men's. So, this is something that is affecting the society at its very roots. In a sense, it can be said that the most revolutionary thing that is happening in the country today is the spread of women's education which has an impact on the entire society.

Some people are a little perturbed by this but any new step is bound to create a fear of making mistakes. But there is no doubt about it that even if there is a little fear or danger, education is bound to take us on the right path. I consider the education of women very essential because for one thing, it is necessary for a nation's growth. More important, I feel that it is very essential to shake up our society a little and create an upheaval. I am not talking, at the moment, of our fundamental principles and goals or spirituality, but of the social organisation and the caste system, which has existed in India for thousands of years. It is the caste system which has been responsible for the downfall of India. It has shackled the country by creating feelings of superiority and inferiority and suppression of some sections of society which prevented the country from growing. This was a great crime against society. Gandhiji and others before him raised their voice in protest against it, and I am glad to say that it is gradually disappearing. However, even now, the caste system has a tremendous influence in the country, and has an effect even on politics, which is worse.

Our society has not behaved well towards our women. In speeches, lectures and articles, Sita, Savitri and Damayanti may be praised. But all our social traditions, laws and attitudes have been opposed to women. In the last few years, as you know, new laws have been passed which have chalked out a new path and lightened the burden on the women. The most important thing is that they are now getting an opportunity to grow. I am amazed to learn that the number of suicides among women is highest in Saurashtra which is a beautiful, prosperous state compared to the rest of the country. The causes are incompatibility, problems in the house, or society, etc. This is the fault of the society. Please do not think that poverty is the cause. Generally speaking, it is because of the women's inability to fit into a particular society. It is particularly

bad when it happens in a prosperous part of the country.⁵³

Therefore, when people talk of a political revolution and an industrial revolution, it is extremely important to have a social revolution at the same time, so that the society may get out of its old shackles and face the challenges of a new age. We must certainly hold on to our fundamental principles. For all this, education is extremely essential. Therefore, the establishment of this college is to be welcomed particularly because of the goals that it has set for itself. You have invited me to participate in an auspicious task, which I accepted gladly. I extend my best wishes to you. [Applause]

Translation ends]

124. To M. Mujeeb: Charges Against Jamia Millia Islamia⁵⁴

7th April, 1960

My dear Mujeeb,

Your letter of 6th April.

I have not heard of any charges against Jamia Millia made by members of Parliament. Nor do I know who these members of Parliament are who are said to have made these charges. I think it would be not only unnecessary but undesirable for Khwaja Sahib⁵⁵ to appoint a committee of enquiry merely because somebody has made some charges. I think the proper course would be for a reply or an explanation of those charges to be sent to those MPs. Not knowing who they are, it is difficult for me to say anything about them.

Anyhow, it is not proper to appoint a committee of enquiry in a casual way. If a person is bent on making irresponsible charges, he is not likely to be deterred by a committee which he may well run down.

I would advise Khwaja Sahib and you not to take any such step at this stage about the appointment of a committee.

I hope you do not mind my forwarding your personal letter to the Education Minister. I am doing this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

53. See fn 50 in this section.

54. Letter to the Vice-Chancellor of Jamia Millia Islamia.

55. A.M. Khwaja, Chancellor, Jamia Millia Islamia.

125. To Humayun Kabir: Ministries of Education and Culture to Collaborate⁵⁶

April 8, 1960

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of the 30th March about fuller collaboration between your Ministry and the Ministry of Education. Certainly, if you have any suggestions to make, you might send them to me or, better still, you might discuss them with Shrimali⁵⁷ and then inform me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

126. To Gurukul Kangri Vishwavidyalaya⁵⁸

I send my good wishes to the Gurukula Kangri Vishwavidyalaya on the occasion of its diamond jubilee. Some months ago, I visited this institution and gained some knowledge of its working. It seemed to me that it was doing good work. I spoke on that occasion, and laid stress on the desirability of laying stress both on the cultural ideals of the country as well as the modern spirit of science,⁵⁹ which is so important in the world of today. It is only by this combination of the two that we can fulfil our destiny.

56. Letter to Kabir, Union Minister of State for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs. Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.

57. K.L. Shrimali, Union Minister of State for Education.

58. Message on the occasion of their diamond jubilee, 8 April 1960. From the *National Herald*, 9 April 1960.

59. See SWJN/SS/48/item 92.

(g) Culture
(i) General

127. The Guru Granth Sahib⁶⁰

This morning I was presented with a copy of the English version of Shri Guru-Granth Sahib translated and annotated by Dr. Gopal Singh.⁶¹ In looking through this monumental work, I have admired the labour and scholarship of the translator and I must congratulate him on this achievement.⁶² He has performed a worthy and necessary task. I am glad that this famous book has now been brought to a wider circle of readers. It is a great book and all who read it will profit by it. To the Sikhs it is Holy Scripture. But, even by others who are not Sikhs it is greatly respected and many have profited by its reading.

I welcome this fine edition of Shri Guru-Granth Sahib.

128. To K.L. Shrimali: Jayaprakash Narayan's Gandhian Studies Institute⁶³

29th March, 1960

My dear Shrimali,

Your letter of the 28th March about Jayaprakash Narayan's proposal to start an Institute of Gandhian Studies at Banaras.⁶⁴ I have no clear recollection of his having spoken to me about this matter. Possibly he might have mentioned it.

In your letter, you say that care should be taken that there should be no overlapping between this Institute and the Gandhi Peace Foundation. The Gandhi Peace Foundation is more especially meant for this very purpose, that is pursuit and practice of the Gandhian way of thinking and action. I do not quite

60. Message on receiving the English translation of Guru Granth Sahib, 27 March 1960. File No. S.A. 16/1, Part XXV, Personal File of Secretary, 1960, Sahitya Akademi Records. Also available in JN Collection.

61. Dr. Gopal Singh (Pen name Dardi) (1917-1990); a Punjabi writer and journalist; nominated MP, Rajya Sabha, 1962-68; Ambassador to Bulgaria and the Carribean, 1970-76; Chairman, Minorities Commission, 1980-84; Lt. Governor, Goa, Daman and Diu, 1984-87, and Governor, 1987-89; Governor, Nagaland, 1989-90.

62. This was the first complete English translation of Shri Guru Granth Sahib.

63. Letter.

64. The Gandhi Vidya Sansthan, Varanasi, was established in February 1962.

understand, therefore, what the purpose is of another Institute of Gandhian Studies being established. Also it is not clear to me who is going to establish it except for Shri Jayaprakash Narayan.⁶⁵ Then again, why should a professor from England come here for this purpose? All this is vague and confusing. Jayaprakashji is functioning in a way now in India which to my mind is very much opposed to the Gandhian way. Anyhow, he is connected with political activities in a sense. He blesses the Swatantra Party, he encourages the RSS and, above all, he condemns our Government. He wrote a pamphlet about his social philosophy⁶⁶ which I found it difficult to understand.

I do not see how we as a Government can support any such proposal, more particularly when the Gandhi Nidhi is doing this work in a big way.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

129. To A.P. Jain: Poor Account-keeping at the Kidwai Memorial Fund⁶⁷

March 31, 1960

My dear Ajit,⁶⁸

I am enclosing a note on the Auditor's report in regard to the Rafi Ahmed Kidwai Memorial Fund. It appears from this that P.C. Bajpai has not been keeping accounts properly. Once we had to deal with this difficulty previously and it was not easy to put matters right. Apparently now payments have been made out of a fund which has ceased to exist.⁶⁹

65. Its founders were Jayaprakash Narayan, Sampurnanand, Shankar Rao Deo, K. Arunachalam, E.W. Aranyakam and Nabakrishna Choudhuri.

66. Nehru is probably referring to one of these two: From Socialism to Sarvodaya (25 October 1957) and A Plea for Reconstruction of Indian Polity (30 September 1959). See Bimal Prasad (ed.), *Jayaprakash Narayan Selected Works*, Vol. 7 (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 2007), Documents 118 and 182, pp. 226-254 and 434-499.

67. Letter to Jain, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Saharanpur, UP, and former Union Minister of Food and Agriculture.

68. A.P. Jain was a member of the committee to administer the Rafi Ahmed Kidwai Memorial Fund, and a trustee of the Rafi Ahmed Kidwai Memorial Trust which was registered on 4 May 1959.

69. The Rafi Ahmed Kidwai Memorial Fund received Rs 980, 306. 36 NP. between November 1954 and 12 October 1958 after Rafi's death on 24 October 1954. See ngo.india.gov.in/ngo/rakmtrust.pdf, accessed on 12 June 2014.

I do not quite know what we can do about it. A sum of Rs. 50, 000/- was given to you from the Memorial Fund for the Seva Nidhi Trust, Saharanpur. Perhaps these monies can be paid out of this Trust.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

130. To R.M. Hajarnavis: Banning *Lady Chatterley's Lover*⁷⁰

I am clear that this book *Lady Chatterley's Lover* should be banned.⁷¹

2. I have read the note of the Deputy Minister of Law and I appreciate what he has said.⁷² It may be desirable, for the future, to have an Advisory Committee or Board. We may also consider the amendment of the law on the subject. But I have no doubt in my mind that so far as this book is concerned, it should be banned. In case our order is challenged in a court of law, the matter can be faced.

3. I do not think it is necessary to send this book for opinion to any committee or Board. Our decision should be enough for the present.

131. To K.L. Shrimali: Over-ambitious YMCA⁷³

8th April, 1960

My dear Shrimali,

A deputation from the YMCA came to see me yesterday. They gave me a paper which I enclose, and spoke to me on the lines of what is contained in this paper.

I told them that I appreciated the work that had been done by the YMCA in many places in India and I should like it encouraged where possible and feasible.

70. Note to Hajarnavis, Deputy Minister of Law, 8 April 1960. File No. 40(214)/60-61-PMS. Also available in File No. 41/14/59-Poll (1), MHA and JN Collection.

71. First published in 1928 in Italy, the book was banned in the UK until October 1960. See http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/november/10/newsid_2965000/2965194.stm and http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/witness/november/10/newsid_4417000/4417788.stm, accessed on 5 May 2014.

72. See Appendix 25 for Hajarnavis's note of 7 April.

73. Letter.

But the programme they had drawn up was a very ambitious one and had overlapped with much of our planning work. Normally Government would not be able to help in many of these activities.

I told them to see you and Humayun Kabir.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(ii) Visva-Bharati

132. To S.R. Das: Dhiren Mitra as Artha Sachiva⁷⁴

March 30, 1960

My dear Vice-Chancellor,

I have your letter of the 28th March in which you refer to the resignation of Shri Kshitis Chandra Chaudhuri from the post of Artha Sachiva of Visva-Bharati and also sent me a resolution of the Council recommending Shri Dhiren Mitra's name for this post for one year in the first instance.

I agree with this recommendation, and Shri Dhiren Mitra should be appointed Arthva Sachiva for one year in the first instance with effect from the date he assumes office.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

133. To Humayun Kabir: Fundraising for the Tagore Centenary Fund⁷⁵

April 2, 1960

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of the 31st March about the Rabindranath Tagore Centenary Committee and Fund. I am glad of the progress you are making in this.

You have suggested that I should write to J.R.D. Tata⁷⁶ inviting him to join the Committee. I am reluctant to do so. I do not wish to write directly to any of

74. Letter. File No. 40(9)/60-65-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

75. Letter.

76. Chairman of the Tata Iron and Steel Company Limited.

these big industrialists in a matter concerning funds. You can ask him for a definite answer.

I am agreeable to having a meeting of the Committee on the 27th April at 9-15 A.M. We should have it at the Vice-President's house. The date and time will, of course, be fixed after consulting the Vice-President.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

134. To S.R. Das: A Japanese at Sevagram for Santiniketan⁷⁷

April 5, 1960

My dear Shri Das,

I enclose a letter I have received from a Japanese who has been working at Sevagram in Wardha. I have not quite understood it and what he wants me to do, but as he refers to you and says that you have invited him to go to Santiniketan. I am sending this to you. Perhaps you can throw light on this matter.

Evidently he wants me to recommend him to you. I personally do not know him, but I can find out about him if you so desire.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

(h) Health

135. To Mohanlal Sukhadia: Irresponsibility of *Organiser*⁷⁸

April 7, 1960

My dear Sukhadia,

I enclose a letter from Rajkumari Amrit Kaur⁷⁹ with which there are other letters. As you will notice, the *Organiser* of March 28 has made very serious

77. Letter.

78. Letter to Sukhadia, Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

79. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Punjab and former Union Health Minister.

charges⁸⁰ against Dr. Sherwood Hall.⁸¹ Dr. Hall has described these charges as "vicious lies". The *Organiser* has the most irresponsible people and I am not prepared to accept what they say as true or that this matter is capable of enquiry.

At present I am interested in the TB Sanatorium continuing to function, and in trying to find out if what Dr. Hall writes is correct.

Will you please let me know about this matter immediately? It is very improper for any doctor to strike on the eve of an operation in a case. It is against all standards of professional ethics. In the midst of all these charges and counter-charges, something should be done immediately to see that the hospital does not suffer.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

136. In the Rajya Sabha: Drinking Water⁸²

Programme for Testing Drinking Water in New Wells in the Union Territories

Shri M.P. Bhargava:⁸³ Will the Minister of Health be pleased to state;

- (a) whether any programme has been drawn up by Government for testing drinking water in new wells and tube-wells in the Union Territories; and
- (b) whether any survey has been made to find out the number of people who drink water from tanks in those Territories?

The Minister of Health (Shri D.P. Karmarkar): (a) and (b) The information is being collected and will be laid on the Table of the Sabha in due course.

80. According to Amrit Kaur, the *Organiser* accused Dr Hall of coercing and enticing doctors and patients to convert to Christianity at a TB sanatorium of the Methodist Mission of America, located at village Madar, five miles north-east of Ajmer. It cited the example of one Dr Bhatt, who could have become Superintendant but was tricked into resigning when he refused to convert. See "The Shameful Story of a Missionary T.B. Sanatorium" in *Organiser*, 28 March 1960, p. 5.

81. (1893-1991); Korean missionary specialist in tuberculosis; worked in Korea, and from 1940, in India; returned home in 1984.

82. Oral Answers to questions, 14 April 1960, 14 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, cols 817-820.

83. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from UP.

Shri M.P. Bhargava: May I know whether it is within the knowledge of the hon. Minister that there are no adequate arrangements for good water supply in the various colonies which are coming up all round Delhi?

Shri D.P. Karmarkar: In parts of Delhi, as the House is aware, the arrangements for water supply are not satisfactory. Though water is bad and it is chlorinated, yet in some of the localities I can see that water might be a little scarce.

Shri M.P. Bhargava: May I know whether there are any arrangements for the people to get their water tested for drinking purposes in the Union Territories of Delhi, Manipur and Tripura?

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know whether it is a fact that the Government has been stressing that this should get all priority, that is to say, the provision of drinking water to the population should get priority. In view of this, why has the Government not taken any steps in respect of territories under its direct control to provide the minimum facilities for drinking water?

Shri D.P. Karmarkar: Sir, I am as anxious as the hon. Member for giving very high priority for drinking water but there is another thing which has higher priority and that is the availability of financial resources.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Do I understand that the Government has become so bankrupt that it is not possible to find the requisite finances to provide drinking water in the Union Territories?

Shri D. P. Karmarkar: However warm my friend may be, the money that is necessary for fulfilling all our schemes is not there. We have to function according to the limitations imposed by finance. Obviously, the Government does not want to liquidate itself.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Has it been ascertained from the Planning Commission or the Ministry of Finance that they do not have the requisite finance for providing even the barest minimum necessities in the matter of drinking water?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is not a matter for argument. We are determined to do our utmost to supply drinking water to every village. There the matter ends. Obviously, we have not got an Aladdin's Lamp with us. It takes a little time but

this is in our programme that every village in India should be given drinking water and we have in fact taken some steps to that end even now.

Shrimati Savitry Devi Nigam:⁸⁴ How much money was allocated during the Second Five Year Plan for provision of drinking water facilities and how much was spent for the rural areas?

Shri D.P. Karmarkar: Each of the Community Development Block had Rs. 50,000 and then the Planning Commission had budgeted some account—sizeable amount—under development schemes for village water supply. Besides that we had an amount of Rs. 28 crores for rural pipe water supply of which a substantial amount has been spent. As the Prime Minister just now said, we are giving top priority to this and we shall be happy to allot as much as possible for rural water supply.

Shrimati Savitry Devi Nigam: I do not want to be told “A substantial amount has been spent”. I want to know the actual amount spent. I understand only very little has been spent.

Shri D.P. Karmarkar: Mere emphasis does not reduce the amount. A sum of Rs. 18 crores has been spent. [Interruptions] And that is not all. We are going to spend something more in the Third Five Year Plan.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Sir, you have seen how the Prime Minister has dealt with this question and how the Health Minister is dealing with it. I suggest that such questions should be dealt with a little more seriously and with less frivolity.

Shri Jaswant Singh:⁸⁵ The Prime Minister just now stated that there is an attempt to supply drinking water to every village. In that case there are villages where there is no drinking water at all and water has to be brought from a distance of 15 to 20 miles. While steps are taken to....

Mr. Chairman: The question related to Union Territories. The Prime Minister replied that we should try to provide drinking water to every village. “Every village” includes villages in the Union Territories and they are making attempts to provide drinking water to every village in the Union Territories.

84. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from UP.

85. Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from Rajasthan.

Shri D.P. Karmarkar: Yes, Sir, it will be done in due course.

(i) Science and Technology

137. To Naushir Bharucha: Nuclear Energy⁸⁶

March 26, 1960

Dear Shri Bharucha,⁸⁷

I have received the letter of the 23rd March which you and some other Members of the Informal Consultative Committee on Nuclear Energy have sent me. We all recognise the importance of the development of nuclear energy and are trying to do our best to this end. I am sending your letter to our Planning Commission.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

138. In the Lok Sabha: Indo-Danish Cooperation in the Nuclear Field⁸⁸

Question: ⁸⁹Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that Indian and Danish cooperation in nuclear field is proposed; and
- (b) if so, what is the nature of the co-operation?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): (a) and (b). Yes, the Chairman of the Danish Atomic Energy Commission, Professor Niels Bohr, who was in India recently, has proposed collaboration between Denmark and India in the peaceful uses of atomic energy, and has invited Dr. Bhabha to Denmark to discuss the matter.

86. Letter.

87. Independent, Lok Sabha MP from East Khandesh, Bombay State.

88. Oral answers to questions, 31 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLI, cols 8857-8859.

89. By Congress MP Raghunath Singh; Janata Party MP Arjun Singh Bhadauria; and GNP MP P. G. Deb.

Shri Raghunath Singh:⁹⁰ May I know the basis of the co-operation?

Shri Sadath Ali Khan: It is the policy of the Government to collaborate with friendly foreign countries in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Shri Tyagi: Are the Danes in a very advanced stage of nuclear research?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): It is always difficult to compare. But Professor Niels Bohr is probably the most famous scientist in this matter in the world. There is no doubt about his position in the world. Denmark is not, I suppose practically, so far as its actual work and equipment are concerned, among the more advanced nations. Theoretically, yes. Our cooperation in scientific matters is not extended by the quantum of advance that a country has made. In some ways Denmark, having produced one of the greatest scientists of the age, is very advanced. What they are actually doing, I cannot definitely say. We can always profit by these exchanges.

Shri P. G. Deb: What is the number of Indian students exchanged for this training?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: With what country?

Shri P. G. Deb: With Denmark.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not sure if any have gone yet; I rather doubt it.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether this cooperation in the nuclear field between Denmark and India is visualised in the matter of erecting some of our plants or reassessing them or is visualised in the exchange of results of research in the field?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Mostly this is exchange of information—first of all to keep in touch with developments, exchange of visits of scientists to see what is being done for themselves, material and sometimes equipment and lastly joint projects. I do not think there is any present suggestion of any joint project with Denmark. It is chiefly the first three items that I mentioned.⁹¹

90. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Banaras, UP.

91. See SWJN/SS/57/item 142 and Appendix 23.

Shri Mohanty:⁹² May I know whether it is a fact that a British delegation has visited India in the meantime for this very same purpose and whether it is also a fact that the Government of India are in negotiation with the Government of USA and the Government of France to develop nuclear energy in this country? If so, what is the firm basis Government is going to take in this field?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: These delegations were very high-powered delegations from the USA, from the UK, from the Soviet Union as well as other countries. Our own development of atomic energy has been so marked that other countries are greatly interested and when they come here, they express views of sudden surprise that we have developed so much. So, all this exchange is going on and we want to profit by all this co-operation and collaboration. I cannot say specifically when, where and what shape it will take.

139. To M.S. Thacker: Science Education Commission ⁹³

April 2, 1960

My dear Thacker,

The Minister of Education writes to me that it is proposed to appoint a Science Commission. This is at the instance of the Planning Commission. He says that he discussed this matter with you or rather the idea originated from you. I am not clear as to what the Science Commission will do.

A list of names has been sent to me of Indian scientists and it is further suggested that two or three distinguished scientists from U.S.A., U.K. and the U.S.S.R. should also be appointed to this Commission. Your name has been mentioned as Chairman together with two or three other names. You would, of course, make an excellent Chairman, but you are so overburdened with work that I wonder if it would be fair to you to cast this additional burden on you.

Anyhow, I should like to know what this proposed Science Commission is supposed to do. How long will it function?⁹⁴

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

92. Surendra Mahanty, GNP, Lok Sabha MP from Dhenkanal, Orissa.

93. Letter to Thacker, Secretary, Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs. File No. 17(391)/60-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

94. See also item 143.

140. To Vishnu Sahay: Utilisation of Scientific Manpower⁹⁵

I have read this long note. It is rather difficult for me to give a definite opinion at this stage. Many of the points made in this note are relevant. We have to balance two factors. One is that we should encourage and take full advantage of the brighter scientific or technical persons in our services and not allow them to languish under some routine difficulties. The other is, as apparently pointed out by Dr. Bhabha,⁹⁶ Dr. Kothari⁹⁷ and Prof. Thacker that we should not adopt too lax a policy.

2. In the case of scientists serving in departments and institutions which are purely scientific, it may be said that the head of the institution, who presumably is also a scientist, is a suitable person to judge of the quality of the work being done by those working under him. But in case the head of the department is a non-scientist, he may not perhaps be always in a position to judge of the scientific merit of someone under him or be able to take a proper objective appraisal made of his work.

3. We have at present roughly six major groups of scientists:

- (1) In the Atomic Energy Department;
- (2) In the C.S.I.R.;
- (3) In the Defence Science Department;
- (4) In other Government Departments which are not mainly scientific;
- (5) In the universities; and
- (6) In private employ.

4. We are not concerned with those in private employment. We need not at present take into consideration those working in the universities, though it is desirable to aim at some kind of a common level or have not too great differences between them and those in governmental institutions.

5. So far as the three main governmental scientific employing agencies are concerned, that is the Atomic Energy, CSIR and Defence Science, as these are almost entirely manned by scientists, we may on the whole leave it to them to determine merit and encourage it as may be considered feasible.

95. Note to the Cabinet Secretary, 7 April 1960. File No. 17(60)/59-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

96. H.J. Bhabha, Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy, and Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission.

97. D.S. Kothari, Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of Defence.

6. Thus we have now to deal with scientists employed in governmental departments which deal principally with other matters also. It is here that difficulties have arisen. The broad outlook of these departments will normally concern itself with matters other than scientific work and so a scientific worker may not get a proper appraisal or recognition of his merits. We will be looked upon just as any other worker.

7. I think it would be a good thing if we consulted the three scientists named above, namely Dr. Bhabha, Dr. Kothari and Prof. Thacker, and got their reactions to this note of the Cabinet Secretariat. After that, we can come to final decisions. Dr. Bhabha is at present in Delhi and perhaps he could be consulted before he leaves Delhi. The other two are normally resident in Delhi. Perhaps copies of this note might be sent to each of them separately in a confidential cover and their advice sought. After that we may consider and finalise this matter.

141. To K.C. Reddy: Ramakrishna Centre on Reducing Construction Costs⁹⁸

April 8, 1960

My dear Reddy,

A Swami member of the Ramakrishna Centre in South Africa (he is a South Indian) came to see me the other day. He is doing very good work there. He wanted some help from us.

In the course of our talk, he told me that by adopting some new methods of building, costs had been greatly reduced. He gave me some papers about this. I enclose these papers. You might have them examined by your experts and find out if we can profit by this information.⁹⁹

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

98. Letter to Reddy, Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply. File No. 17(374)/59-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

99. Reddy replied on 11 April: "Many thanks for your letter of 8th April about the application of the Modular System of Proportional Coordination in Housing, papers in respect of which were given to you by a Swami of the Ramakrishna Centre in South Africa. I am having the literature examined in our National Buildings Organisation and shall see that we profit by the information given to the extent we can."

142. To K. Kamaraj: Atomic Power Station in Madras¹⁰⁰

April 13, 1960

My dear Kamaraj,

Your letter of April 7th about the location of an atomic power station in Madras State.¹⁰¹ What you say about the demand for power in Madras is quite understandable. Indeed this demand exists in almost all parts of India. I have no doubt that Dr. Bhabha will keep this in mind. But atomic stations have necessarily to begin in a small way. As soon as we are satisfied with them, they will spread out, I hope, fairly rapidly. It is important that the first atomic station should be in the most suitable place from the point of view of what is required for such a station. We must make this a success, otherwise future progress will be impeded.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

143. To M.S. Thacker: Science Education Commission¹⁰²

April 13, 1960

My dear Thacker,

Your letter of the 6th April 1960 about the appointment of a Science Education Commission. I have no doubt that we have to pay much more attention to our science education, more especially in the primary and secondary schools.¹⁰³ But I confess that I am doubtful about the appointment of a commission for this or indeed for any other purpose. At the present moment we are struggling with the draft of our Third Five Year Plan and Education and other Ministries are complaining bitterly that their demands are not being fully met. While their complaints have justification, the opposition to them is also valid because our resources are limited. Some kind of a very careful balancing process has to be adopted to make our resources go as far as possible.

100. Letter to the Chief Minister of Madras. File No. 17(278)/57-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

101. Extracts available; see Appendix 24.

102. Letter. File No. 17(391)/60-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

103. See also item 139.

Just at this particular moment the appointment of a Commission on this subject would I think not be appropriate. That does not mean that we should not go ahead with science education in our schools. We do not require a Commission for that purpose. If necessary, a small committee can advise quickly. You yourself say that the proposed Commission will take about a year and a half to complete its labours. It will no doubt produce a learned and interesting report which will be printed and circulated and placed on the table of Parliament and all that. Probably it will be another year before we come to grips with it. All this seems to me rather wasteful of time and energy even though the subject is important. I can well understand any group of scientists advising such an approach because it is a logical approach. But I do not see it producing any results for two or three years at least and during this period we shall be all the time waiting for the result of the Commission.

I am, therefore, inclined to think that two or three competent men should prepare a brief report on science education in schools, having regard to conditions in India at present, and that they should do so in the course of two or three months. We can go ahead with this matter at a fairly early date. Later, after the Third Plan has got going, we can take up the question of science education in a bigger way.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

144. In the Rajya Sabha: US Officials Visit Monazite Deposits¹⁰⁴

Monazite Deposits in Kerala Visited by the Officials
of U.S. Atomic Energy Commission

Shri P.N. Rajabhoj:¹⁰⁵ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that a United States delegation headed by the officials of U.S. Atomic Energy Commission visited the monazite deposits in Kerala in the first week of March, 1960; and
- (b) if so, what was the purpose of their visit?

104. Written answers to question, 13 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, col. 714.

105. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay.

The Prime Minister and In-Charge of the Department of Atomic Energy (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) Yes.

(b) The purpose of the visit was to enable the delegation to obtain first-hand knowledge of some of the mineral resources, which are available for the development of India's atomic energy programme.

145. To K.L. Shrimali: Science Education Commission Unnecessary¹⁰⁶

April 13, 1960

My dear Shrimali,

Please refer to your letter of March 31st about the proposal to appoint a Science Education Commission. I have been thinking about this matter for some time. I wrote to Thacker about it and he replied naturally favouring such a Commission. But I have remained unconvinced and have sent him a reply, a copy of which I enclose.¹⁰⁷

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

106. Letter.

107. See also items 139 and 143.

IV. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

(a) General

146. To IFS Probationers: Duties¹

The Prime Minister met the 1960 batch of IFS probationers on 27th March, 1960. The first few minutes were spent by P.M. in asking individual members certain questions on "World Affairs".

He asked the following questions:-

1. What is the most important thing that causes concern to everybody in the world today?
2. Where does India come into the picture in regard to the cold war between two Power Blocs?
3. What problems will the Summit Conference tackle when it meets?
4. What does non-alignment mean? Is it a negative or a positive concept?
5. Is it feasible to have World Federation?
6. On what factor is the foreign policy of a country based?

To these questions the probationers gave their answers.

Thereafter, the P.M. spoke to them and said that they were most welcome to the Foreign Service and they should join it with good cheer. It was not only a question of earning a living but one must have an attraction for one's job and an urge to build. Any service had its obligations and responsibilities and as the Indian Administrative Service and Indian Foreign Service were superior services, the responsibilities and obligations were greater. The higher one went, the more responsible one's work became. In a democratic structure, the eyes of the people are on you and in the IFS you have not only the eyes of your own people but also of other countries.

It should be your endeavour to get the goodwill of the country in which you are posted and approach it in a friendly and receptive way. You should go there free of prejudice and yet at the same time you should not cut yourself away from your roots in India for after all your primary job is to represent this country. You have also to understand the urges and movements of India and have to remain emotionally in tune with your country.

Due to various reasons of history and geography, certain countries like to impose themselves on others and other countries resent this. The world would be a dull place if there was regimentation and domination all round. Before the

1. Undated and unsigned note on Nehru's talk on 27 March 1960 to 1960 batch of IFS Probationers. File No. F.S.P.-I/Prob-3/60/P.A., MEA.

World War I, the British, French and the Germans looked down upon others and yet the British position was of a different kind.

The Prime Minister then spoke about China and said that throughout history, the Chinese have looked upon themselves as the Highest of the High and upon others as inferiors. Even when they have been friendly, they have always been looking down upon their friend to a certain amount of condescension. In the last few hundred years, they have imposed their language, customs etc on the Manchurians and Tibetans. Although Lenin had spoken about the autonomy of States, in fact, even in the Soviet Union this autonomy is not a very effective force. On the contrary, India's approach historically has been broadly to live and let live. Although in South East Asia, we have invariably come face to face with China, there had been no conflicts between the two countries for two thousand years. Now a remarkable new development has taken place over the border. The border has now become alive and this is a new turn of events.

The present age is the age of science and technology. If we have to get anywhere, then we must master science. You see before you Industrial Revolution of India taking shape and this is going to make a tremendous difference in our lives.

You have all joined the Foreign Service with ideas that it is a most thrilling and exciting life and let me assure you that 90% and sometimes 99% of life is dull with flashes of light here and there. Even war is dull mostly and then there are moments of immense and terrific excitement. More of our young people in the IFS repent in life when they find the IFS was dull. Outside excitement can never keep you going because you will be posted in all sorts of places; in hostile and isolated environments and unless you have something inside you, you will not be able to give your best and if you get involved in this business of seniority etc. then you will make yourself miserable. But by and large, the life in IFS is interesting, worthwhile and satisfying. If you know the language of the country you go to, it will help things greatly. When you go out, do not sniff at the people because then people will sniff at you. Be friendly and others will be friendly to you.

147. To N.R. Pillai, S. Dutt, M. J. Desai: Cuba ²

The Cuban Ambassador³ came to see me this afternoon. He conveyed a special invitation from President Fidel Castro to me to visit Cuba. He did not expect me to go all the way to Cuba only but in the event of my visiting Latin America, he hoped that I would include Cuba in my programme. I assured him that it had long been my wish to go to Latin America but unfortunately this has not been possible. I hoped that some time in the future I shall be able to go to the countries of Latin America. I would personally welcome the opportunity to visit Cuba.

2. The Ambassador then said that his President would like us to appoint a *Chargé d'Affaires* in Cuba so that we may have direct accounts through him of events there. There was much misinterpretation of what was happening in Cuba and if we had a special representative there, he would be able to get correct reports. The Cuban Government and people valued our friendship and advice very highly. A new generation had grown up there which had been influenced much by India for whom they had great respect. Many persons in this new generation had previously been connected in committees for the freedom of India.

3. So far as Cuba's broad policies were concerned, they adhered to the collective treaty for the defence of the Americas. At the same time, their foreign policy was an independent one. Thus they had spoken in the UN condemning certain happenings in Hungary, as also in Tibet. If necessity arises, they would support our attitude in regard to our border disputes with China. Also they would support us in regard to Kashmir. In fact, the present Government was applying a new mind to all these questions and coming to new conclusions.

4. The Cuban Government had also referred to American interference in Guatemala.

5. Cuba was a very small country. It is not tied to any dogma or pre-conception. They examine every question on merits. They are not anti any country. They are only pro their own country. They are passing through a difficult period. The land reforms which they were introducing naturally hurt some interests, both national and international and this created difficulties for them.

6. The Ambassador then referred to the proposed conference at Havana of less-industrialised countries from Latin America, Asia and Africa. The UAR and Indonesia had already accepted their invitation and they very much wanted

2. Note to SG, FS, CS, 28 March 1960.

3. Eufenio Soler Alonso.

India to take an important part in this conference. It was proposed to draft an economic charter for such less industrialised countries. The conference was likely to take place before the UN General Assembly meeting.

7. They would like full participation of India and would particularly like Shri Krishna Menon to attend this conference if he goes to UN as our representative. Shri Krishna Menon was popular and well-known in the Latin American countries.

8. The Ambassador said that India's experience and success in meeting her problems would be very valuable to this conference. He again repeated that Latin American countries had been much influenced by India's struggle for independence and our broad philosophy in this struggle. Also by my writings. In spite of the great distance between India and these countries, there were many social and political similarities between them.

9. I told the Ambassador that we would certainly like to be represented at this conference and participate in it but I could not say who will be able to go there. Shri Krishna Menon had a heavy responsibility here as Defence Minister and it was by no means certain that he would be able to go to the UN General Assembly as our representative.

148. To B.N. Chakravarty: Pursuing Seats on UN Councils⁴

I have never been in favour of our thrusting ourselves forward and canvassing for seats in these various Councils and Committees. Where there is a good chance for us to be elected with the goodwill of others, we should stand for election, but where we have to oppose newly independent countries especially, I would not stand.

2. In your note above,⁵ you suggest that we should not try to get into the Security Council next year. I agree, for the present at least. We can see how matters stand later.

3. Trusteeship Council. I agree with what you say.

4. Economic and Social Council. I agree with what you say.

5. Indeed, I agree with your other recommendations also.

4. Note to Special Secretary, MEA, 4 April 1960. File No. 1 (9)-UN-II/60, MEA.

5. See Appendix 15 for Chakravarty's note of 3 April.

149. To S. Dutt: Dorothy Woodman is Angry⁶

I am sending you two letters and two reports from Diwan Chaman Lall about the recent Conference for Peace and Disarmament.⁷

2. You may be interested to know that Dorothy Woodman's⁸ name was announced in big posters, which also contained the names of D.N. Pritt⁹ and others, as a speaker at this conference. As a matter of fact, Dorothy Woodman had not only not agreed, but actually refused to participate. She was very angry at her name being used in this way, and more especially being associated with D.N. Pritt's name in this fashion.

150. To the ICWA: Survey of World Affairs¹⁰

P.M.'s REGRET AT BORDER DEVELOPMENTS INDIA AND
CHINA COULD HAVE FACED EACH OTHER IN A MORE
PEACEFUL ATMOSPHERE IMPERIALISTS IN AFRICA WARNED

NEW DELHI, April 5. - Prime Minister Nehru said here today that certain "geographical developments" had taken place from which one could not get away, as the quiet frontier had become a life frontier.

He added that these developments had brought about many disturbing aspects for the present. Further, they would have their repercussions not only on Asia but on the world.

Pandit Nehru, who was addressing the Indian Council of World Affairs, said that India and China had the same live frontier over a distance of 2,600 miles—a frontier that had become a dangerous frontier. It was not a pleasant thought that this should have diverted the minds and energies of either country from other works. What the future would bring remained yet to be seen.

Turning to internal matters, Pandit Nehru said, "Internally, our minds in India, for the moment and for some time past, are rather very much concerned about our difficulties and problems on our own frontiers. But in the nature of things, I cannot speak much about them except to point out something that has

6. To FS, 5 April 1960.

7. Ten-nation Conference which began in Geneva on 15 March; see SWJN/SS/58/item 2, fn 13.

8. British writer and activist; companion of Kingsley Martin.

9. British lawyer and politician.

10. PTI report of speech, 5 April 1960. From *National Herald*, 6 April 1960.

been said many times and, that is, that these new developments on our border have brought about a situation which is quite new. It is new in the sense that these frontiers were quiet, passive and almost unheard of frontiers, except for venture-some travellers who wrote books about them, and nobody worried about them. Occasionally, in the course of the last hundred years, there were some local affairs, some petty wars, but they did not affect the position much and these frontiers were taken as quiet frontiers with no element of danger in them."

He added: "Now that position has ceased obviously and I suppose it had to cease. I am not merely referring to recent developments in the last year or two which brought about this position rather much more quickly than one could imagine. It had to be that in the sense of developments in China and India. In the old days, communications were difficult over mountain and desert terrain. But these difficulties are now no longer there and when two developed countries have a long frontier like this, to some extent, they have to come up against each other. It is unfortunate the way the developments have come. It would have been better if they had come in a much more peaceful atmosphere and without charges and counter-charges."

In a broad survey of world affairs, Pandit Nehru expressed the hope that an agreement would be arrived at progressively on disarmament.

He warned against attempts of "old and new imperialists" to put the clock back in Africa, and felt that some hopeful avenues had opened out which might lead to a settlement in Algeria.

GERMAN PROBLEM

He said that the importance of the German problem was very great from the point of the future of the world, the future of war and peace. The inherent military potential of Germany and past German invasions were casting fear even in the minds of the friends of Germany whether "history will repeat itself in a much worse form."

Pandit Nehru said that if one relied on newspaper reports, the biggest problem the "great ones of the earth" would face at the forthcoming summit meeting was that of Germany, of Berlin and all that.

He said that India was affected by it in the larger context because Germany had played such a tremendous part in the last many years and in the two great wars. Anything that happened in Germany had the greatest interest the world over.

Warning against the dangers of Germans militarism, Pandit Nehru said: "Many countries in Europe have had repeated experience of German invasions

and, naturally, they have not forgotten that the Germans are tremendously organized, they are a brave people with an amazing capacity of technology; they are amazing as soldiers. So there is that fear among friends of Germany."

Pandit Nehru said that there was also the "reverse fear" whether some other major invasion might not take place—whether from the Soviet Union or whatever you might like to call it of that type.

"So, you come up against a position, the essence of which is fear and suspicion, and all the pious talk in the world does not get rid of fear and suspicion."

He said that it was, however, clear that there was no possibility of solving world problems by threats, or coercion, or ^{illegally} force.

Speaking about the rest of the world, Pandit Nehru said that it was faced with a curious state of affairs. Man was within reach, if not of heaven, of certainly a much better world than mankind had known for a great majority of people. Yet, it was threatened by something near hell.

Regarding disarmament, he said that some positive advance had been made or was likely to be made soon about prevention of atomic tests. He stressed the urgent necessity of reaching an agreement soon on banning production and testing of nuclear weapons as in course of time, more and more countries might be in a position to manufacture them.

AFRICAN FERMENT

In a reference to Africa, Pandit Nehru said that a spirit of defiance was visible in the countries of Africa, which had become free to maintain their self-respect. "I have no doubt that the whole African continent is in a state of extreme ferment and we have a possibility of this situation worsening in a big way, unless it becomes better soon."

Pandit Nehru said that while old imperialism was struggling to assert itself and create conflicts, there was also the world conscience symbolised in the U.N. There was also a new imperialism. This was a dangerous thing in the present technological age.

Earlier, the president of the Indian Council of World Affairs, Mr. H.N. Kunzru, welcomed Pandit Nehru and said that Prime Minister had last addressed the council soon after returning from the Bandung conference.¹¹ "We want to hear you today, when soon after the summit conference will be held."

11. On 1 May 1955, Nehru opened Sapru House, the headquarters of the Indian Council of World Affairs; Sapru House was named after Tej Bahadur Sapru. See *The Hindustan Times*, 2 May 1955.

INVITATION TO UK ORGANISATION

Mr. Kunzru said that the council had invited the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, and its affiliate bodies to hold the next unofficial Commonwealth Relations Conference, due in 1964, in India.

The following were elected office bearers of the council: President, Mr. H.N. Kunzru; vice-presidents, Mr. Gurmukh Nihal Singh, Mr. N.V. Gadgil, Mr. G.L. Mehta, Mr. P.A. Narielwala and Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao; honorary treasurer, Mr. Shri Ram; member of executive committee, Mr. S.V. Krishnamoorthy Rao, Dr. Tara Chand, Mr. K.M. Panikkar, Mr. G.L. Bansal, Mr. N.C. Kasliwal, Dr. K.L. Shridharani, Dr. N.M. Khilnani and Capt. K.I.R. Row.

151. To Louis Gibarti: Travel Schedules¹²

April 6, 1960

Dear Gibarti,¹³

I have your letter of April 1.

It is true that I am going to England for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference there on the 1st of May. It is my intention to visit no other place, except that I have to go to Paris for a few hours only to meet General de Gaulle at his request. I shall go to Paris in the forenoon and return the same evening to London. It is not at all an easy matter for me to go to any other part of Europe. Apart from my not having the time, any such visit cannot be done quietly and involves a good deal of trouble and publicity.

I understand that Dr. Kreisky¹⁴ will be coming to India at the end of this year or the beginning of next. He will be welcome here.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

12. Letter.

13. A Hungarian communist and secretary of the organising committee of the Congress against Imperialism; Nehru met him again at the Asian-African Conference at Bandung in April 1955.

14. Bruno Kreisky, Austrian Foreign Minister, 1959-66.

152. To A. Creech Jones: Convention on Financing¹⁵

12th April, 1960

Dear Mr. Creech Jones,¹⁶

Thank you for your letter of 28th March with which you enclosed a report on investments concerned with the establishment of a Convention recognising the rights and interests of borrowing and lending countries in financing public and private projects and enterprise.

I have considered this interesting report in consultation with some of my colleagues. We feel that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference is not an appropriate forum to initiate discussion on a project of this type. In our view, the best forum for initiating a discussion on a project of this type is the United Nations or an appropriate organ of the United Nations like the Economic and Social Council.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

(b) People's Republic of China

153. To Lok Sabha Secretariat: Denial of Press Report¹⁷

Two or three days ago I received a notice from the Lok Sabha Secretariat in which a Member of Parliament had asked for a statement to be made by me under Rule 197 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business. This referred to an article that had appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta on March 29th, 1960,¹⁸ making an allegation that I had made some statement at a meeting of Chief Ministers of States. I ventured to submit to Mr Speaker that the allegations contained in this article were completely untrue and without foundation. At that time I thought that it was not necessary to make a particular statement about this baseless allegation.

15. Letter.

16. British MP from Wakefield, Yorkshire, from 1954 to 1964.

17. Note to the Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2 April 1960.

18. P.G. Deb, Ganatantra Parishad, Lok Sabha MP from Angul, Orissa, gave a calling attention notice on 31 March 1960 about this article in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on 28 March. See Appendix 8.

2. I have now received another notice of the same kind on the same subject. Also, notice of a Short Notice Question on the same subject.

3. On reconsideration of this matter and as there appears to be some genuine misunderstanding in the minds of some Members of Parliament, I think it would be better for me to make this brief statement on this subject. I would prefer to make this brief statement to answering a Short Notice Question.

4. I should like to make this statement as early as possible. I am leaving Delhi for two days tomorrow. If it is convenient to Mr Speaker, I should like to make this statement in the Lok Sabha on Tuesday the 5th April. In the event of the 5th April being a holiday, I shall make it on the 6th April.

5. I enclose a copy of the statement I propose to make.¹⁹

154. To Khushwaqt Rai and other MPs: Conditions for Chou En-Lai's Visit²⁰

April 4, 1960

Dear Shri Khushwaqt Rai,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 4th April with which you have sent me another letter of the same date²¹ signed by some members of the Opposition Parties in the Lok Sabha.²²

The questions you have referred to in your letter have been discussed repeatedly in the Lok Sabha. Indeed there was a discussion even after it was stated by me that I had invited the Prime Minister of China to visit India. I had made the position of the Government quite clear on that occasion. There has been no change in the views of the Government since then.

I had made it clear that at no time had I said that unless certain pre-conditions were satisfied, I would not invite the Chinese Prime Minister. I certainly thought and still think that such pre-conditions as I had mentioned previously would

19. For Nehru's statement in the Lok Sabha on 6 April 1960, see item 155.

20. Letter to Rai, PSP, Lok Sabha MP from Kheri, UP, and other Opposition MPs. Copied to SG and FS.

The text of this letter was also published in *The Hindu* on 7 April 1960.

21. For Khushwaqt Singh's and other MPs' letter of 4 April 1960 published in *The Hindu* of 6 April, see Appendix 18.

22. The draft of the letter, prepared by the Opposition MPs barring the Communists, was approved at a meeting on 2 April, attended by N.G. Goray (PSP), A.B. Vajpayee (Jan Sangh), Shakuntala Masani (Swatantra Party), Sivaraj (Republican), P.K. Deo (Ganatantra Parishad), and B.R. Singh (Socialist) among others. See *The Hindu*, 3 April 1960.

facilitate talks. Otherwise there was too big a gap between the two positions.

It has always been our policy, before Independence and subsequently, that we should not refuse to meet and discuss matters with representatives of other Governments, even though we do not agree with them at all. Whether such a meeting leads to any substantial or good results or not is another matter.

I shall naturally keep Parliament informed of any talks that I may have with the Prime Minister of China.

You refer to the reception that might be given to the Prime Minister of China when he visits our country. You are no doubt aware that there are rules and conventions governing the visit of Heads of Governments and Prime Ministers as our guests to India. Apart from these, there are certain well known conventions and courtesies which are given to distinguished guests, regardless of our difference of views. It would be extraordinary, improper and not in keeping with India's cultural traditions, for us not to abide by those rules and conventions and refrain from giving every courtesy to a distinguished guest.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

155. In the Lok Sabha: Article in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*²³

Shri P.G. Deb: Sir, on a point of procedure. When this matter is being brought up, I would like to ask whether the hon. Prime Minister is going to make a statement regarding the very same article which came out in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on 28th March, 1960²⁴ about which I gave a calling attention notice on the 31st of March.

Mr. Speaker: So, he does not want the statement now? All calling attention notices are for the purpose of getting a statement from the Prime Minister. Now, does he not want me to call on the Prime Minister to make that statement?

Shri P.G. Deb: I did not get any reply whether it was rejected or accepted.

23. Intervention in the Lok Sabha, 6 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLII, cols 9831-9832.

24. See Appendix 8.

Mr. Speaker: The procedure is this. Whenever the hon. Ministers want they intimate to me that they want to make a statement and I give them permission. After all, calling attention notices or things of that kind are only for the purpose of making the Ministers to make a statement on the floor of the House. They accept some notices and they do not accept some. But I prefer the opportunity being given to the Ministers themselves to make a statement in as liberal a manner as possible to avoid this process. That will be the procedure normally.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): My attention has been drawn to an article that appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta on March 28, 1960. This article referred to a meeting of Chief Ministers of States held in Delhi²⁵ at which I am alleged to have made some statement in regard to our problems relating to our frontier with the Chinese State.

The allegations made in this issue of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* are completely untrue and without the least foundation. I regret that such baseless statements injurious to the national cause should be made in a responsible newspaper.

156. To S. Dutt: Programme for Chou En-lai's Visit²⁶

Now that we have received the list of the people coming with Premier Chou En-lai, we should draw up some provisional programme for him.²⁷ I think that the programme thus far should be the Delhi programme only. We may indicate to our Ambassador that we are not including any visits outside Delhi for the present so as not to reduce the time for talks, etc. But if Premier Chou En-lai so wishes, he can easily go, say, to Agra or any other place nearby. Perhaps, it would be as well to have a visit to Agra about the middle of his stay here for some kind of a break. I cannot think of any other suitable place nearby. There is no point in taking him to the usual community development centres.

2. In Delhi he can visit some of our scientific institutions. He will go for sight-seeing to the Qutab and to Red Fort also.

25. On 20 March after the NDC meeting. *Amrita Bazar Patrika* reported it on 28 March, *The Hindu* on 22 March; most others did not report it.

26. Note to the FS, 8 April 1960. S. Dutt Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

27. A 31-member delegation led by Chou En-lai, included Chen Yi, Vice Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and was accompanied by seven pressmen.

3. There is a new defence science institute which I am going to visit in a few days' time,²⁸ but I doubt if it would be suitable to take him there.

4. There will be the usual banquet given by me at Rashtrapati Bhavan and a lunch by the President. I think it would be a good thing if a lunch by the Vice-President, preferably at the Vice-President's house, is included. You can ask the Vice-President about it. He may come to lunch one day at my house in continuation of our talks. These talks will presumably be held at my house or at Rashtrapati Bhavan. If necessity arises, we may have them in the External Affairs Ministry.

5. Some such tentative broad programme might be fixed up and communicated. When we got a reply from our Ambassador, this can be finalised.

6. Parliament will be sitting in those days, but I do not think any Parliamentary function should be organised for him. He will naturally call on the President and the Vice-President. Among the Ministers who might meet him would be the Home Minister, the Finance Minister and the Defence Minister.

157. In the Lok Sabha: Question of Privilege²⁹

Mr. Speaker: Shri Vajpayee³⁰ perhaps, wanted to say something.

Shri Vajpayee: Sir, may I know your reactions to my letter of this morning with regard to the publication of a news item relating to the Chinese reply to the Indian note of 12th February?³¹ It has been reported in the Press that the Government of India has received a reply; and the contents of the reply have also appeared in the Press. I feel that before the publication of the contents of the reported reply, this House should have been informed.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Prime Minister.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Sir, I should like to be clear on this subject of what is sometimes referred to as

28. It is not clear which institute he has in mind. A number of laboratories and establishments were being started around this time. For a complete list, see the website <http://www.drdo.gov.in/drdo/English/index.jsp?pg=genesis.jsp>, accessed on 22 July 2014.

29. Interventions by Nehru, 8 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLII, cols 10376-10380.

30. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Jan Sangh, Lok Sabha MP from Balrampur, UP.

31. For GOI's note of 12 February 1960, see *White Paper* III, pp. 85-98; and for the China Government's reply to it on 3 April 1960, see *White Paper* IV, pp. 8-16.

a privilege of this House. I am not aware of any such privilege that I should control the Press as to what they should print or not print when they get it...

Shri Vajpayee: The External Affairs Ministry should be controlled and not the Press.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: And the External Affairs Ministry even, to what measure it should be controlled as to what it should give to the Press and what it should not. I think it is a novel proposition of which I have not been aware in any country. But that is another matter. I want to be clear on this matter which is referred to again and again, to my knowledge, without any justification in parliamentary practice in any country. In fact, it would become almost impossible for Parliament to function if I am supposed to tell them of all military moves, all diplomatic moves from day to day. That is not parliamentary government, so far as I know. But that is by the way.

We have been trying to keep the House fully informed of these developments. Sometimes, it so happens that newspapers get some information and they publish it—not because we give it to them. We do not want to encourage publication in newspapers before we have decided that it should be published. A reply has come from the Chinese Government and we were waiting to find out the exact date of publication by them and by us and then I shall place it before the House possibly—I do not know—in the next two or three days. We are not responsible for a newspaper publishing it or the substance of it. (Interruptions) (An Hon. Member: It has leaked out) Maybe. I do not think that it leaked out. The newspaper concerned has correspondents abroad too and those correspondents get it from other sources also.

Shri Vajpayee: When will this be laid on the Table of the House?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: For the information of the House, I should like to place it before the House as soon as possible—may be, in two or three days, perhaps, on Monday. I shall not be here but I shall instruct my colleague, the Deputy Minister, to lay it on the Table of the House on Monday.

I may add that the note which is a fairly long one is really a resumé of what has been said in the past. There is nothing new in it except the repetition of what they have said. Well, presumably, if I may use the word it is to put their case as a whole, together, again.

Shri Hem Barua: The language is very polite, it seems?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member is referring to politeness.

Shri Hem Barua: It is said about the note that the language is very polite. That is what the newspaper reporters say.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The language is, and ought to be, always polite when Governments deal with each other and when guests come they should also be treated politely... (Interruptions)

Shri Hem Barua: Nobody says that guests should not be treated politely.

Mr. Speaker: Now, one point has been raised. So far as this matter is concerned, I had noted here—"not a matter for a privilege motion." But I was informed that the Prime Minister wanted to make a statement. Otherwise, I would not have called him.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I appreciate that, Sir.

Mr. Speaker: Let me make my position clear. With respect to these matters, I would like the hon. Members to know what exactly I am going to allow and not to allow. It is for the hon. Minister to find out, and to decide for himself, whether a particular document ought to be placed on the Table of the House or not. If he makes up his mind that it ought to be placed here, the hon. Members expect that this House must be the first to get information before it is given to the Press. But it is for the hon. Minister to decide whether it is a matter which is so important that the information ought to be given first to the House or whether it is not of such importance and might be given out to the Press.

Today, I understood him to say that somehow it had leaked out. In that case, every hon. Member is entitled to ask how it has leaked out. If, on the other hand, he feels that it is not a matter which ought to be kept secret, there is absolutely no such question of leakage. If, the hon. Minister feels, on the other hand, that it is a matter of importance and the House ought to be taken into confidence first, before it goes out, every step ought to be taken to see that the outside world does not give information of this matter before the paper is laid on the Table of the House. It is for the Minister to decide.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: As I understand you, Sir, the whole matter is left to the discretion of the Minister.

Mr. Speaker: Yes.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am quite satisfied with it.

Shri Vajpayee: May I submit that I did not want this question to be the form of breach of privilege I only wanted to draw your attention.

Mr. Speaker: I can only add this to avoid any misunderstanding in the future. When the hon. Minister gives information to the Press or allows the information to the Press or allows the information to be given to the Press he ought not to say that he wanted to place it on the Table of the House first.

If he wanted to give it to the Press, let him say so. If, on the other hand, he wanted to keep it a secret, the House is always entitled to ask how it has leaked out before it was given to the House. That is the only point.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: May I beg of you to say that there are many matters which are not exactly secret but publicity is given to them at a time considered the right time? Normally, if you place anything before the House, it is obvious that it is not right to issue it to the Press previously. But if the Press gets it—not from us and so there is no question of leakage—surely, the Ministries concerned are not responsible for the activities of the Press. Obviously, it is a matter not of privilege but pure courtesy even that it should be placed before the House before it is sent to the Press. But sometimes it so happens—apart from the papers—that we have Press Conferences and there are questions and answers. Something is said and an answer has to be given. That is not a matter of discourtesy to anybody that an answer is given. Can it be said that every answer should be given here before it is given in the Press Conference?

158. To Lok Sabha Secretariat: Boundary Dispute³²

I would submit to Mr. Speaker that it will not be desirable for me to make a statement at this stage about the recent letter from the Chinese Government regarding our boundary disputes. The Prime Minister of China is coming here within a week's time and a full discussion about this note in Parliament will, I think, not be desirable. I might add that the letter of the Prime Minister of China is a repetition of what has been said by the Chinese Government previously

32. Note, 12 April 1960.

to which we have given adequate replies. The fact that he has repeated his arguments does not raise any fresh issue which has not been answered by us. Our case has been fully stated already in the House on previous occasions.

I might add that I have to go out of Delhi on the 14th April morning. I shall return only on the 17th afternoon.

(c) Tibet

159. To S. Dutt: Education for Tibetan Refugees³³

I agree generally with what you have written in your note.

2. I agree also that we must take some steps for the education of the children. To some extent, some effort should be made to teach adults also, at least the language of the place. I realise that it is difficult to do much in the way of education when they are in temporary camps. Even so, teachers could be arranged in these temporary camps. That is a step to which we should give some priority.

3. You might have some kind of an answer sent to Mrs Bedi.³⁴

160. In the Lok Sabha: Non-Tibetan Refugees from Tibet³⁵

Question:³⁶ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 29 on the 16th November, 1959 and state :

(a) Whether the investigation conducted regarding the identity and antecedents of the 40 non-Tibetans found amongst the refugees from Tibet has been completed; and

(b) if so, the result there of?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru) :

(a) and (b). Yes; about fifty persons have been identified as of Chinese origin.

33. Note to FS, 28 March 1960. File No. 29(78) BST/59, MEA.

34. Freda Bedi, a social worker.

35. Oral answers to questions, 31 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLI, cols 8841-8845.

36. By Congress MPs Ram Krishan Gupta, A.M. Tariq and Bhakt Darshan.

Shri Ram Krishan Gupta : May I know whether any restrictions have been placed upon their movement; if so, the nature of those restrictions?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : Well, the first obvious restriction was that they were kept more or less in custody to know what they are. At present all these Tibetan refugees have been kept in camps, they do not normally wander about all over India. Some of these Chinese people are in Calcutta, I understand, but they have to keep in touch with us or we have to keep in touch with them. It is intended, so far as this particular lot is concerned, to gradually send them out of India.

श्री अ. मु. तारिक : मैं यह जानता हूँ कि यह जो लोग पकड़े गये और उनसे पूछताछ की गई तो क्या उससे हुकूमत का यह विचार हुआ कि कुछ लोग कुमिंग्तांग गवर्नमेंट को रिप्रेजेंट करते हैं और वहाँ के जासूस हैं?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : यह तो एक ऐसा मामला है कि मेरे लिए इन सवालों का जवाब देना मुनासिब नहीं मालूम होता। बहुत सी बातें मालूम हुई, कहीं-कहीं कुछ मालूम हुआ लेकिन अब एक दो टुकड़ों का जवाब दे दूँ तो ठीक नहीं होगा।

श्री भक्त दर्शन : श्रीमान! क्या इस बात का पता लगाया गया है कि आखिर इन लोगों का तिब्बतियों के साथ आने में उद्देश्य क्या था?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : यह वही सवाल हो गया। अब अलग-अलग आदमियों के अलग-अलग उद्देश्य होते हैं।

श्री ब्रजराज सिंह :³⁷ इन चीनियों को क्या तिब्बती शरणार्थियों से अब अलग कर दिया गया है? और अलग कर दिया गया है तो यह कहाँ रखे जा रहे हैं? और इन को हिन्दुस्तान से बाहर भेजने का जैसे कि प्रधानमन्त्री महोदय ने कहा, एक योजना है। तो मैं जानना चाहता हूँ कि इनको कब तक बाहर भेज दिया जायेगा?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : मुझे ठीक मालूम नहीं लेकिन मेरे खयाल से उसी इलाके में कहीं अलग रखे गये थे। इन में से एक, आप जैसे मैंने कहा वहाँ से भाग गये थे और पकड़े गये। पकड़े जाने से मेरा मतलब कोई गिरफ्तार करके रखने से नहीं था। लेकिन उनके बारे में यह मालूम हो गया था कि वे भाग कर कलकत्ते में आ गये हैं। और गवर्नमेंट उन पर नज़र रखती रही और देखती रही कि वे वहाँ पर क्या करते रहे हैं। अब वे कब भेजे जायेंगे? यह मैं नहीं कह सकता।

कोई खास तारीख तो मुकर्रर नहीं है लेकिन जब कोई माकूल इन्तज़ाम हो जायेगा और आसानी से उनको भेजा जा सकेगा, तो वे भेज दिये जायेंगे।

डॉ. राम सुभग सिंह :³⁸ क्या यह पचासों चीनी तिब्बत से होकर हिन्दुस्तान आये थे और यदि हाँ, तो उन लोगों को फर्स्ट चैक पोस्ट पर नोटिस किया गया था या नहीं?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरु : मैं ठीक से समझा नहीं।

[Translation begins:

Shri A.M. Tariq: I want to know about these people who have been caught and questioned—does the Government think that some of them represent Kuomintang Government and are their spies?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is such a matter that it is not proper for me to answer these questions. Many things were revealed, but now if I answer one or two parts, then it will not be good.

Shri Bhakt Darshan: Sir, have their objectives in coming with the Tibetans been investigated?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: This is the same question. Now different people have different objectives.

Shri Braj Raj Singh:³⁹ Have these Chinese been separated from the Tibetan refugees; and if they have been separated, where have they been kept? And as the Prime Minister has said that there is a plan to send these out of India, I want to know when they are going to be sent.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not sure but I think they are kept in the same area separately. One, some of these, as I said, had run away and were caught, I do not mean to say that they were arrested but it became known that they had come to Calcutta, and the Government kept a watch on them as to what they have been doing there. Now when will they be sent I cannot say, no specific date has been fixed but when appropriate arrangements are made and they can be sent conveniently, they will be sent.

38. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Sasaram, Bihar.

39. See fn 37 in this section.

Dr Ram Subhag Singh:⁴⁰ Did these 50 Chinese come to India via Tibet, and if yes, was any notice taken of them at the first check post or not?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I could not understand properly.

Translation ends]

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh : May I know whether all these 50 Chinese entered India from Tibet; if so, whether they were first noticed at the first Indian check-post or not?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : यह तो सब जैसे तिब्बत के शरणार्थी आ रहे थे उन्हीं लोगों में आये और अलग-अलग आये। उसी रास्ते से और उसी सिलसिले में आये। बाद में जाँच पड़ताल हुई तो यह पाया गया कि तिब्बती लोग नहीं हैं और उसके बाद उनसे बातचीत वगैरह हुई।

श्री अ. मु. तारिक : मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि क्या हुकूमत को इस बात का इल्म है कि हिन्दुस्तान के मुखल्लिफ शहरों में बहुत से लोग जो कि असल में तिब्बती नहीं हैं लेकिन चूँकि उनकी शक्ल तिब्बती लोगों से मिलती-जुलती है। इस वास्ते वे तिब्बती रेफ्यूजीज में मिल जाते हैं। और अगर यह दुरुस्त है तो गवर्नमेंट ने इसके लिए क्या एक्शन लिया है?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : जहाँ तक शक्ल मिलने का ताल्लुक है तो वह तो हिन्दुस्तान की सरहद पर जाएँ तो बहुत से लोग ऐसे वहाँ पर रहते हैं जिनकी शक्ल उनसे मिलती है खासकर कश्मीर में ऐसे लोग मिलते हैं।

[Translation begins:

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: They came like other Tibetan refugees in groups, and they came in different groups, in the same way, on the same route. Later when checking was done it was found that they were not Tibetans, and then enquiries were made.

Shri A.M. Tariq: I want to know whether the Government is aware that many people who are not Tibetan but since they resemble Tibetans, they mix with Tibetan refugees. And if it is correct what action the Government has taken in this regard?

40. See fn 38 in this section.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as facial resemblance is concerned, so many people live on the borders of India who resemble them, and such people are especially found in Kashmir.

Translation ends]

Shri Brajeswar Prasad :⁴¹ May I know whether these Chinese want to go back to China or not?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : अब यह तो अलग-अलग राय होंगी। लेकिन ज़ाहिर है कि जहाँ से वे आये हैं वहाँ वे नहीं जाना चाहते हैं।

[Translation begins:

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Now, there will be different opinions but it is obvious that wherever they have come from they do not want to go there.

Translation ends]

Shri Hem Barua : In view of this particular incident and in view of the fact that Tibetan refugees or refugees from Tibet are pouring in almost every day, particularly at Misamari, may I know whether the Government have adopted any stringent measures to screen them off?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : There have always been measures to screen the refugees. Originally when they came in very large numbers this had to be done, and subsequently it was done. Now the numbers are not so many; they do come, struggle in, and they are screened..

Shri Brajeswar Prasad : It is the policy of the Government of India to send back these Chinese against their wishes?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : I am afraid, I cannot give a very definite answer, because if they do not carry out our directions it is open to us to send them at least outside India —where I do not know. We cannot have people coming in here and insisting on staying here.

41. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Gaya, Bihar.

Shri Ram Krishan Gupta : The hon. Prime Minister just now stated that these refugees had been kept in camps. May I know whether these non-Tibetan refugees have been kept with Tibetan refugees or separately?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru : I have already answered that.

श्री भक्त दर्शन : श्रीमान, मैं यह जानना चाहता हूँ कि इन चीनियों को चीन वापिस भेजने के बारे में क्या चीन सरकार से कोई पत्र व्यवहार किया गया है और यदि किया गया है तो चीन सरकार से उस बारे में क्या उत्तर प्राप्त हुआ है?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू : जी नहीं। हमें तो दिलचस्पी इस बात में है कि वे हिन्दुस्तान के बाहर जाएँ लेकिन कहाँ जाएँ यह उनकी खुशी है।

[Translation begins:

Shri Bhakt Darshan: Sir, I want to know whether there has been any correspondence with the Chinese Government about sending these Chinese back to China; if yes, what reply has been received from the Chinese Government?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. We are interested in this, that they should go out of India; where they go is their choice.

Translation ends]

161. In the Lok Sabha: Education⁴²

TIBETAN REFUGEES EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION

Shri D.C. Sharma:⁴³ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- whether it is a fact that a Tibetan Refugee Educational Institution has been set up at Mussoorie recently;
- whether any assistance has been asked from the Central Government;
- if so, the extent and nature of the same; and

42. Written answers to questions, 4 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLII, cols 9562-9563.

43. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Gurdaspur, Punjab.

(d) the nature of subjects to be taught?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) to (d). A school for young Tibetan refugees has been started at Mussoorie at the instance of His Holiness the Dalai Lama with the assistance of some relief organisations working in India. The number of Tibetan students in the school at present is 50 but it is hoped to increase the number to 300.

The subjects which are being taught in the school are as follows:

- (i) Tibetan language
- (ii) History of Tibet
- (iii) Religious knowledge
- (iv) English language
- (v) Geography
- (vi) Indian history
- (vii) Mathematics
- (viii) Elementary science

At the time of the formation of the school, the Government of India had been requested to meet the travelling allowance of the teachers and students selected from the various centres and worksites and sent to Mussoorie. This was agreed to. As His Holiness the Dalai Lama is moving his residence to Dharamsala, a request has been received from his representative in Delhi for assistance (1) in finding an alternative site in or near Dharamsala for the school and (2) to meet the cost of transportation of students and the school equipment.

Another request has also been received from the Principal of the Tibetan Refugee School for financial assistance for the running of the school and towards feeding the children. The matter is under consideration of the Government.

162. In the Lok Sabha: Tibetan Refugees in NEFA⁴⁴

Shrimati Manjula Devi:⁴⁵ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Starred Question No. 188 on the 17th February, 1960 regarding Government's scheme to settle 1,000 families of Tibetan refugees on land at Bhaluckpung in N.E.F.A. and state?

(a) how far is the land at Bhaluckpung from the Chinese-occupied Indian territory; and

44. Written answers to questions, 4 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLII, cols 9561-9562.

45. Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Gopalpara, Assam.

- (b) whether this area falls within the demarcated land as shown in Chinese map?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):
(a) Bhaluckpung is about 12 days march from the nearest point on the Indo-Chinese border. It is in fact on the edge of the Assam Plains and is not far from Missamari.

(b) The place is only just within the area claimed by the Chinese in their maps.

163. To P. N. Rajabhoj: Don't Go to the Tibet Conference⁴⁶

7th April, 1960

My dear Rajabhoj,

I have your letter of the 6th April. I do not think it will be advisable for you or for any Congress member to participate in the Afro-Asian Conference on Tibet.⁴⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

164. To Walter Nash: Contribution from New Zealand⁴⁸

April 12, 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

I have received from your High Commissioner⁴⁹ your message regarding the decision of your Government to contribute a sum of £20,000 towards the cost of resettlement of Tibetan refugees in India. Thank you very much for it. My colleagues and I greatly appreciate your Government's offer of such generous financial assistance for the rehabilitation of the Tibetan refugees, for whom we have accepted responsibility. Their number has now gone up to some 15,000. Their reception, accommodation and feeding have imposed a rather heavy strain

46. Letter to Rajabhoj, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay. JN Supplementary Papers, NMML.

47. Held in New Delhi on 9-11 April 1960.

48. Letter to the Prime Minister of New Zealand.

49. R.L.G. Challis, Chargé d' Affaires, and Acting High Commissioner, at this time.

on our exchequer but we are even more concerned about their future rehabilitation. There is very little hope of any appreciable number of them either going back to their country or finding homes in other countries. We are now engaged in drawing up schemes to rehabilitate them. The problem of rehabilitating these persons, who do not know our language and are not familiar with the ways of life in our country, will present particular difficulty and any scheme is bound to be extremely costly. It will involve training them for occupations and setting up small industries for them. Our intention is to utilise this very generous offer in implementing some such rehabilitation schemes. As soon as details have been worked out we shall let your High Commissioner know.

May I also thank you for the kind thoughts which you have expressed in your message in regard to the help we have been able to render to these distressed people.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

165. To S. Dutt: Education for Tibetan Refugees⁵⁰

I enclose a letter I have just received from the Dalai Lama. This refers to the education of Tibetan children.

As I think I wrote to you some little time ago, I feel that we have not been doing as much as we ought to for this education. Next to food etc., I think this is more important than anything else.

I do not know what your ideas are about the moneys received from the Australian and the New Zealand Governments. In any event, we should take early steps in the matter. We can discuss this.

50. Note, 12 April 1960.

166. In the Rajya Sabha: Foreign Exchange for the Dalai Lama⁵¹

FOREIGN EXCHANGE SOUGHT BY THE DALAI LAMA

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether the Dalai Lama or any other person deputed on his behalf applied for foreign exchange;
- (b) if so, what is the amount applied for and the purpose thereof; and
- (c) how much amount has actually been sanctioned?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon) :- (a) Yes Sir, persons deputed by the Dalai Lama did apply. (b) and (c). Three persons were granted foreign exchange worth Bs. 3,000 to proceed to Manila to receive the 1959 Ramon Magsaysay Award for community leadership awarded to the Dalai Lama. Similarly three persons were granted Rs. 22, 5000 for proceeding to the United States of America for presenting an appeal to the United Nations on behalf of the Dalai Lama.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Before I ask the question, may I draw the attention of the hon. Prime Minister to one Mr. D.K. Sen, styling himself as the confidential adviser to the Dalai Lama who stated in London on March 14 that about £ 37,500 worth of gold had already been sold to pay the expenses of their three-men delegation to the U.N.⁵² He also revealed that much of it was going to be paid as fees to American lawyers to put their case to the United Nations. May I know why Government has sanctioned foreign exchange in this case when clearly the Dalai Lama is putting up a case contrary to the position taken by India in the United Nations Organisation?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know anything about Mr. Sen who is referred to or Sardar Sen's statement. It is not in conformity with my information. As

51. Oral answers to questions, 13 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, cols 685-688.

52. Reported in *The Statesman*, 16 March 1960. Sirdar D.K. Sen, barrister and the author of *The Indian States, and their Status, Rights and Obligations* (London: Sweet and Maxwell Ltd, 1930) and *Indian Studies in International Law and Diplomacy: The Position of Indians in South Africa* (Calcutta: Indian Law Publications Ltd., 1950) among others. Sundry details about him are available in Lois Lang-Sims, *The Presence of Tibet* (London: The Crescent Press, 1963).

for the broad question why we gave some foreign exchange amounting to Rs. 22,000 odd, we felt that not to do so would be coming in the way of something which the Dalai lama was anxious to do and we did not wish to obstruct him in carrying out his wishes in this matter, although that wish was not in conformity with our position.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: The proposition has nothing emotional or sentimental about it. In this case, here is a person enjoying the asylum or the hospitality of this country and he was putting a case contrary to the position taken by the host country in the United Nations Organisation, and for this the foreign exchange of India was being expended in order that the other case which is not in conformity with the position taken by India could be put up. Sir, I would like to have some legal or other arguments in favour of the position taken by the Government in this matter, apart from sentiments.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We can hardly have any legal argument over this question. It was considered as we have often considered such questions and given facilities for the propagation of views which are entirely opposed to ours. That is our broad approach to public questions. We gave this opportunity and though we were not in favour of this matter being taken to the United Nations, we felt that our preventing this by not issuing foreign exchange would probably not be right, in view of our broad policy.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Did you ask the Dalai Lama or those people who made the representation on his behalf, to make a statement before the Government of India, when asking for this foreign exchange, whether they had any amounts in certain financial institutions or banks in the U.S.A. or Britain or any other country where from the foreign exchange could be drawn?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I know nothing about it.

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: There was an inward remittance of Rs. 47,350/- to the Dalai Lama's account because of the Ramon Magsaysay Award and we have given him only Rs. 25,000/-.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: That is not the point. The point I raised was...

Mr. Chairman: she says money that they received for the Ramon Magsaysay Award comes to more, being Rs.47,000 odd whereas we have granted them only Rs. 22,000/-.

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: Rs. 25,000/-, Sir.

Mr. Chairman: So we have some extra still left.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: No, Sir that is not the point. It seems they would make it look as if we are making money out of this deal. Not at all. What I want to know is this. Normally when an application for foreign exchange is made, the person is asked to file certain statements. May I know from the Government whether the Dalai Lama or those who were representing him were asked by the Government or the Finance Ministry to file a statement, specially with regard to the point that I have made, namely, whether they had any account abroad, prior to taking the decision as to whether the sanction should be given, apart from sentiments?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not remember what kind of statement was asked for.

Shri Jaswant Singh:⁵³ Sir, we in such matters are liberal, because we give foreign exchange to political parties also whose views and ideals are opposed to ours. So I do not see any harm in a case like this where the Dalai Lama seeks redress in another place if we had given him some foreign exchange.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Is the hon. Member giving the answer?

Shri Rajendra Pratap Singh:⁵⁴ I would like to have an answer from the Prime Minister to the question whether it is not a fact that the Communist Party of India had been given foreign exchange for going abroad, to propagate their views?

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Then tomorrow I will file an application, if you like. But the

Mr. Chairman: Next question.

53. Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from Rajasthan.

54. PSP, Rajya Sabha MP from Bihar.

167. In the Rajya Sabha: Tibetan Refugees in Delhi⁵⁵

Shri P.N. Rajabhoj: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that a large number of Tibetan refugees are begging in Delhi; and
- (b) if so, what action Government are taking in the matter of rehabilitating these persons?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):
(a) and (b). Some 100 Tibetan refugees were camping outside Mori Gate, Delhi. It was believed that they earned their livelihood by taking recourse to begging. It is understood that they have now gone to various places with more congenial climate, such as Simla Hills, Dharamsala and Rawalsar.

(d) Nepal

168. To K.D. Malaviya: Oil Exploration⁵⁶

March 30, 1960

My dear Keshava,

Your letter of March 29.⁵⁷ I think we should wait a little before writing to Koirala on the subject of oil exploration. The people in Nepal are very busy with what they have done in Peking⁵⁸ and what they propose to do when Chou En-lai visits them next month.⁵⁹ After that, we shall write to them.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

55. Written answers to questions, 13 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, cols 714-715.

56. Letter. File No. 17(401)/60-66-PMS. Also available in K.D. Malaviya Papers, NMML, and JN Collection.

57. See Appendix 9.

58. China and Nepal had signed agreements on Sino-Nepal border questions and Chinese economic aid to Nepal on 21 March 1960 during B.P. Koirala's visit to China from 11 to 23 March 1960.

59. Chou En-lai visited Nepal from 26 to 29 April 1960.

169. To B.P. Koirala: Nepal-China Diplomatic Negotiations ⁶⁰

March 31, 1960

My dear BP,

I am taking the liberty of writing to you about a matter which is naturally one of some concern to us. We have followed with interest the course of your negotiations with the Chinese Government and we are glad that your visit to Peking has led to a measure of understanding. We have yet no precise information of the nature of this understanding, even though we have read the published documents.

The Chinese method is always to talk in vague terms about their own exact position and to get the other party to commit itself as far as possible. Thus in future discussions the other party is at a disadvantage. The Chinese cover themselves with a flood of oratory and argument which, if analysed, leads to no precise understanding of their position. They avoid precision. It is not clear to us whether there was any exchange of notes between you and the Chinese describing a little more precisely the boundaries. Or have they been left vague and left to Commissions to prescribe? The published agreement gives the impression that a procedure has been laid down for settling discrepancies and disputes. That would indicate that joint committees will investigate these points. Does this mean that these joint committees consisting of officials can settle boundaries between two sovereign countries? Also, if the joint committees disagree, about the delineation of the disputed sections, what would be the result? Will the position remain as it was previously?

If an agreed boundary is to be actually demarcated, how is this to be done on the high mountains? Will this proposed agreement about the actual boundary be governed by any principles, such as water shed?

As I have said above, we would be happy if some of your frontier problems with China are settled. What concerns us, however, is as to whether they have been settled or have still been left vague, at the same time giving some advantage to the Chinese, which no doubt they will profit by in any future discussions with you.

In the final communiqué which has been issued by you and Chou En-lai, there is reference to an agreement to enter upon a non-aggression pact between

60. Letter to the Prime Minister of Nepal.

Nepal and China.⁶¹ It is said that such an agreement will be signed during Chou En-lai's visit to Kathmandu after his visit to India in April. As it is said that such an agreement will be signed, one would presume that the broad nature of such an agreement has already been indicated. We do not know what the terms of such an agreement are likely to be, but if the agreement with Burma⁶² is any guide, Nepal will undertake not to commit aggression against China and not to take part in any military alliance directed against China. If this is so, certain inferences and consequences flow from it which are of particular concern to us. The obvious implication of any such provision in a treaty would be that China wants to safeguard herself against hostile action by India.

The position of Nepal and China differ in the matter of alliances. China has military alliances with a number of countries. The policy of Nepal thus far has been one of non-alignment and non-participation in military blocs. A non-aggression pact in these circumstances with China would presumably be of much greater advantage to China than to Nepal. Indeed, this would be against Nepal's dignity and self-respect, as the other party to the agreement would be a country which has already signed military alliances.

It is obvious that the only country that can be thought of in this connection by China is India. It is absurd to suggest that India is going to commit aggression on China, and China knows that very well. The purpose, therefore, of the Chinese wanting such an agreement is to indicate that Nepal has shifted somewhat from her policy and moved in the direction of China as against India. Not only in India but in other countries of the world, this fact will be noticed. China will, no doubt, make the most of it in their propaganda and in their talks with us. Indeed, it seems to me that China's main purpose is to utilise such a situation against India.

You will appreciate my concern over this matter because it will naturally affect the relations between Nepal and India. It would appear to be almost an unfriendly act towards India and will have rather wide repercussions.

The border disputes between Nepal and China were relatively on a much smaller scale than those between India and China. We would indeed be happy if the Nepalese border disputes are settled satisfactorily. But if these are made a jumping-off ground for an aggressive attitude on the part of China towards India, then it becomes a matter of very serious concern to us. I am sure that you will appreciate our position in this matter.

61. The China-Nepal joint communiqué, signed on 21 March in Peking, was released by the Chinese Embassy in Delhi on 25 March, according to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 26 March 1960. See Appendix 20 for Koirala's press conference on 5 April.

62. Signed in January 1960; see SWJN/SS/57/item 188.

I have ventured to write to you so as to make clear some apprehensions we have and lest by an over-sight something might be done which has these serious consequences.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

170. To B.C. Roy: Explaining Chinese Diplomacy over Nepal⁶³

3rd April, 1960

My dear Bidhan,

The King and Queen of Nepal accompanied by Subarna Shamsher⁶⁴ will be reaching Calcutta on the 10th April on their way to Japan and the USA. They will stay for two days and they are making their own arrangements for this. But, of course, we should show them the usual courtesies. I think it would be desirable for them to be invited to Raj Bhavan for a dinner.

You must have seen the agreement between Nepal and Tibet recently made in Peking with the Prime Minister, B.P. Koirala. When they went there, they were treated with great pomp and ceremony and taken round and round to various places. Having rather exhausted them in this way, the Chinese started talking to them about the border issues between Nepal and China. The talks alternated between fervent appeals of friendship and Panch Sheela and the like. Also a great desire in the countries of Asia to pull together and all that. There were also promises of financial aid for Nepal's development. Alternately, there were pressure tactics of another kind. The agreement arrived at does not appeal to us to be very satisfactory and is anyhow very vague leaving border matters to be decided by joint commissions. It is not quite clear what all this means, and it would appear that the Nepalese were rather pushed into a certain position from which they could not easily withdraw.

The main thing, however, that causes us some concern is a paragraph in the agreement that a treaty of non-aggression will be signed by the two Governments when Chou En-lai visits Kathmandu after his stay in Delhi. Normally, a treaty of non-aggression might be considered harmless. But in the

63. Letter.

64. Rana Subarna Shamsher, Deputy Prime Minister of Nepal.

peculiar circumstances of the case, such a treaty is obviously aimed by China at India. The only two countries that might commit aggression on Nepal are China and India. Thus a treaty of this kind with China can only refer to India although, of course, India is not mentioned. Further, if the recent Burmese treaty with China is taken as a model, there is something said about no agreement being arrived at with another country which might be hostile to either of them? Again, this can only refer to India.

Obviously, the Chinese are anxious to isolate India in this matter and to show that it is only India that is coming in the way of settlements. The policy of Nepal as well as of India has been one of non-alignment. No question arises, therefore, of Nepal going out of its way as probably suggested by the Chinese and make a treaty of this kind. Such a treaty with China would be definitely an unfriendly act to India. In view of our intimate relations with Nepal and all that we have done and are doing for it, such a development would be a matter of great concern to us. We think it will be definitely harmful to Nepal's interests and in fact rather against Nepal's dignity and self-respect. Even if a treaty is agreed to, it should be a simple reaffirmation of the Five Principles or Panch Sheela and nothing else should be added.

I am writing all this to you because perhaps you might have a talk with the King while he is in Calcutta about this matter and point out to him the consequences of any such treaty with Nepal as China appears to be aiming at.

The King continues to play an important part in Nepal, more especially in regard to foreign affairs, and it would be a good thing if some impression is created in his mind on this matter.

I have in fact written to the Prime Minister of Nepal on this subject and made this position fairly clear. But the Chinese ways of bringing pressures are well-known and the Nepal Government may well find it difficult to resist them. It might, therefore, be helpful if the King is made to understand the consequences of such pressures and of a treaty which directly or indirectly is aimed at against India.

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

171. To Padmaja Naidu: Courtesies to King and Queen of Nepal⁶⁵

3rd April, 1960

[My dear Governor,]

The King and Queen of Nepal accompanied by Subarna Shamsher are going to Japan and the United States of America. They will pass through Calcutta, reaching there on the 10th April and staying for two nights. Their stay will be a private one. Nevertheless, it is desirable to show them all courtesies. I suggest that you might invite them to dinner at Raj Bhavan during their stay in Calcutta.

I have written separately to Dr. Bidhan Roy about certain developments in Nepal in regard to China. I think it will be a good thing if Dr. Roy had a talk with the King on these subjects.

I am just going to Rajkot and from there to Cambay, returning tomorrow evening.⁶⁶

[Yours sincerely,]

Jawaharlal Nehru

172. To V.K. Krishna Menon: Preparing for Nepal-China Treaty⁶⁷

While it is true that we have assumed responsibility to give assistance to Nepal for defence in case of any aggression on her from China, this can only be rendered on the invitation of the Nepal Government and with their full cooperation.

2. In case the situation so deteriorates as to lead to actual hostilities, between China and Nepal or India, I imagine that India is more likely to be attacked than Nepal. There is even talk of a treaty of non-aggression between China and Nepal, and this will come up for discussion at the end of this month when Premier Chou En-lai goes to Kathmandu.

3. We should await developments. Our real preparation for the present for any eventualities must be to strengthen our own borders and build up our supplies and resources.

65. Letter to Padmaja Naidu, Governor of West Bengal.

66. See items 2 & 3.

67. Note to the Defence Minister, 7 April 1960.

4. In any conflict, we shall naturally have to develop a proper strategy and not be lured at various places by the enemy's tactics. I understand that it is a normal method to distract; and confuse the enemy by some operations in various areas, while the real threat may come from elsewhere. We should not allow ourselves to be so misled.

5. We need not, therefore, think at present of making any special provision for the defence of Nepal and should await events. In the main, our thought should be concentrated on the defence of the Indian frontier, more especially where we consider it more vulnerable. We must remember that the new situation that we have to face is not a temporary one, but likely to last a considerable time. We have to plan accordingly.

173. To S. Dutt: Visit of the King of Nepal ⁶⁸

With reference to the attached telegram you may inform our Ambassador at Kathmandu⁶⁹ to convey to the King that he will be welcome in Delhi as our guest when he comes here. Indeed, wherever else he goes in India, we shall be happy to make arrangements for him. Though he will be our official guest, we shall maintain a private and informal character of his visit.

2. You might inform the Kashmir Government about his visit to Srinagar mentioning that he has expressed a wish to stay at the Oberoi Palace Hotel. The U.P. Government may be informed about his visit to Nainital. The only suitable place to stay there is Raj Bhavan.

3. When he goes to Kashmir, he might well be the guest of the Yuvaraj there who has invited him.

68. Note to the FS, 8 April 1960. S. Dutt Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

69. H. Dayal.

174. To Mahendra of Nepal: Welcome to Visit Us⁷⁰

I have just received your letter of April 6 and I thank you for it. I am glad to learn that you will be coming to Delhi in July next. We shall be happy to welcome you there as our honoured guest and look forward to meeting you then and having talks with you.

With kind regards,

Jawaharlal Nehru

175. To B.P. Koirala: Dealing with the Chinese⁷¹

13th April, 1960

[My dear Koirala,]

Thank you for your letter of April 8th which reached me during my tour in Maharashtra.⁷² I returned yesterday.

I am glad of what you have written to me. The Chinese, as you know, are very difficult people to deal with. There are two difficulties to be faced; the fact of their being Chinese and the fact of their being Communists. I am inclined to think that the former has been more obvious in these border problems in recent months. As you must know, even the anti-Communist Chinese support the People's Government of China in its territorial ambitions.

As far as I can see, there will be no real approach to any kind of agreement between India and China in the course of my meeting with Premier Chou En-lai next week. Our viewpoints are very far apart and both countries have expressed them with considerable vigour. Yet I am glad that he is coming here and perhaps our meeting may clarify some issues. We do not propose to accept the general Chinese thesis that our long frontier with them has not been a fixed one. We are prepared to discuss any individual point which might be in dispute. I think that our case is a strong one and I see no reason why we should weaken in it at any point.

70. Message sent telegraphically from Koyna Nagar through B. C. Roy to be forwarded to Mahendra, 10 April 1960.

71. Letter.

72. Letter not available, but for Koirala's press conference on 4 April in Kathmandu summing up these points, see Appendix 20.

ICE - CREAM PARTY !



[On extreme left: Mao Tse-tung; second from right: Chou En-lai]
(From *The Times of India*, 8 April 1960, p.7)

One major fact stands out and this I take it applies not only to the Indian border but the China border also with Nepal. These frontiers have been more or less peaceful for long years. There may have been some minor disputes somewhere but, broadly speaking, there was no trouble there.

How then and why has this trouble arisen? Surely not because of anything that we have done in India. It is due to something done or some developments on the other side, that is since the Chinese came into Tibet in 1950 or thereabouts and, more especially, in the last year or two.

However, I do not propose to deal with these intricate questions in the course of this latter. Feeling in our country is so strong that it is difficult for me even to check it.

After the recent decision of our Supreme Court, we cannot agree to the cession of any territory, however small it may be, without an amendment of our Constitution through complicated procedures.⁷³

We were all much surprised to learn from your statement in Kathmandu about the Chinese claim to Everest. I can well understand your and the Nepalese people's strong reaction to this.

73. This refers to the transfer of Berubari to Pakistan and the Supreme Court's verdict about the necessity of amending the Constitution beforehand.

I shall gladly keep in touch with you through correspondence and you should not hesitate to write to me when you feel like it.

With all good wishes,

[Yours sincerely,]

Jawaharlal Nehru

(e) Pakistan

176. In the Lok Sabha: India in Pakistani Stamps⁷⁴

Pakistani Stamps Showing Indian Territory

Question:⁷⁵ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether it is a fact that Pakistan have issued on the 23rd March, 1960 on the eve of Pakistan Day four new stamps and first-day covers to show what is described there as "correct position of Kashmir, Junagadh and Mangrol States in relation to Pakistan"; and
- (b) whether any protest has been lodged in this regard?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Shri Sadath Ali Khan): (a) Four new postage stamps of 6-pies, 2-Annas, 8-Annas and 1-Rupee were released for sale on March 23, 1960, by the Pakistan Posts and Telegraph Department. The handbill announcing the release of the stamps stated:

"The question of a free plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir is before the world forum for twelve years. Pakistan P. & T. is issuing a set of Definitive Postage Stamps showing the correct position of Jammu and Kashmir vis-a-vis Pakistan and India. Opportunity has been taken to show the correct position of Junagadh & Manavadar as well".

(b) Jammu and Kashmir, Junagadh and Manavadar are, as the House is aware, Indian Union territories. The issue of these four postage stamps by the Posts and Telegraph Department of Pakistan cannot affect the status

74. Oral answers to questions, 31 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLI, cols 8877-8880.

See also *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, cols 698-701 for discussion on this issue.

75. By Congress MPs Chintamani Panigrahi, Rameshwar Tandia, A. M. Tariq, Ram Subhag Singh, Mafida Ahmed, Raghunath Singh, S.A. Mehdi, V. Rami Reddy, D.C. Sharma; Independent MPs S. M. Banerjee and Prakash Vir Shastri; and GNP MP P. G. Deb.

of these territories or the sovereignty of the Union of India over these territories. The Government of India's concern at this unfortunate provocative and propagandist step which introduces a new irritant in Indo-Pakistan relations, has been conveyed to the Government of Pakistan.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: I want to know whether any reply has so far been received to our protest, and whether similar stamps showing the correct position, to counteract this vicious propaganda, will be issued by the Government of India, because these stamps will go to all the countries; also, if any other measures have been taken?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): No reply has been received. I do not know when, if any, reply will come. But, as has been said, the attention of the Pakistan High Commissioner⁷⁶ here has been drawn to this matter, as well as the Pakistan authorities in Karachi.

As for the second part of the hon. Member's question, I have been unable to understand it, what kind of steps he wants us to take in regard to this matter in the country. Nobody in the country is going to be affected by the issue of this stamp. It is very undesirable and objectionable, I think, but how any propaganda is necessary about these stamps, I do not understand.

Shri S. M. Banerjee: My submission is this. These stamps published by Pakistan will go throughout the world. It may create some confusion in other minds. After all, our protest is not heard by the world.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Prime Minister feels that no such counter-propaganda is necessary because people know what our claim is.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The main subject of the question, of course, is this. Whatever can be done should be done. But I did suggest that we cannot do specific propaganda for the particular stand. Under the rules governing the Universal Postal Union, any country can issue any stamp, however right or wrong it might be under those rules. But what kind of propaganda are we to do against their drawing the world's attention to a particular stand which I wish, probably nobody would believe, or which very few people would notice otherwise?

76. A.K. Brohi.

Shri A. M. Tariq: Since Kashmir, Junagadh and Manavadar are parts of India, is there any proposal before the Government of India to ask our post offices not to recognise such packages or envelopes which carry these stamps but to return them back to Pakistan as illegal packets?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No. The hon. Member will see that that will involve our engaging vast staffs in every post office in India to look at the particular type of stamp.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether these strips of our territory shown in the Pakistani stamps are shown in sepia or in glaring colours?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not myself seen them, nor am I competent enough to give a reply.

Shri Raghunath Singh: May I know whether the entry of these stamps will be allowed in India?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just said that vast numbers of letters come. Does the hon. Member suggest that a special staff should be employed in each post office to look at each stamp with a magnifying glass. They are small stamps; normally, unless your attention is particularly drawn to it, and you have perhaps a magnifying glass, you would hardly notice it. Nobody looks at the stamp when he gets a letter; it is difficult, it is not feasible.

177. In the Lok Sabha: Boats seized by Pakistan⁷⁷

RELEASE OF BOATS CAPTURED BY PAKISTANIS

Question:⁷⁸ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the reply given to Unstarred Question No. 1701 on the 18th December, 1959 and state the latest position with regard to the release of the three boats loaded with jute captured by the Pakistani military personnel on the river Padma near Nurpurkati (West Bengal) in the third week of November, 1958?

77. Oral answers to questions, 12 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLII, col. 11190.

78. Congress MPs Ram Krishan Gupta and D.C. Sharma.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): The Government of Pakistan have now informed the Indian High Commissioner that under an order of the court, the cargo of jute has been sold by public auction, but the amount realised has not been intimated. The three boats are, however, reported to be in the custody of the East Pakistan authorities.

The Government of India are endeavouring through their High Commissioner in Pakistan to arrange for remittance of the sale proceeds of the cargo of jute and also for the release of the three boats.

178. In the Rajya Sabha: Nehru-Ayub Meeting⁷⁹

पाकिस्तान के प्रेसीडेंट के साथ प्रधानमंत्री की मीटिंग

श्री किशोरी राम :⁸⁰ क्या प्रधानमंत्री यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि:

- (क) जैसा कि दिल्ली के टाइम्स ऑफ इंडिया के 25 मार्च, 1960 के अंक में समाचार है, क्या यह सच है कि श्री मोरारजी देसाई ने रावलपिंडी के अपने दौरे में पिछले मास कहा था कि प्रधानमंत्री तथा पाकिस्तान के प्रेसीडेंट की एक मीटिंग होगी; और
(ख) यदि उपरोक्त भाग (क) का उत्तर 'हाँ' है तो क्या ऐसी मीटिंग के लिए कोई प्रस्ताव है और यदि है तो कब तक इसके होने की सम्भावना है?

[English translation from *Rajya Sabha Debates*:

Prime Minister's meeting with the President of Pakistan

Shri Kishori Ram:⁸¹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether it is a fact, as published in the *Times of India* Delhi, dated the 25th March, 1960, that Shri Morarji Desai during his visit to Rawalpindi last month said there would be a meeting between the Prime Minister and the President of Pakistan; and
(b) if the answer to part (a) above be in the affirmative, whether there is any proposal for such a meeting and if so, by when it is likely to take place?

English translation ends]

79. Oral answers to questions, 13 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, cols 663-665.

80. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bihar.

81. See fn 81 in this section.

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) and (b) The Finance Minister stated at Rawalpindi that the two leaders would be meeting in London at the time of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in May, 1960.

Asked further whether there will be such a meeting soon, the Finance Minister replied: "Yes, that also will be coming. Why should it not come? It all depends on what definition you give to the word 'soon'." He further added that it was hardly possible for such a meeting to take place before the London conference.⁸²

[Hindi translation from *Rajya Sabha Debates*:

वैदेशिक कार्य उपमंत्री (श्रीमती लक्ष्मी मेनन) : (क) और (ख) वित्त मंत्री ने रावलपिंडी में कहा था कि मई, 1960 में होने वाले राष्ट्रमंडल प्रधानमंत्री सम्मेलन के अवसर पर दोनों नेता लंदन में मिलेंगे।

जब वित्त मंत्री से यह और पूछा गया कि क्या ऐसी मीटिंग जल्दी ही होगी, तब उन्होंने जवाब दिया "हाँ", वह भी हो ही जायेगी, क्यों न होगी? यह सब इस पर निर्भर करता है कि आप 'जल्दी' शब्द की क्या परिभाषा करते हैं।" उन्होंने आगे कहा कि लंदन सम्मेलन से पहले उनकी मुलाकात होना शायद ही संभव हो सके।

Hindi translation ends]

श्री पां. ना. राजभोज: क्या माननीय प्रधानमंत्री जी यह बताने की कृपा करेंगे कि क्या यह बात सच है कि पाकिस्तान के प्रेसीडेंट ने भी अपने प्रेस कान्फ्रेंस में कहा है कि अब दोनों की फॉर्मल मीटिंग की संभावना नहीं है?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू: इस वक्त कोई तजवीज़ मिलने की नहीं है। ज़ाहिर है कि लंदन में कान्फ्रेंस के ज़माने में तो मिलना ही होगा। कान्फ्रेंस में दोनों को शरीक होना है। लेकिन फॉर्मल मीटिंग की कोई तजवीज़ तो नहीं है।

श्री देवकीनन्दन नारायण:⁸³ क्या मंत्री महोदय यह बतलाने की कृपा करेंगे कि अभी तीन चार दिन पहले अयूब ख़ाँ साहब ने यह कहा कि लंदन में हम मिलेंगे परन्तु नेहरू जी को कोई चाह होगी मिलने की, ऐसा कुछ दिखाई नहीं देता। क्या यह सच है?

श्री जवाहरलाल नेहरू: मुझे याद नहीं। मैंने कहीं देखा नहीं है उनका यह बयान। लेकिन मुझे तो मिलने की इच्छा हमेशा रहती है।

82. They met in London on 4 May 1960. See SWJN/SS/60/item 140.

83. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay.

[Translation begins:

Shri P.N. Rajabhoj: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that the President of Pakistan has said in his press conference that a formal meeting of the two leaders is no longer possible?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no proposal for such a meeting now. It is obvious that during the Conference in London we shall meet. Both are participating in the Conference. But there is no proposal for a formal meeting.

Shri Deokinandan Narayan:⁸⁴ Will the Minister be pleased to state whether three four days ago Ayub Saheb has said that we shall meet in London but that it does not look like that Nehru Saheb wants to meet. Is it true?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not remember. I have not seen this statement of his anywhere. But I am always willing to meet.

Translation ends]

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: There is a report in this morning's papers that President Nasser has offered to mediate over what they called the Kashmir dispute and that Pakistan has accepted that offer. May I know, Sir, whether in that connection any such proposal was made to the Prime Minister for a meeting between the Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. No such proposal has been made or mentioned.

179. In the Rajya Sabha: Transfer of Territory to Pakistan⁸⁵

TRANSFER OF CERTAIN AREAS OF WEST BENGAL TO PAKISTAN

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether Government have received any proposal from the Chief Minister of West Bengal regarding the proposed transfer of certain territories of West Bengal

84. See fn 83 in this section.

85. Oral answers to questions, 13 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, cols 690-691.

to Pakistan in the light of the opinion of the Supreme Court in the matter?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): No proposal has been received from the Chief Minister of West Bengal in this connection. On a reference made to the Supreme Court, their advice has been obtained. Government will follow this advice.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know whether the Government is aware of a public statement made by the West Bengal Chief Minister on the floor of the Assembly and whether in the light of that statement and more especially in the light of the opinion given by the Supreme Court, the Government has forwarded the judgment of the Supreme Court to the Pakistan authorities for their reference and consideration?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not understand, Sir, how the Government can forward the judgment of the Supreme Court. The reference to the Supreme Court was as to what procedure we should adopt in carrying out a certain policy which had agreed upon. The Supreme Court has been good enough to tell us what procedure to adopt. It has nothing to do with Pakistan. It is for us to follow it and we shall certainly follow it.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: There is a point in it and I shall make it clear. The point is this. If this were consequential to the Radcliffe Award, the Supreme Court would not have given this opinion but yet the proposed transfer was sought to be made following the Radcliffe Award and the Bagge Award. The Supreme Court's opinion takes the whole case out of the ambit of the Radcliffe Award and the Bagge Award. It is precisely because of this, I asked whether the Government has considered the advisability of drawing the attention of the Pakistan authorities to the fact that in the opinion of the highest court in the country this proposed transfer did not come within the ambit of the Radcliffe Award and the Bagge Award under which the negotiations took place.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know how I can deal with this highly technical argument in answer to a question.

(f) UK

180. To Malcolm MacDonald: Tour Programme⁸⁶

March 26, 1960

My dear High Commissioner,

On my return to Delhi this afternoon, I have received your two letters of the 25th March. One of these forwards a message from Mr. Harold Macmillan⁸⁷ about his visit to Washington to discuss developments in the Geneva Nuclear Test negotiations. I am grateful to the Prime Minister for sending me this information.

The other letter conveys an invitation from Mr. Macmillan for me to spend the week-end of 7th-8th May at Chequers, and also an invitation to lunch at 10, Downing Street on 11th May. Please convey my gratitude to Mr. Macmillan for these invitations. I shall gladly go to Chequers for that week-end. Perhaps I might not be able to stay there for the entire week-end as I intend going to Paris on Sunday, the 8th May, to meet President de Gaulle. Mr. Macmillan has already been informed of this.

I am not yet sure if Mrs. Gandhi will be able to go to London with me. In the event of her going there, she would be happy to accept the invitation to lunch on the 11th May.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

181. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Engagements in UK⁸⁸

March 26, 1960

[My dear High Commissioner,]

On my return to Delhi this afternoon from South India, where I had gone to inaugurate the Kundah Project, I have received your letter of March 24. Azim Husain⁸⁹ has brought this letter, but I have not seen Azim yet.

I have no particular desire to meet the Afro-Asian Ambassadors at a special function. You are the best judge and if you feel that way, you need not have any

86. Letter to the British High Commissioner in India.

87. Prime Minister of UK.

88. Letter to Mrs Pandit, Indian High Commissioner in London.

89. Deputy High Commissioner in London.

such function. Indeed, there is hardly any time for it.

If it is possible, I should like to visit Nye Bevan.⁹⁰

I have just received a telegram from the B.B.C. people, a copy of which I enclose.⁹¹ I am not at all attracted to this proposal of my having a broadcast conversation with Nkrumah.⁹² As I grow older, my dislike for this kind of publicity grows. You might explain this to the B.B.C. people.

I have just received an invitation from Harold Macmillan about spending the 7th-8th May week-end at Chequers. I am replying to it through Malcolm MacDonald accepting it, but pointing out that on the 8th I shall be going to Paris.

Macmillan has also invited me and Indu to lunch on the 11th May which I am accepting.

I have also received a telegram (copy enclosed) from the Indian Workers' Association of Great Britain.⁹³ Please make my excuses. I have neither the time nor the wish to address such public meetings in London.

I have your hand written letter. There is no such proposal before us, nor is there any likelihood of our considering such a proposal.

[Yours sincerely,]

Jawaharlal Nehru

(g) Ceylon

182. In the Lok Sabha: Indians in Ceylon⁹⁴

Question:⁹⁵ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state?

- (a) whether it is a fact that the newly created Ministry of Internal Security in Ceylon is engaged in drawing up a scheme to detect and repatriate Indian passport holders who are over-staying their residential visas; and
- (b) if so, the reactions of Government of India thereto?

90. Aneurin Bevan, Labour MP.

91. See Appendix 5 (a) for BBC's Clarke's telegram of 24 March.

92. Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana.

93. See Appendix 5 (b) for Rattan Singh's telegram of 24 March.

94. Oral answers to questions, 8 April 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLII, cols 10313-10317.

95. By Congress MP M.K. Shivananjappa and DMK MP E.V.K. Sampath.

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) The functions of the Ministry of Internal Security in Ceylon include the question of detection and deportation of foreign nationals, including Indians, who overstay the period of their permits. Governments of India have no information whether any specific scheme in this connection is being drawn up.

(b) If and when there is willful contravention of the laws of a foreign country, it is difficult for the Government of India to intercede on behalf of their nationals. In specific cases where the overstay is due to illness or other factors beyond the control of the person concerned and the failure to obtain an extension was for bona fide reasons, representations could be made by the Indian High Commission to the Ceylon authorities concerned.

Shri Shivananjappa: May I know how many cases of overstaying have been reported since the creation of this Ministry?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: We do not know because the Ministry was created only on the 20th January, 1960.

Shri Tangamani: May I know whether it has been brought to the notice of the Government that after the formation of this new Ministry, many Indians with resident permits, who might have overstayed but who had applied for extensions, were asked to leave? That is the point.

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: I want notice for that.

Shri Ramanathan Chettiar: Have the Government of India information to the effect that this Ministry is still continuing under the Dudley Senanayake Government?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: We have not heard of its abolition yet.

Shri Hem Barua: May I know whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to the Address of the Governor-General to the newly elected Parliament of Ceylon in which he has stated that his Government proposes to initiate talks for improvement of the estranged relations between the Sinhalese and Tamil communities in the island; if so, whether Government would seize this psychological moment to approach the Ceylon Government for the solution of the problem of stateless Indians in the island?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): It is very difficult for me to answer—I do not know how this question arises—if in a particular question, the whole issue, the broad issue which has lasted for about 60 to 70 years, is raised.

Shri Hem Barua: That is why I say this is a psychological moment.

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member ought not to take away the time of the House, during Question Hour. He can communicate his suggestions to the Prime Minister.

Shri Tangamani: I wanted to know whether it has been brought to the notice of the Government that people with Indian passports who have overstayed but have applied for permission to stay on, have been asked to leave by this new Ministry, and whether any such representations have been made to our High Commissioner there.

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: In the answer it is given that it is a contravention of law when a person over stays. If the period of the permit has expired the Ceylon Government is entitled to send them back according to their own laws.

Shri Thanu Pillai:⁹⁶ May I know whether this law of deportation is contrary to the undertaking given by the Ceylon Government that those who are residing there normally would be permitted to continue to reside there?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: This Ministry was created really to supervise measures to prevent illicit immigration into Ceylon. So, it deals mostly with illicit immigration.

Shri Thanu Pillai: Question is not about new people going there with a visa, but people who are normally resident there who have been given permits. If they overstay and if they are deported, does it not contravene the undertaking given by the Government of Ceylon in their negotiations with us that they would be permitted to continue to reside as long as they desire?

96. P.T. Thanu Pillai (not to be confused with Pattom Thanu Pillai, Chief Minister of Kerala), Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Tirunelveli, Madras State.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not quite know to what specific undertaking the hon. Member refers. There were talks on this question undoubtedly, but there was no kind of an agreement or final settlement of that issue. Much has happened since those days and those talks took place, and a good number of Indian nationals have been sent back at the expiration of their visa period.

Shri Tangamani: May I know whether applications for extension of the period before expiry have been rejected in the recent past, and whether such instances have come to their notice?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: I want notice of that question.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: It was reported in the press that Prime Minister Dudley Senanayake was alleged to have said that he would like to take up this matter with the Prime Minister of India, with regard to the problem of Stateless people in Ceylon. May I know whether any official communication has been received from the Prime Minister of Ceylon by the Government of India in this regard?

Mr. Speaker: This question relates purely to the existence of a Ministry there to send away those persons who are illicitly continuing to remain there after the expiry of the passports. Nothing more arises out of it.

Shri Thanu Pillai: May I know whether Government would take at least this much interest to intervene in cases of harassment of persons who are compulsorily taken to the police and deported and ask that they may instead be handed over to the Indian Embassy there so that they could be deported without this harassment?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: All these cases of reported harassments are taken up by the High Commission in Ceylon with the Ceylonese Government authorities.

(h) Iran

183. To Louis Mountbatten: T. N. Kaul's Indiscretion⁹⁷

April 7, 1960

[My dear Dickie,]

I have received two letters from you, one from Tehran dated 30th March and the other from Aden dated 31st March. Thank you for them.

I shall await a letter from the Countess of Brecknock⁹⁸ about the Edwina Mountbatten Trust Fund and then take such steps as are feasible.

I see that you will not be in London on Sunday, the 1st May when I am due to arrive there in the morning. I hope to see you on Monday. Nan⁹⁹ will no doubt fix a suitable time.

As for your second letter, I am distressed to know that our Ambassador Kaul in Tehran said something to the Iranian authorities about you which has embarrassed you. I am writing to Kaul about this. He had no business to bring you in the picture in this way, even though what he said was correct in his opinion.¹⁰⁰

[Yours,
Jawaharlal]

184. To N.R. Pillai and S. Dutt: Inquire about T. N. Kaul's Indiscretion¹⁰¹

I have had a long letter from Kaul, our Ambassador in Tehran. In the course of this letter he referred to a long talk he had with Lord Mountbatten. Now I have received a letter from Lord Mountbatten which I attach. From this it would appear that Kaul had been repeating part of his conversation with Lord Mountbatten to the Foreign Minister of Iran¹⁰² or someone close to him. This

97. Letter.

98. Marjorie, Countess of Brecknock (1900-1989); associated with the St. John Ambulance Brigade since 1937, succeeded Edwina Mountbatten as Superintendent-in-Chief on 1 April 1960 and remained so for ten years; Chief President of St. John Ambulance Brigade.

99. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

100. See Appendix 28 for Kaul's letter of 9 April to S. Dutt.

101. Note to SG and FS, 7 April 1960.

102. Abbas Aram.

has put Lord Mountbatten in an embarrassing position and caused trouble. Prima facie, it seems to me that it was improper for Kaul to do so. You might write to Kaul about it and enquire.

**185. To Louis Mountbatten: Iranian Foreign Minister
Distorted T. N. Kaul¹⁰³**

April 12, 1960

[My dear Lord Mountbatten,]

You wrote to me the other day about what our Ambassador in Tehran, T.N. Kaul, was reported to have said to the Foreign Minister there. I was surprised to read this and our Foreign Secretary immediately communicated with Kaul. Kaul has replied to this letter. Although his letter is marked personal and top secret, I think that it would be a good thing for me to send you a copy of Kaul's letter to our Foreign Secretary, which I enclose.¹⁰⁴

I might add that Kaul had sent us a fairly full report of his talk with you. This contained your observations about what had happened at the time of Partition in India and about Kashmir etc. It was a fairly long report but there was nothing in it of the kind the Iranian Foreign Minister stated to the British Ambassador. Kaul is a fairly careful person and it is very unlikely that he would make such a remark as reported.

You will see from Kaul's letter that he wanted to raise this matter with the Foreign Minister of Iran. I do not think this will serve any purpose and we are therefore advising him not to do so.

[Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru]

103. Letter.

104. See Appendix 28.

(i) Indonesia

186. To M.J. Desai: Naval Officers to Indonesia¹⁰⁵

I agree to the deputation of the two Navy officers to Indonesia.¹⁰⁶

As has been pointed out, there is no reference in the agreement with Indonesia to the expenses to be incurred on the visit of these two officers. I should imagine that the expenses incurred in Indonesia will presumably be met by the Indonesian Government. The normal pay etc. will be met by the Defence Ministry. I think it would be desirable to clear this matter informally with the Indonesian Government. This need not be done at this stage, that is, this is not a condition on their going to Indonesia. They will anyhow go there. Our Ambassador might thereafter find out from the Indonesian Government what their ideas are on the subject. In the event of any reluctance on their part to pay any part of this expenditure, we should meet it.

If we have to meet this expenditure, probably it would be better, as suggested by Commonwealth Secretary, that the Defence Ministry should meet it. But I do not attach any great importance to this matter, that is, as to which Ministry will meet this expenditure. In any event, it would be desirable to inform Cabinet. We have had all kinds of objections by Audit on minor items of Defence expenditure and I can understand the Defence Ministry's reluctance to undertake a burden which might be objected to. Therefore, at the appropriate time, the matter might be referred to Cabinet.

(j) Japan

187. To N.R. Pillai: Asian Productivity Council¹⁰⁷

You will remember my sending to you a letter and some papers which the Japanese Ambassador¹⁰⁸ had handed over to me. These related to the setting up of some Asian Productivity Council.

105. Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 12 April 1960. File No. 3400 (10)-SD/59, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

106. For a period of one and a half months under Article II of the India-Indonesia Naval Agreement.

107. Note to SG, 14 April 1960. File No. 2(310)/59-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

108. Shiroshi Nasu.

2. These papers were apparently sent by you to the Minister of Commerce and Industry. I spoke to the Minister also. The Minister has now given me a brief note on this subject.¹⁰⁹ In fact, the matter was referred to briefly at a meeting of the Cabinet also.

3. I agree with what the Minister says in his note that it is for us to make some progress in this matter and to have our own Productivity Council functioning properly before we join any such effort. This was made clear previously by our representative at a conference in March last year. There is also the question of the membership of such a Council. Apart from Japan, which is highly developed in this matter, the other countries are undeveloped countries. Further, a number of these other countries are not even recognised by us like Formosa, South Korea and South Viet Nam. If we join this Asian Council, it means our getting entangled in various ways with these countries and this will have certain political consequences which we do not approve of.

4. Also, the main burden of this Council's work, if we join, will fall upon us, apart of course from Japan.

5. I suggest, therefore, that you might explain this situation in polite but clear language to the Japanese Ambassador.

(k) Africa

188. In the Lok Sabha: Sharpeville Firing ¹¹⁰

RESOLUTION RE: POLICE FIRING IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I gave notice of a Resolution which I intended moving today. With your permission and the permission of the House, I should like to make a very minor alteration, a verbal one, in it—inclusion of the name of a place—to make it a more factually correct Resolution. May I read it in the amended form?

Mr. Speaker: Yes.

109. See Appendix 31.

110. Speech on firing in South Africa, 28 March 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Second Series, Vol. XLI, cols 8372-8378.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I beg to move:

"That this House deplores and records its deep sorrow at the tragic incidents which occurred at Sharpeville and in Langa township near Capetown in South Africa on March 21, 1960, resulting in the death of a large number of Africans from police firing. It sends its deep sympathy to the Africans who have suffered from this firing and from the policy of racial discrimination and the suppression of the African people in their own homeland."

Sir, the other day, when mention was made about this tragic incident in this House,¹¹¹ I ventured to say something and to express a sense of shock which, not only this House, but the whole country had experienced on receipt of this news from South Africa. Now, the Resolution I am moving is, as the House will see, if I may use the word, a moderately-worded resolution. It has been deliberately worded in that way, not because any of us feel very moderately about this matter because it is a matter in which strong feelings are aroused and have been aroused in this House and in this country and over a great part of the world. Nevertheless, I thought that it would be in keeping with the dignity of this House and of Parliament if we should express ourselves in this restrained

DOMESTIC AFFAIR



(From *The Times of India*, 1 April 1960, p.7)

111. See SWJN/SS/58/item 240.

and moderate and rather limited way rather than use strong language. The matter is too serious merely to be disposed of by strong language or any language. It is not the custom of this House normally to consider such matters which are supposed to be in the internal jurisdiction of another country nor indeed would we like the other countries to consider matters in the internal jurisdiction of this country. That is the normal practice; it is the right practice. Nevertheless, sometimes, things happen and occurrences take place which are not normal at all but which are exceedingly abnormal and then it becomes difficult and undesirable for some normal convention to come in the way of the expression of the feeling which is deep-seated and powerful. After all, this House is and ought to be, to some extent a mirror of our people's feelings and therefore, although this is not a normal procedure, we felt that this House should be given an opportunity of expressing the strong feelings which it has in regard to these tragic incidents.

It is bad enough for a large number of people to be killed or for there being a mass killing as there has been in this place in South Africa a week ago. It is worse to have this killing in the manner it was done, so far as accounts have appeared. You must remember that behind all these lies a certain deliberate policy which the South African Union Government is pursuing. This is perhaps not the time to discuss in any detail that policy, the policy of segregation, apartheid or, however it is called. But it is well to remember all the same what this policy means, both in theory and in principle, and in practice. In principle and theory it is the negation of everything that the U.N. stands for and we stand for, of course. I am putting it from the larger ground of what the U.N. and the U.N. Charter stand for. It is the negation of what presumably every civilised Government today stands for or should stand for. That is a serious matter.

Not too long ago, when voices were raised in a great part of the world denouncing the racial policies of the Nazi regime in Germany and a great war took place bringing enormous slaughter in its train, it was said that partly at least—there were many reasons—it was because of those racial policies which the old Nazi Government pursued on the basis of master race, with the right not only to suppress but to exterminate people belonging to some other race, which they thought was almost a sub-human race. Now, that policy, in principle, is adopted and openly proclaimed in the South African Union and as has been often stated in this House, that can only lead to disaster because it is impossible to conceive that other countries of South Africa or indeed of any other part of the world would accept that or submit to that policy. That is the question of principle—apartheid. But in regard to the actual practice of it, I wonder how far hon. Members are really aware of the details of how the Africans have to

live, what they have to submit to, to what conditions of living, where families are torn as under, husband from the wife, father from the son. Without special permission, they cannot leave; they cannot move or do anything without special permits and passes. They may have lived in a place for a whole generation but if they have got a little work outside that place they have to leave that immediately, within a question of hours. But I am not going into that. What I am only pointing out is that it is not merely a question of theory—important as it is, the question of principles and theory—but a question of the practice, the enormous burden that is cast upon them, the African people, by the Government there. They are, as I said, the people whose homeland is that country. They are not aliens: they do not come from elsewhere. The people of Indian descent in South Africa, as we all know, and remember, have had to put up with a great deal of discrimination and suffering and we have resented that. But we must remember also the African people have to put up with something infinitely more than that and our sympathies must go out to them, therefore, even more than to our kith and kin there.

I am moving this resolution today just a week after these occurrences. It so happened today has been declared by some African organisations as a day of mourning,¹¹² and perhaps, therefore, it is to some extent appropriate that this resolution should be considered by this House on this day of mourning.

The other day the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom visited Africa and I think in South Africa itself he referred to what he called a wind of change coming or blowing across the African continent. That was a moderate reference to the ferments and tempests that are taking place in Africa. But whatever that may be, it is clear that the policy of the South African Union Government has not taken into consideration these changes, or knowing them, realising them, nevertheless is not going to be affected by them. And they introduce this system namely, every person has to carry a pass wherever he goes, and he must not go in this area or that area. The House will try to think of it: if every person has to carry a pass all the time, going from one part of the area to another and to be harassed by the police, it is the life not of even a normally semi-free person, but almost the life of a prisoner on ticket or leave. That is what the African population of the South African Union has been reduced to, and it is not surprising that they have resented it and protested against it.

I cannot say without much further knowledge the sequence of events that happened there, but broadly speaking, it was a peaceful protest, as far as we know. There might have been some violence but I cannot say definitely. But

112. By ANC and PAC.

the fact remains that these people who were protesting in the main peacefully were mowed down by machine-guns; while at the same time, to terrify them, I suppose, jet aircraft were flying overhead and all kinds of military machines surrounded them.

Something terrible has happened there; something terrible not only on that particular occasion but in the context of the modern world; and it is not surprising that there has been this great reaction all over the world, and I believe the matter is going to be brought before the United Nations.¹¹³

Now, the United Nations Organisation also, normally, does not interfere in the internal affairs of another country although there have been cases when it has interfered and rightly interfered in giving consideration to those matters. It may be said that this is not a matter for the United Nations—a matter that is likely to lead to violation of international peace and security, that is, the Charter of the United Nations. Well, in that sense, in the strict sense of the world, perhaps it is not. But in any real sense of that word, of that phrase, it is very much a matter in which the United Nations, as representing the international community, should consider this, because it involves something of the most intimate concern to humanity itself.

This problem is dividing today, and will divide even more, humanity into large differing and conflicting sections. It means something even worse than a normal war between nations, something of racial conflict spread all over the globe. I do not say all these things will come but they may come and they will undoubtedly come if this kind of policy is persisted in.

So, this matter is not one merely affecting the South African Union. It affects the whole of Africa and indeed it affects all of us, whatever we may be. It is an odd position that a member of the United Nations is using its State power for suppression, for the assertion of its racial superiority within its territory; that is the question; using the State power in doing something which is objected to and denied by the United Nations in the Charter.

This is the background. These are the problems that are likely to arise in the future. Because of this, I have ventured to put forward this resolution for the consideration of this House. Sir, I move.

Mr. Speaker: Resolution moved:

“That this House deplores and records its deep sorrow at the tragic incidents which occurred at Sharpeville and in Langa township near Cape Town in South Africa on March 21, 1960, resulting in the death of a large number

113. The UN Security Council met for a special session on 30 March 1960 to discuss the Sharpeville massacre.

of Africans from police firing. It sends its deep sympathy to the Africans who have suffered from this firing and from the policy of racial discrimination and the suppression of the African people in their own homeland".

189. To S. Dutt: Preparing to Meet de Gaulle¹¹⁴

These papers should be taken by me to England when I go there.¹¹⁵ They will be helpful in any conversation I might have with President de Gaulle.

You might ask Shri Goburdhan to communicate to Mr. Abbas¹¹⁶ that I have received his message.¹¹⁷ I appreciate the broad position which he takes up in regard to Algeria and all my sympathies are with his people. As for some kind of Bandung Conference, I do not think that this is feasible in the foreseeable future and I doubt if it will have the results which he hopes from it. I shall be going to England at the beginning of May. I have been invited to meet President de Gaulle and I shall pay a brief visit to Paris for this purpose.

190. Message: Birla Textile Venture in Ethiopia Welcomed¹¹⁸

I am glad to learn that a joint venture between India and Ethiopia has taken shape at Addis Ababa and His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia will inaugurate this venture, the Indo-Ethiopian Textiles, S.A. I welcome this cooperation between the Ethiopian Government and Birla Brothers,¹¹⁹ and I wish it all success.

114. Note to FS, 31 March 1960. File No. 3A(3)-WANA/60, MEA.

115. The papers were a letter from R. Goburdhan, Indian Ambassador to Morocco and Tunisia, a note by S. Dutt commenting on Goburdhan's letter, a summary of de Gaulle's statement of 16 September 1959, and a note on the situation in Algeria.

116. Ferhat Abbas, Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of Algeria.

117. For R. Goburdhan's letter of 10 March 1960, see Appendix 2.

118. Forwarded to B.K. Birla, 2 April 1960.

119. See also SWJN/SS/41/pp. 725-726.

191. To the South African Government: On Attack on Verwoerd ¹²⁰

I am deeply distressed to learn about the dangerous attack on the Prime Minister of South Africa. Please convey my regrets at the incident and my earnest wishes for a quick recovery.

192. To Jaya Chamaraja Wodeyar: Lectures in Accra ¹²¹

April 12, 1960

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

You were good enough to send me a few days ago copies of the three lectures that you propose to deliver at Accra. As I was going out of Delhi, and I have only returned this afternoon, I gave your lectures to our Commonwealth Secretary, Shri M.J. Desai, to read. He has sent me a note on them, a copy of which I am enclosing.

I am sorry I have had no time to read your lectures thus far as I have been very heavily occupied and mostly out of Delhi. I am going out again day after tomorrow morning, this time to Assam, and I shall return on the eve of Premier Chou En-lai's visit to India. Perhaps I might not be able to read these lectures during the next few days, though I hope to read them as soon as I get the opportunity.

Meanwhile, the note that our Commonwealth Secretary has written might be of some help to you. We have to be rather careful in dealing with foreign countries lest some word or phrase might offend or might be criticised. In particular, I would beg of you to tone down any references to me.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

120. Message, 11 April 1960. From *National Herald*, 12 April 1960.

121. Letter to the Governor of Mysore (the Maharaja of Mysore).

193. About Mohomed Esoop Nagdee: Message ¹²²

It has given me great pleasure to meet Mr Mohomed Esoop Nagdee who was an old colleague of Mahatma Gandhi in Transvaal and participated in the satyagraha struggle there. To meet such an old veteran is a privilege and happiness.

Mr Nagdee has invited me to pay a visit to his own village, Kachholi, in the Surat District from where, I understand, many of our countrymen went originally to South Africa and they or their descendants are still in South Africa. I am told that it is the wish of many of these old countrymen of ours, who are now settled in South Africa, to pay a visit to India. They would particularly like to be present in their village of Kachholi in Surat District when I go there.

The invitation to me to pay a visit to Kachholi, backed by all these considerations and the personality of Mr Mohomed Esoop Nagdee, is one I cannot refuse. I shall certainly try to go there. It is difficult for me to fix a precise date now. I shall be going to England at the end of this month and returning about the 20th May. I shall be very busy after my return. I hope, however, to be able to pay a visit to Kachholi Village in Surat District about the middle of June 1960 at some date between the 15th and 20th June. I shall be able to give an exact date by the end of May on my return from England.¹²³

Meanwhile, I should like to convey all my good wishes and regards to Mr Mohomed Esoop Nagdee.¹²⁴

194. In the Rajya Sabha: Indian Victims of Kenya Movement¹²⁵

INDIAN WOMAN AND HER CHILDREN MURDERED AT NYERI IN KENYA

Question: ¹²⁶Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that persons belonging to the Mau Mau movement murdered a pregnant Indian woman and her two children at Nyeri in Kenya

122. Message, 13 April 1960. File No. 8/143/60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

123. Nehru visited Kachholi on 22 June 1960. See SWJN/SS/61.

124. See Appendix 32 for M.J. Desai's note of 13 April on this meeting.

125. Oral answers to questions, 13 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, cols 659-663.

126. By Congress MPs Nawab Singh Chauhan and Maheswar Naik; and PSP MP Nirranjan Singh.

in March, 1960;

(b) if the answer to part (a) above be in the affirmative, what are the details of the incident; and

(c) how many similar incidents of violence against Indians have taken place there since that incident and whether Government have taken any steps in the matter?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) and (b) On 11th March, near Nyeri in Kenya's Highlands, Shri Pyarelal Melaram Basson and his family were attacked by three Africans when he was driving his car and robbed. His pregnant wife and the two younger children were slashed to death by Panga (large cane cutting knife). He himself was injured and his four-year old daughter received cuts all over the body and face. She is progressing in hospital. Shri Basson was arrested on the 17th March for alleged complicity in the murder of his wife and children as a result, it is understood, of his own confession.

(c) A similar question No. 37 has already been answered in the Rajya Sabha on the 7th April 1960.

श्री नवाबसिंह चौहान : क्या यह सच है कि इस घटना के बाद भी घटनाएँ इस तरीके की हुई हैं जिनमें हिंसा का प्रयोग किया गया है और इन किन्हीं घटनाओं में माल की चोरी नहीं की गई है बल्कि लोगों को मारा ही गया है? क्या इससे यह नहीं समझा जा सकता है कि हमलावरों का मक्सद माल उठा ले जाना या चोरी करना नहीं था बल्कि कुछ और था?

[Translation begins:

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan: Is it a fact that after this incident, many such violent incidents have occurred where people are killed and robbery or theft of goods is not reported. Does this not suggest that the attackers' motive was not robbery or theft but something else?

Translation ends]

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: Sir, there have been seven cases of such attacks by Africans on Asians in Kenya during the period 11th to the 16th of March. Sir, these have been attempted with violence, robbery and theft. It is reported that as a result of the withdrawal of the emergency laws, large numbers of Kikuyus have come to Kenya—in the urban areas—and because they are unemployed, they take to these activities.

श्री नवाबसिंह चौहान : ये जो घटनाएँ हुई हैं इनमें से कितनों में रॉबरी हुई है, माल को चुराया गया है या छीना गया है और कितनों में नहीं। इसको मंत्री महोदय बताने की कृपा करेंगे?

[Translation begins:

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan: Will the Minister be pleased to state, how many cases were of robbery and how many were of theft in these incidents?

Translation ends]

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: Sir, I have not got these details with me—in how many cases there was robbery and in how many cases there was theft.

Shri Jaswant Singh: I would like to know whether the persons who had been murdered were persons of Indian origin or they were nationals of Kenya.

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: Some of them were persons of Indian origin.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: May I add a word, Sir? They were supposed to be citizens of the United Kingdom, not Indian nationals as such, and some of them were said to be Pakistani nationals.

Shri Niranjan Singh: May I know whether it is all due to exploitation? Some months back the Prime Minister had stated that the people of Indian origin in Kenya were exploiters and, therefore, there was some ill-feeling in that country. This point was replied to by Mr. Amin who was the President there. He said, "We are not exploiters; we are equally working with the African people." So, Sir, may I know whether these people are really exploiters or they are people who are working there along with the African people?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The general impression appears to be, Sir, among the Asian and African leaders that there is no political motive. That has been stated there. There is no question of Indians as a whole being exploiters. Some individuals, of course, may be, but as a whole obviously they are not.

Shri Maheswar Naik: It was stated on the floor of this House the other day that the Governor of Kenya had assured the Asian deputationists that the law would take its own course. May I know whether, since the time that assurance was given, there has been any new incident taking place there? It has been reported in the papers that another Indian was killed during the first week of April.

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: There were incidents reported even after that. The deputation waited on the Governor on the 13th of March but there were certain incidents on the 16th.

Shri Maheswar Naik: May I know what has been the effect of the assurance given by the Kenya Governor?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: Sir, the effect is that all kinds of attempts are being made by the Asian leaders as well as by the African leaders asking people to be calm and not to have recourse to violence.

195. In the Rajya Sabha: Indians in South Africa¹²⁷

Shri Jugal Kishore:¹²⁸ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that 850 Indians of Pietersburg (Transvaal) in South Africa have been ordered to leave their homes within five years by a proclamation made by the Minister of the Interior: and

(b) if so, what action Government have taken in this connection to safeguard their interests?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes. As a result of the declaration of the Indian location in Pietersburg as a Group area for the whites by a notification in the Union Government's Gazette, dated the 4th March, 1960, about 850 persons of Indian origin will have to move to Barrend Veld, the location earmarked for them, within the next five years.

127. Oral answers to questions, 13 April 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXIX, cols 665-669.

128. Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Punjab.

(b) There is no scope for the Government of India to take any action as the persons affected, although of Indian origin, are South African citizens. However, the Government of India's views in the matter have repeatedly been expressed in the United Nations.

Shri Jugal Kishore: May I know, Sir, since how long these Indians are residing there?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: I do not know the exact time, but they have been there for a very long time.

Shri Jugal Kishore: What are the reasons for issuing such a proclamation?

Shrimati Lakshmi Menon: The reason for issuing such a proclamation is the implementation of what is called the Group Areas Act by which each community or each section of the population is given a separate location for residential purposes.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know whether it is a fact that in the recent months residents of Indian origin there have been subjected to all kinds of harassment and persecution and that in the past few weeks a number of citizens of Indian origin or residents of Indian origin have also been arrested and, if so, what steps the Government have taken through the Commonwealth agency to find out the position and the reasons for the arrest of such people?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I could not give any particular answer as to who has been arrested or how many of them have been arrested, but there can be no doubt that the people of Indian origin—the House very well knows—have been subjected to a great deal of harassment, to put it rather mildly. So far as the Government of India are concerned, they can take no steps through any Commonwealth agency, and in fact there is no Commonwealth agency for this purpose.

Shri Maheswar Naik: It is stated that 850 people were of Indian origin and that they had acquired South African citizenship. May I know whether the Government of India does not own any responsibility towards those people who will become Stateless?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no question of Stateless persons.

Mr. Chairman: They are South African citizens.

Shri Maheswar Naik: They have been served with quit notices.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: There are no Stateless persons in South Africa to my knowledge.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: My position must not be misunderstood; when I said "Commonwealth agencies", I had in mind the Crown supposed to be the titular head of the Commonwealth to whom certain things should be addressed through proper quarters. May I know whether any such thing had been done and whether the Prime Minister is aware that after our country's very legitimate reaction to the recent happenings in South Africa, there has been a tightening up of the repressive machinery against the people of Indian origin there?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not quite understood the question, as to what machinery the hon. Member is talking about. We are interested in this matter. We have been interested in it for a number of reasons—historical, cultural and others—and we continue to be interested in it. That is why we have taken this question up in the United Nations which is at present the only proper forum.

Shri Ebrahim Sait:¹²⁹ What about the property they hold there when they are asked to leave their places?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: They take their property from one place to another. That is, according to the Group Areas Act, certain areas are specified. This is, of course, most harassing to be removed from your place of residence and business and put in some other place. I presume they can take such properties that they have. There is no difficulty about it but there is bound to be difficulty in uprooting the people and putting them somewhere else.

Shri Jaswant Singh: I would like to know whether we have any responsibility, direct or indirect, in regard to the people of Indian origin who are no more Indian nationals in other countries.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just said so, Sir. We have certain historical, certain cultural, certain humane responsibilities. But they are not Indian nationals

129. Ebrahim Sulaiman Sait, Muslim League, Rajya Sabha MP from Kerala.

and it is not a question of their changing their nationality, without being Indian nationals. Most of them have been born and bred up there. They are South African nationals. But we are interested because of certain historical, cultural and humane considerations in our opposition to policies of racial intolerance, and we raise that in the United Nations.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know whether the Prime Minister has communicated to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference which is going to be held should include this particular item in its agenda for a discussion so that the discussion can be addressed to this particular subject?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Presumably the hon. Member is referring to the application of the Group Areas Act to Indians. We have not communicated.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: No, Sir.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: If he is referring to the entire situation in South Africa today—it is a very grave and explosive situation—even in regard to that, we have not communicated any addition to the agenda. But there has been a good deal of reference to this matter and maybe, the matter may come up for discussion.

(I) Nasser's visit

196. Talks with Nasser¹³⁰

Prime Minister's talks with President
Nasser of UAR on 29th, 30th and 31st March, 1960

P.M.: I suggest you tell us about the state of affairs in your part of the world about developments in Africa where probably the biggest movements are afoot. We would like to hear about developments in the United Arab Republic, which

130. Record of talk between Nehru and President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the UAR, on 29, 30 and 31 March 1960. Note signed by P.N. Kaul, Deputy Secretary, MEA, on 7 April 1960. S. Dutt Papers, NMML.

Nasser arrived in Delhi on 29 March; besides these talks, he attended a special reception on 31 March, addressed MPs in Delhi and visited AMU on 1 April before proceeding to other places in India. He left on 10 April from Bombay for Karachi.

affects the general situation in the area.

Nasser: I am asking myself the question where I should begin. I think I should begin with the United Arab Republic. Last time I talked to you was three years ago.¹³¹ The position is now different. We have had clashes with the Soviets over communism; Iraqi revolution has appeared as another new factor. When we last met, there were pressures to bring new countries into the Baghdad Pact. Now there is no Baghdad pact. A lot of changes have taken place in the politics of the two power blocs. Above all, there has been the unification of Egypt and Syria which gave birth to the United Arab Republic. This unification was brought about because of the insistence of the people and not because of any pressure from either of the two world blocs.

At the moment Iraqi revolution is the principal factor in Arab politics. In regard to Iraqi revolution, both blocs played their cards. We had to declare that if Iraq was subjected to aggression, we will fight. Suddenly new problems appeared on the horizon. Communist activities in the area created a dangerous situation. We could not fight on two fronts—against colonial powers and communist both. If we had kept fighting on two fronts, it might have been the end of Arab nationalism. I want to analyse why communist activities were hostile to us. To my mind, the communists were sure that the only force which could stand against them was Arab nationalism. The Soviet Embassy in Syria began activities in a large scale, attacking the idea of unity. I sent a message to Khrushchev and told him that this would not help friendly relations between our two countries. I received an answer from him to say that this was a local action and that USSR will support UAR. However, the leader of the communist party in Syria refused to go to Parliament to speak for the Union. They were asking me for the union which I was not prepared for, because I thought that there should not be premature union and that the time will be ripe for it about five years later. The communists knew this stand and, therefore, deliberately adopted the slogan of unity with a view to embarrassing us. Their game was that they would come to us with the demand for a union which we will refuse. Then they will go to the people and say, look, Nasser is refusing union with Egypt and thereby pose as champions of unification, while in fact wanting to discredit Nasser.

The Army Commander in Syria was a regular communist. He came and asked me about the union. I opposed it and said that we needed another

131. On 10 July 1957 on way back from the Hague, See SWJN/SS/38/pp. 685-686.

five years. He pressed for the union in the presence of other officers. At last we agreed, but when he went back to his residence he tried to convince the officers that he had acted in haste. He tried to retreat, but the officers refused. So the Army Commander resigned and we accepted the resignation. In this manner, the unification was achieved in spite of the communists who supported the idea of unification purely as a tactical move to gain support in Syria.

When the revolution came to Iraq, the communists wanted to separate Syria from the UAR and that is how the clash with USSR began. Mukhitdinov¹³² visited us in September, 1956. I explained everything to him. The answer that I got was that the Russians were not in touch with the communists in Iraq. Then I attacked the Syrian Communist Party, because its leader had left Syria for Sofia and from there demanded separation of Syria from the UAR. Khrushchev attacked us during the session of the Party Congress in January 1959. We decided not to give an official reply, but answered him through our newspapers. Mukhitdinov also criticised us, but we decided not to reply.

P.M.: Did Mukhitdinov attack you?

Nasser: Yes, he did, but we ignored all that. The British, French and Italian policies were also directed against us, and it was difficult to fight on both fronts.

In March there was revolt in Mosul in Iraq.¹³³ At that time Khrushchev attacked us in his speech during one of the receptions in Moscow. He forced us to answer him, which we did. We told him that we did not accept interference in our internal affairs.

P.M.: Is the Communist Party legal in Egypt?

Nasser: No, it is not legal, but works underground. So, after this clash with the Soviet Union our relations entered a new phase. Formerly our relations with the USSR were very friendly, but then they attacked us with a very clever method of broadcasting articles against us, published in communist papers. We counter-attacked. Then came China. An insulting

132. N.A. Mukhitdinov, member, Central Committee of the CPSU; Ambassador to Syrian Arab Republic, 1968- 77.

133. See SWJN/SS/48/p. 544, fn 199 and SWJN/SS/49/p. 6, fn 14.

speech was delivered in China by visiting communists. This was obviously done under the patronage of Chinese Government. I think the Soviet Union and other communist countries were of the view that the success of the Communist Party in Iraq will enable them to take power in their hands. So they supported the communists in Iraq, but our plan was to criticise the communists in Iraq and to isolate them from the people.

Now the position in Iraq is different. Because of the various killings there, the communists have been isolated. Kasim¹³⁴ himself is afraid of the strength of the communists. After getting rid of the old leaders in Iraq, he had to split the communist party and use one section against the other. Now there are two communist parties. The main party is illegal. The U.K. is actively interested in Iraq. The British policy is directed against the nationalists, as it is a danger to British interests in the Persian Gulf. So the United Kingdom supports communists. Today Iraq is in chaos. There are clashes everyday between the nationalists and the major communist party. A large number of people continue to be killed. The Government said that there will be more parties, but in fact, there are only those parties which are permitted by the Ministry of Home Affairs. Now there are only three principal parties: (1) The Leftist Democratic Party, (2) Kurdistan Party, (3) Communist Party, a wing of the main party.

The Soviet Union staked everything in support of Iraq in the hope that communists will come to power there.

P.M. Meanwhile Iraq continued to attack UAR.

Nasser: We stopped attacking Kassim about four months ago in the hope that Kasim will do likewise. But Kasim is afraid of nationalism. The people in Iraq are confused. They came out in support of nationalism shouting pro-Nasser slogans. Kasim did not like Iraqis shouting such pro-Nasser slogans and he did not like such demonstrations, but the support for nationalism is very much there.

United Kingdom is playing a part in Iraqi politics through the Iraqi Petroleum Company. U.K. and USA are using Jordan and some Lebanese elements against us. There is room for conflict between the nationalists and the U.K. and U.S. and communist agents.

For the first time, we see in Iraq a strong alliance between the colonial powers and the communists. This is so, because the colonial powers

134. Abdul Karim Kassem, the Prime Minister of Iraq.

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consider UAR and Arab nationalism a greater danger than communism.

Lately, there has been a change in the policies of USA and Soviet Union. There was an economic agreement between Syria and the Soviet Union. After unification of Syria with Egypt, the Soviet Union did not want to implement the agreement. So we took the initiative in asking other countries to come and implement the projects. Now the Russians want to come back fulfil their old commitments.

USA, which had stopped loans to us, has also come back. Moscow's attitude towards the Aswan Dam was rather peculiar. The Russians thought that we were under American influence and that we could not decide this matter without consulting the Americans. This was evidently based on reports sent by local communists. When we agreed to receive Russian assistance, they were surprised.

P.M. : At the present moment your relations with the Soviet Union are moderately good.

Nasser: Not as good as they were previously, but I should say they are normal. The Russian estimate was that the communists would attack me and then Khrushchev's support will be given to them. This will result in such a tremendous force against me that I will go under. It turned out differently. We succeeded in putting down communists everywhere; so the Russians are bitter about it. Saleh Salem¹³⁵ met Khrushchev for four hours. He went to Moscow for an interview for his newspaper, but Khrushchev was very bitter at my describing communists as foreign agents. Khrushchev asked for whom were these foreign agents working. He thought that the democratic elements should be freed.

We have made good progress and are able to manufacture spare parts for tanks and planes etc. We have also solved the supply position in regard to ammunition.

P.M. : After attack in Peking against you, the Chinese Govt. toned down the attack.

Nasser: They told our Chargé d'Affaires that the speech was not official. They apologised and put an end to it. The active Embassy in Middle Eastern

135. (1920-1962); Egyptian military officer, and politician; member of the Free Officers Movement; editor, *Al-Shaab* newspaper; Chairman of the Press Syndicate.

politics is not the Chinese but Bulgarian. The Bulgarians have tried to recruit students studying in Bulgaria and use them for their own end.

P.M. : Why should Bulgaria be interested?

Nasser: Bulgaria is the centre of communist activities in Middle East. The Syrian, Iraqi and other communists are also linked with Sofia. When Sofia attacks us, we attack Sofia and not the Soviet Union.

As regards Jordan, King Hussein is in the hands of UK and USA completely. He takes £20 million from them and cannot live without aid. Both UK and USA look to Jordan as a barrier.

P.M.: One might say that your relations with the Soviet Union are normal but restrained:

Nasser: That is true, but Bulgaria is the centre of activity for the communists. UK and France are also doing propaganda against UAR and are using Jordan as a tool in their hands. It is difficult to have normal, good relations with Jordan.

P.M.: To some extent our information was that China was active in Bulgaria.

Nasser: I know nothing about it. I have tried to think to the contrary, but I have come to the conclusion that the policies of the Soviet Union and China are co-ordinated. When China bites, Soviet Union smiles. We are penetrating the communist party in Baghdad, and know that the communists get information not from China but from Bulgaria and Soviet Union. I am aware there are theories to the effect that China has a separate policy from the Soviet Union, but I do not believe it.

P.M.: Would you say the same about the Soviet Union and China in the context of their activities in other parts of the world?

Nasser: I think the same is true of Chinese and Russian policies in other parts of the world. I might give you an example. Moscow smiled to Tito. The idea was that Yugoslavia should join the Warsaw pact. When Tito refused, the attack came not from Moscow but from China. Mr. Khrushchev's campaign for peace has been creating difficulties for Western alliance and he has to smile. The Chinese are rather active in Africa. As a people the Chinese are nearer to Africans than the Russians.

P.M. : In what parts of Africa are they active?

Nasser: In Guinea, Sudan and in all other newly independent countries. They are also fairly active in Cairo, because there we have leaders of African people from all over the continent.

P.M.: What would be your appraisal of the Chinese policy generally?

Nasser: China wants to be a big power and wants to be recognised as such. So China is adopting power politics. In the beginning when they followed Bandung policies, they were very successful. Now there is a change which, I think, has been brought about by two factors: (1) internal situation and the failure of communes, and (2) China wants to let everybody know that she is there.

I know how you supported Chou in Bandung and helped them to lift blockade against China after the Korean war. We were first to recognise China after Korea. Dulles was furious. Suddenly came the clash over the Indo-Chinese border. We noted that the Chinese were clashing with Indonesia and also with us. We were puzzled in finding an answer to the question as to why the Chinese were behaving in this fashion.

P.M. : Our impression is that China and the Soviet Union have a common policy with two different tactics.

Nasser: I will go back to the example that I gave. Soviet Union was friendly to Marshal Tito. Why? They wanted Tito to join the Warsaw Pact, but when he refused, China attacked Yugoslavia. The Yugoslavs were described revisionists because Yugoslavia was permitting holdings upto 25 acres. In East Germany they permit land holdings upto 100 acres, but that has not bothered them.

Soviet Union attacked us, but when we replied they stopped. We were attacked by others on behalf of Soviet Union which enabled us also to attack USSR indirectly.

P.M. : A lot of people from Eastern Europe have said that they were dissatisfied with lots of developments in China and they hoped that the Chinese will come round. Some people have said that since Yugoslavia and USSR have a lot of things in common an attack by China on Yugoslavia is an indirect attack on the Soviet Union.

Nasser: They said the same to us also. But we have to look at the facts. We note that Russia built 620 new plants for China in the First Five Year Plan. For the Second Plan, the Russians will be giving more assistance. So China is completely dependent on the Soviet Union for industrialisation. The Soviet Union would not have given such a tremendous help if she was really unhappy with China.

P.M.: Neither China nor USSR can do away with each other. But maybe, China is Stalinist in its character which perhaps Khrushchev does not like.

Nasser: We have to take note of the geographical situation. USSR faces Europe and their object is to put an end to the Atlantic Treaty. This cannot be done by toughness which would only strengthen the Atlantic Alliance. So, Soviet Union adopts a clever soft policy, that is how Khrushchev wants to win the battle of Europe.

As against this, China faces Asia and the newly developed countries there. These new countries are not completely stable economically or socially. So China can adopt different tactics. China is most active in South America.

P.M. : Soviet Union has, perhaps, grown out of a violent phase and is satisfied internally and externally. She does not want more territory and thinks that she can impress the world more by economic progress than by threats.

Nasser: In spite of clashes, economic agreement with UAR and Russia continued. This was a wise decision for the Russians. I told the Russian Ambassador in Cairo that the communists were hostile to us and if you support them, you would be taking a hostile act against us. His reply was that the communists were very close to each other.

Communism in Middle East has been adopted as a modern attitude. 50% of the leaders of the Communist Party are rich and wealthy. We have information that through the office set up for translating books and for distribution of films, assistance is given to local communists. There may be other direct means also, but we have not been able to lay our hands on them.

P.M. : You may kindly give us an appraisal of the situation in Africa as a whole. Africa has many different problems, but the basic fact remains that the African mass is wide awake. The Belgians thought that they had been very liberal in Belgian Congo but even there, there has been a lot of trouble.

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Nasser: A clear struggle for independence is taking place all over Africa. Some of these new countries in Africa have had very close ties with France and U.K. We feel that many more countries will become independent in the next five or six years. It is quite true that the Belgians were satisfied with their reforms in Congo, but suddenly it exploded. One aspect of the problem in Africa is that the Big Powers there are struggling for economic footholds. Israel is a principal party in Nigeria. United Kingdom and France are giving all facilities to Israel to secure economic domination there.

The newly independent countries are faced with pressures. Their main problem is economic development.

Other interested parties are trying to create a rift between Asians and Africans. There is a danger that this may be exploited in future. It is necessary to make an effort to maintain Afro-Asian solidarity. The cry of Nasser colonialism is likely to be raised. We should guard against it.

Somaliland is economically weak. The Big Powers are offering help but their intention is not so much to help Somaliland as it is to try and retain their influence there through aid. They are now trying to achieve by aid what they could not achieve by direct pressures.

P.M. : What about the Cameroons?

Nasser: A number of leaders from the Cameroons were in Cairo. In consultation with them, we decided that if we did not recognise Cameroon, we will be isolated.

P.M. : It is odd that at the time of the inauguration, firings and shootings were going on in the Cameroons.¹³⁶

Nasser: Moscow recognised the new State at once and many others followed suit. So, it would not have been right for us to ignore it.

At present we are not permitted to go to the French Cameroons, Kenya, Uganda and other places. We had asked for permission to open a Consulate in Kenya, but this was refused.

P.M. : Can't even the tourists go?

136. The French-administered part of the Cameroon became independent on 1 January 1960. See SWJN/SS/47/ p. 144, fn 105 and 106.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Nasser: No, nobody is permitted from the UAR to visit these places, but we have been broadcasting the Voice of Africa from Cairo. Britain is furious about it and does not like it at all, but they forget that they themselves were broadcasting secretly against us. A certain amount of propaganda is being carried on, on the lines that the Arabs are not Africans.

P.M. : How are your relations with U.K. now?

Nasser: Normal, but cautious. We do not trust them. They think that we are a danger to them in the Persian Gulf area.

P.M. : A lot of petrol has been discovered in Lybia [Libya].

Nasaer: They hope to develop the production of petrol to 15 million tons a year. Reports indicate that there is plenty of petrol there.

P.M. : Perhaps it is too early to be sure about it.

Nasser: There are 23 different companies from all over the world which are engaged in research of petrol there.

P.M. : How about your relations with Sudan?

Nasser: Our relations are good after the agreement on Nile Waters.

P.M. : I suppose your relations with France are tough.

Nasser: Our relations with France are not good, partly because of the aggression in 1956 and now because of Algeria. Economic relations are progressing. Recently, there was a storm against France, because of the atomic tests in the Sahara.

We have good relations with Ghana and Ethiopia. We do not have any relations yet with Togoland.

Dr. Fawzi¹³⁷ has raised the problem of economically weak countries which will soon be free. Unless United Nations help them, these new countries will be in difficulties. We cannot do much by way of help, but there is a lot which these countries can do themselves. Guinea, for example, has made substantial progress.

137. Mahmoud Fawzi, Minister of Foreign Affairs, UAR.

P.M.: We are also in a similar situation. We can give the services of experts, but not much help in money.

Nasser: Israel can afford to get experts, because they have a lot of money, but it is difficult for countries like us, which are themselves receiving aid, to give aid to others. Israel is now concentrating on Nigeria. In Somaliland, U.K. came out with the idea of big Somaliland. This raised the suspicion of Ethiopia.

P.M.: What about Algeria?

Nasser: On the day of departure for India, I was told that the situation in Algeria was hopeless. Both de Gaulle and the Algerian Government want to continue to fight. The Algerians have lost a lot of civilians. France has systematically destroyed crops of the entire areas which were feeding the soldiers of the liberation army. I think that military strength will decide the issue. If Algeria can create enough trouble, de Gaulle will be forced to come to terms with them. If the Algerians are weak, then de Gaulle will sit on them. The French are afraid to lose Algeria, as it is the main gateway into Africa. If they lose Algeria, they will lose all Africa.

P.M. : They may lose Africa even without losing Algeria. What is the attitude of the Moroccans?

Nasser: The King of Morocco¹³⁸ is a good man, but there is a lot of competition between the parties which are split on minor matters. The King dominates the army and the Home Ministry etc. The Crown Prince is the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. The parties decided to liquidate themselves but only on paper. Lately, there have been some arrests in the party of the Prime Minister. As you know, there has been a conflict between Crown Prince and the Prime Minister. The result is disorder and troubles.

P.M. : What do you think of Bourguiba?¹³⁹

138. Mohammed V, 14 August 1957 to 26 February 1961.

139. Habib Bourguiba, President of Tunisia.

Nasser: He has openly said that he is a man of the West. In Tunisia they arranged the annihilation of the Opposition.

P.M. : de Gaulle has been sending messages to see me, and I have agreed to go to Paris for half a day. I have never met de Gaulle so far.

Nasser: During the Second World War, he was a good leader, but later on he opposed the freedom of Syria. He bombed Damascus. Frankly, this is a question of French empire, in which personalities hardly matter.

France has been giving supersonic mystères to Israel. We have MIGs which are not supersonic. Israel's policy is aimed at isolating the Western countries from Arab countries. UK is helping Israel secretly. UK sent their latest tanks to Israel. We know this positively but no mention has been made of them. We do not recognise the Tripartite Declaration of 1950. *New York Times* published a report that Khrushchev sent me a message saying that he wanted to defend our borders. This is complete nonsense which was published by *New York Times*, with a view to confusing issues. Lately, Israeli armies have been trying to occupy areas which did not belong to them. Israel has occupied three out of four original demilitarised zones. They cannot take waters of Jordan, without coming to demilitarised zone. This may be the cause of next trouble.

When we agreed about the Suez settlement, we agreed to give freedom of navigation to all nations except Israel. At present we are following the policy of confiscating cargoes intended for Israel and letting the ships go.

P.M. : What is your opinion about the present position of military pacts?

Nasser : The old Baghdad Pact is still working against us. They lure us with a complete pact of all Muslim countries. King Saud has been instigated to take this line at the instance of the USA. I have told Saud that it is not a question of religion. We should, of course, reject the idea of military pacts because pacts are meant for promoting foreign influences. If a military pact is implemented, it would only mean that the Baghdad Pact will function in another name. King Saud is the only King who takes his descent from the sons of the Prophet. As such he thinks it his responsibility to bring all the Arab countries together. UK is also encouraging this idea. I have maintained that the signing of a military pact would lead to our isolation, would work against Afro-Asian solidarity and would isolate Arab countries from India and others.

CENTO is also not working. Is not that true?

P.M.: It is moribund.

Nasser: Really these two pacts were created by Dulles and Eden. There was some talk of military pacts but we did not agree with them either. The Western Powers are paying attention to Central Africa. They have their headquarters in Kenya and Aden.

P.M. : It seems that the various pacts, including NATO, are out-of-date. Some time ago, Field Marshal Montgomery came to see me.¹⁴⁰ He is a peculiar man, very self-opinionated, but able. He holds categorical views and is opposed to pacts. He thinks that NATO had a meaning at one time but it has lost all meaning now. His main concern was Europe and China. According to Field Marshal Montgomery, Russia and Western Powers should come together to face the greater menace of China. If they did not do so, then China would become stronger, which will make it more difficult to deal with her.¹⁴¹ Montgomery intended to go to Eisenhower to explain this to him. He was playing about with the idea of going to China and wanted to know if he could go there. The Chinese have invited him. Yesterday I received a letter from him, saying that he wanted to see me in London before going to China.

I think that while I will go along with your basic contention that Russia and China are bound together with mutual interests and cannot go against each other, they are still not very friendly with each other. The problems of the future are looming in Khrushchev's mind. China will be too big and too strong. Vast population, along with industrial power, will make China a tremendous power. Whenever China has been strong, there has been a tendency for it to expand. One place of expansion may be Siberia. On several occasions, Khrushchev has vaguely expressed his apprehension about the future. In the next few years Russia and China are bound to come closer. All the same, Russia is annoyed at China being independent and for China becoming the High priest of communism.

Russia today is less theoretical and is more pragmatic. Khrushchev is not a theoretical man at all. China is still passing through Stalinist phase. Their initial successes in production have made them very arrogant also. At the Chinese demonstration, people carry Stalin's pictures. Khrushchev's pictures are nowhere to be seen. When Khrushchev went there, China gave him a cold, restrained reception which he did not like at all.

140. 5-8 January 1960. See also SWJN/SS/53/items 197-199.

141. See SWJN/SS/53/item 164.

Broadly speaking, Soviet Union is a territorially satisfied power. It is also afraid of war destroying what it has created. They do not want war to destroy when they have great economic prospects which will enabled them to influence the outside world. The Soviet Union is therefore definitely against war. China, on the contrary, constantly talks of losing millions of people. Very casually Mao himself told me five years ago that they could afford to lose a few hundred million people.¹⁴²

At the rate it is changing, in about ten years' time Tibet will not be Tibet at all. Even in their maps, the Chinese did not like calling it Tibet. The Chinese have evidently revised their policy on nationalities. Chinese are pouring in large numbers in Tibet. In a few years' time, the Chinese will exceed Tibetans in Tibet. Even the Tibetan dress is being changed.

In Mongolia, a tug of war is going on, not openly though between Soviet Union and China.

We respect China for hard work. In two years' time, they have effected tremendous changes. It is possible that in 10-20 years, they may tone down. In the meantime the population will grow and China will be the major world problem of the future.

In spite of world brotherhood of communism, the Soviet Union does not like the prospect of China being too strong. This is indicated by the fact that the Soviet Union is a bit slow now in helping China, for example, in the atomic field. The Russian atomic scientists told us that we were stronger than China in the field of atomic work.

Chou is coming here in about three weeks' time and it will be very tough going. Chou's position is so far removed from ours that there is little ground for common agreement. The Chinese have the advantage that they are sitting on our territory. If we agree to the status quo, it will mean they will continue to sit there. We cannot possibly allow that.

I do not know what Chou has in mind. Before the Chinese came into Tibet, we had no trouble. Now that this problem has arisen, we will deal with the Chinese when they come.

Their attitude is really peculiar. They go on repeating their adherence to Five Principles, and continue to do what they like. In addition, they keep on giving us threats.

In Tibet minor military frictions tell the Tibetans they will take them to China. If you go to India we will catch you there also. The idea is obviously to create fear.

Thus we are witnessing a major historical development. The frontier which

142. See SWJN/SS/27/pp. 32-40.

was dead for thousands of years, has now become alive with armies facing each other. The frontier is going to remain alive even if there is an agreement with China.

The feelings in India have been very much roused and are very strong today. They cannot possibly die down quickly.

Another peculiar feature of this problem is that from times immemorial, mountains have formed an intimate part of our culture. The Himalayas, for example, occupy No. 1 place in the minds and hearts of our people. It is inconceivable that a chunk of Himalaya may cease to be a part of India.

Recent Chinese treaties with Burma and Nepal are not complete. They have left it to commissions to define the borders. They have gone, to some extent, to recognise Nepalese and Burmese claims. This is being done to put pressure on us. We are not prepared to accept commissions for defining the 2500-mile frontier.

Nasser: What could be the object of Chou's visit except to show that he is trying to solve the problem peacefully?

P.M. : He invited me first. They are used to ordering people about, but I saw no reason why I should run about at his orders. I refused to go to Rangoon or Peking. But I felt that it would not be right to leave the matter there. So I invited him to come here. I have said that we are not going to negotiate on Chou's terms. The forthcoming talks are intended to find out what is at the back of each other's mind. Talks may adjourn without any results. As far as I can see, I cannot think of any useful suggestion that Chou may make.

Internally, reaction against China has made people more western-minded. Our newspapers are not only big concerns but they are run and owned by big industries, and as such they are a nuisance. They are getting tired of our socialist policies. They hold strong views against China and want to turn everything in favour of the West.

The Swatantra Party is a strange mixture of landlords, deposed Maharajas and all those who are against us and me. One big thing which comes in their way is that it is not easy for them to remove me. I have more popularity and backing than all of them put together. Now a campaign is going on not against policies, but on the lines that there is too much of corruption. Three years ago, nobody could say anything against non-alignment. Now many are indulging in talks of this nature. The rightist elements are shouting a lot, but with no results.

Nasser: In Egypt, we reorganised industry, as a result of which the industrialists got more profits than before, and so they were in favour of supporting us.

P.M.: Another odd thing is that many of them are American-minded. They say, give us a chance and we will get the money. As a matter of fact, we have now a large and better press than ever before in the United States. Americans are afraid of China and regard us as a balancing factor. We have received a lot of favourable reporting by visitors, who all felt that we were approaching the take-off stage in our economy. They are more inclined to help us than before.

Eisenhower threw hints several times that they were prepared to give us military aid. We refused. We are prepared to buy arms, but not accept military aid.

Khrushchev was very effusive and exceedingly friendly. I thought that he was mildly critical of China. There was a slight note of contempt for China not taking advice from the Soviet Union.

I put to him straight the problem of our border trouble. He said that it was a very embarrassing situation for him. His attitude was: We hope you will come to an agreement with each other and thereby pull me out of embarrassment.

A number of Russian Ministers and high officials thanked me for not raising the question of China too much. There is, perhaps, no idea of any discord with China at the back of the Russian mind, but it is, perhaps, thought that India is a balancing factor in a different way. This is a very curious position. Next year we will have a Third Five Year Plan based on large sums received on long-term credit. Russia has been helping us substantially, but every help that we take is a burden for the future.

Nasser: But payment will be made from the returns.

P.M. : That is true. We have always laid stress on people working themselves and depending on others as little as may be possible.

Nasser: Until you make machines which can turn out what you need, you will have to be dependent.

P.M. : That is true, but it is also a question of psychological importance.

It is good for people to think that they should rely on themselves. As it is we have to depend upon rain. If there is no rain, the harvests are very badly hit. If we import food, the burden is so great that we cannot import anything else. Depending on rain is a very big gamble.

We put ceilings on land holdings and want to organise them into cooperatives.

We have one big State farm in Suratgarh. This covers 30,000 acres. So far we have cultivated 5,000 acres and the farm is giving very good results.

Nasser : In 1958, Russians gave us some machinery, but we did not find it very profitable. That is not really agriculture, it is more research.

P.M. : Our big farm has been profitable. The biggest thing in our times is the rapid pace of technological development. In next 25 years there will be new sources of power which would change social relations and the face of the world.

Our countries like UAR and India are so involved in the first revolution that we have to go slow with the second revolution. In India every century is represented, right from atomic energy to bullock carts and all other stages in between. At the moment, I am told that the biggest source of power in India is by burning cowdung.

Nasser: You had talked at one stage of getting electricity from the cart wheel.

P.M. : We tried a number of experiments which proved economically unsound.

Nasser: What are your relations with Pakistan?

P.M. : About a year ago, relations appeared to be improved. Relations between people have always been friendly. The trouble is in governmental relations. President Ayub made some good approaches to us. We used to have border troubles, minor irritations such as cattle lifting etc. We got together and put an end to it. This was a good thing.

In our relations with Pakistan there are three major problems: (1) Kashmir, (2) Canal Waters and (3) Financial settlement. I will take the last one first. The financial division between India and Pakistan has not yet been settled. India had taken the entire burden of the national debt, of which Pakistan should have paid one-third. In balance, they have large sums of money to pay, which they have not done. Last week, the Finance Minister went to Pakistan. Minor things were settled there, but not the major ones.

For the last eight years, the World Bank has been dealing with Canal Waters. The settlement by the Bank suggested our paying big amounts to Pakistan for developing their water system. Some difficulties have arisen in this connection. I hope they will be settled.

Nasser: We gave £15 million to Sudan.

P.M. : Kashmir is where it was. There is no foreseeable prospect of any change. Pakistan has occupied one-third of our territory. A couple of days ago, Pakistan

issued postage stamps showing Kashmir, Junagadh and other places as their territory.¹⁴³

Nasser: What do you think of Ceylon?

P.M. : Ceylon is in a bad way. These countries never struggled for freedom. Now they are split into so many parties.

Nasser : There is no stability there after Bandaranaike's death.

P.M. : In Burma, U Nu has just won elections.

Nasser : Ne Win came to UAR.

P.M. : Ne Win is a good man. He could have continued but preferred to have elections and hand over the power to the party which won the elections.

Nasser: Prince Sihanouk is being subjected to all manner of pressures.

P.M. : When Chinese trouble arose, Ayub offered a military pact to us. I replied, military pact goes hand in hand with foreign policy. Our foreign policies are different. So, it is difficult to envisage that our military policies can be combined. Besides, there was a question of defence against whom. Moreover, if we had such a military pact, we would have been drawn into a system of alliances and fallen out with Russia. I do not like the developments in West Germany. It is drifting to old Nazi practices.

Nasser: General Speidel¹⁴⁴ is now commanding NATO forces.

P.M.: Macmillan went to Washington to discuss the proposal regarding agreement on atomic tests. Evidently, United States wants to perfect something which they have in mind. So they do not want to give the assurances that there will not be atomic tests.

The pressures are so great that I do not know what the Summit will be able to achieve.

143. See item 176.

144. Hans Speidel (1897-1984); German General; Commander of the NATO ground forces in Central Europe, 1957- 1963.

197. Special Reception for Nasser¹⁴⁵

Mr President and friends,

You have heard in the course of last forty minutes many voices but they were similar in-tune with each other and more or less they sang the same song of joy at the visit of the President of the United Arab Republic here and of high appreciation of his labours for his country and not only for that but for much wider sphere also. Also stress was made rightly on the very close relations which have existed and exist now between our two countries. Now there is no particular point in my stressing the obvious or repeating what has been said.

It is just two days now since President Nasser and his colleagues reached Delhi. I wonder what the President's feelings are about these two days? What I mean is that these two days have been so full for him and he has been rushed about so much that it would probably appear to him to be many more than two days.

Now we talk about Asia and Africa and Asian-African solidarity and no doubt we do so rightly. Now the point that emerges is that for a long period in the past, for some hundred of years, Asia and Africa were silent witnesses of many things they did not like; and other countries of Europe chiefly pretended to speak for Asia and Africa, and managed to make perhaps the world believe that they represented Asia and Africa. Now a change has come. It has come and it is coming more and more and certainly people realise that if they want to know what is in the minds and hearts of Asia and Africa they will have to listen to different voices than before; more authentic voices which come from these great Continents. That does not mean that in Asia and Africa we should pretend to speak for others and try to assure the old type of role that the other Continents used to play in trying to dominate these great countries of these great continents. Yet, although that type of domination has gone or is going rapidly we see a fresh tide of world conflicts, if you like, conflicts between what is called ideologies, between blocs, between great military alliances, between great nations. Great nations who have played a great part and are playing a great part, even though we may not agree with them. Now it is presumed however, that because there are these great ideologies, because there are these groups of

145. Speech at a special reception given to Nasser jointly by the Indo-UAR Friendship Society, the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity and the Indo-Arab Society, Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi, 31 March 1960. AIR tapes, NMML.

Central Ministers, members of the diplomatic corps and other prominent people attended the reception.

nations, mighty in power and mighty in wealth, therefore all other countries should line-up with them – this way or that way. What is this business of somebody's presuming not to queue – up. Now I mean some countries do not like queuing – up. This is not wholly liked. This is considered rather presumptuous that they should imagine that they have their own ideology and their own way of thinking and possibly of action. And further, that they do not talk in terms of these rather rigid ideologies. They do not talk in terms of large armed forces but in different language—that language is not backed by the normal methods of impressing nation; the normal methods in the world are of course are armed might and financial power which are resultants now a days of industrial advance and other.

Now we in Asia and Africa all desire industrial advance, economic advance, cultural, social – every kind of advance. We are agreed as to that, because only that way can we give a measure of happiness to our long suffering people. But there is no particular reason again why we should always be thinking in terms, or on the lines of other great countries who in many ways we admire. Why we should always be thinking in terms of being against this or anti-that? Why do we not lead a more positive life? Why should not our thinking be more fruitful and not merely negative? Now many countries in Asia and Africa have been presumptuous enough to try, even though they might be weak in armed might and financial powers to try to think in their own way. It is a friendly way to others, not in a military way; not in an aggressive way but still it is their own way and this sincere long habit – past habit seems odd, to other countries – that they think in their own way. Anyhow if United Arab Republic and India and other countries also, thinking in their own way, without the compulsions of particular and rigid ways of thoughts and ideologies, still we come together; still are friendly, still cooperate. It is a good thing. Good thing for those good things for others. [Applause] Inevitably each country has to face the compulsions of geography; the compulsions of social conditions, of the problems that it has to face and therefore in a condition which it has gone through; those past and present history. To consider them all as if they have got necessarily to be identical in their thinking, is to ignore these various compulsions of history, of geography and recent or past experience which have conditioned them. Nevertheless it is a fact that countries which have to face more or less similar problems tend to think alike; tend to profit by each other's experience. In this winter of ideological conflicts the real differences sometime is hidden because of rather loud voices and the shouting of slogans. The real difference in the world today is that of the prosperous industrialised community usually strong in military power also, and the other communities which in the course of the last few centuries have all the suppression they had to face because of their

own fault if you like or other people's fault, anyhow as a result of all that have fallen back in the race for welfare and prosperity in the modern world. And therefore it is, there are most urgent demands on their people, on their leaders, that they should make good this matter. And the real difference in world comes between these highly industrialised communities and the so-called less developed communities in the world.

It is inevitable in this matter that the problems that face the one group — that is highly industrialised group should be different problems, except the basic problems of course which are common to all — than those problems which the less developed countries face. It is also almost inevitable that the less developed countries which have to face certain common problems of development should face them together should try to find solutions of their problems from their own experience; adding to it the experiences of others. But of course apart from and beyond all this, all individual problems; all group problems, all geographical problems and all that comes the basic problem today of war and peace, of whether there is going to be a peaceful solution of the major problems of the world or whether we are going to be hurled into the abyss of vast destruction which modern war signifies. In that matter too, these countries, which are relatively underdeveloped naturally have the extreme dislike for abhorrence for this idea of big scale or small scale wars. Not only because of a natural desire for peace but because it comes in the way of their development—all the fine schemes, projects and the plans that we make, might go to pieces if peace was not formally secured; if there is not always a danger or apprehension of war but indeed the war descend upon us. Therefore the path from the long traditions which bring, bridge us together, nearer to each other; the long history which has conditioned us and made us feel not wholly alien to each other and brought a sense of kinship between us. Then there are these paramount consideration of the modern world, and the modern problems which also bring us together; and which make us think more and more in the realm of wider politics as in the realm of our own national affairs in line with each other.

If President Nasser talks about positive neutrality and if I or people like me, in this country or the other, talk about a policy of non-alignment, it is essentially the same idea. If we talk about internal development in terms, broadly speaking, of a socialistic approach—again we come together. Not because I have told President Nasser or because President Nasser have told me but because the conditions in which we work, the problems that we have to solve and the way of thinking that we have developed, naturally leads to that direction. And so, for all these reasons that you have heard in eloquent addresses, as well as for the practical compulsions that face us; whether it is in Syria, Egypt or

India, or elsewhere, we come together. And it is a good thing that we come together and remain together, good for us and good for other countries and good for the world. [Applause]

198. To Gamal Abdel Nasser: Looking Forward to Cairo Visit¹⁴⁶

Poona,
April 9, 1960

My dear President Nasser,

On the eve of your departure from India, I send you my greetings and good wishes. It has been a great pleasure to us to have you and your colleagues in India for a few days. I wish your stay had been a longer one, so that you could see some other parts of India and get a better idea of what we are trying to do in this big country.

Your programme here was necessarily a hurried and a heavy one. I hope that this has not fatigued you. Anyhow you are young and full of vitality and are accustomed to hard work.

I have been thinking of your invitation to me to visit Cairo on my way back from London after the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. As you know, I am eager to go there. It is three years since I visited Egypt¹⁴⁷ and I should like very much to avail myself of the opportunity to visit it again. I have heavy responsibilities here in India which normally prevent me from going out of the country. But I hope to be able to spend two or three days in Egypt on my way back. I cannot be certain about the exact date yet, but probably it will be about the middle of May, say the 15th or 16th May, if that is convenient to you. When I go there, I should much like to visit the Aswan Dam and, possibly, also the Luxor temples etc. This will put me in tune with both the Egypt that is developing fast and the Egypt of ancient times.¹⁴⁸

With all good wishes to you and your colleagues and Au Revoir,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

146. Letter.

147. On 10 July 1957.

148. See SWJN/SS/60.

199. To the Lok Sabha Secretariat¹⁴⁹

I have received notices of a number of Short Notice questions regarding what President Nasser of the U.A.R. is reported to have said in Pakistan about Kashmir, I regret I am unable to accept these Short Notice questions. Anything that I might say might prove embarrassing to President Nasser and would not in any event be helpful to us. I would, however, like to inform Mr. Speaker that I have no further information about this subject than what has appeared in the newspapers. No mention was made of any offer to mediate in this matter by President Nasser to me or to anyone else here. If Mr. Speaker so wishes, he might inform those Members of Parliament who have given notice, of what I have said above.¹⁵⁰

(m) Law of The Sea Conference**200. To S. Dutt: The Six Plus Twelve Mile Formula¹⁵¹**

We have already discussed this fully and come to a certain decision which is that ultimately we might agree to the six plus twelve mile formula, that is, six miles for the territorial sea. But we should try our utmost to get others to agree, if possible, to the twelve mile limit, that is, that we should express our agreement to the twelve mile one subject to its being agreed to by a sufficient number of others. We are certainly not opposed to the twelve mile formula, but we do not want the Conference to break on this. I do not know how the voting takes place. It may be that at the preliminary voting we might express ourselves in favour of the twelve mile one and; later, if that is not passed, for the six mile one. Anyhow, the Law Minister has full instructions on this subject. You may, if you like, further inform him.¹⁵²

149. Note, 12 April 1960.

150. See also item 178.

151. Note to the FS, 30 March 1960.

152. Union Law Minister, A.K. Sen, led the Indian delegation to the Second United Nations Law of the Sea Conference at Geneva from 17 March to 26 April 1960. See also SWJN/SS/58/items 198-199.

201. To Asoke K. Sen: Soekarno's Anxieties¹⁵³

Please refer to our telegram of March 21. I have now received a personal letter from President Sukarno about Indonesian claims based on their declaration of 13th December 1957.¹⁵⁴ He is spending a few hours tomorrow night in Delhi for a talk with me and no doubt he will press his point again. This claim based on archipelago principle is, as we have said, very far-reaching and therefore we cannot support it as such. But some points raised by President Sukarno have strength. Thus he points out that Naval exercises are held by SEATO powers in close proximity of various islands in Indonesian archipelago. These actually happened two years ago at height of rebellion in Indonesia and encouraged rebels. Also advantage is taken of present territorial limit for large-scale smuggling and specially illicit traffic in arms and goods as well as illicit immigration. These are important considerations and Indonesian Government is rightly apprehensive about such facilities being given. We think that you should refer to these matters and special difficulties of Indonesia because of its being an archipelago. Special consideration should be given to these difficulties with a view to meeting legitimate Indonesian apprehensions. If possible, Naval exercises should be forbidden in Indonesian waters or nearby and Indonesian Government might be empowered to deal with smuggling also.

2. Some such move on our part indicating our sympathy with Indonesian difficulties and apprehensions would be desirable.¹⁵⁵

153. Telegram to the Union Law Minister, 31 March 1960. File No. 1208 (56)-SD/60, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

154. See Appendix 3 for Soekarno's letter of 15 March 1960.

155. S. Dutt sent the following telegram to A.K. Sen on 21 March: "Our Ambassador in Djakarta has written us two letters conveying urgent request from the Indonesian Government for our support to the archipelago principle. The Indonesian Government have cited analogy of Norway, Iceland, Denmark, Cuba, Saudi Arabia and Sweden. In our view this analogy is not applicable. However much we may sympathise with Indonesian difficulties it would be difficult for us to lend unqualified support to the archipelago principle. I am sending you by bag copies of the letters. Meantime, if this point is raised by the Indonesians we suggest that our delegation should avoid getting into detailed arguments against the acceptance of the principle, although we may not be able to support it."

202. To Asoke K. Sen: Talks with Soekarno¹⁵⁶

For your information President Sukarno broke journey at Delhi last night for nearly three hours.¹⁵⁷ He had talks with me and referred to the territorial waters etc. with special reference to Indonesia. He pointed out how they had been harassed in past years by foreign warships coming in their internal waters and giving indirect aid to rebels. Also smuggling of illicit arms. It was impossible for Indonesian Government to deal with this situation if warships would come into the internal seas within few miles of their coastline which was very big indeed. They had no desire to interfere with commercial or other traffic in any way. There can be complete freedom for this but they did object to foreign warships coming right into their internal seas between islands which were in no sense a highway.

I told him that I appreciated his difficulties and there was much force in them but archipelago principle was very difficult to adopt and, in any event, it would not be accepted by conference. An attempt might be made to find some middle way if that was possible. It was certainly undesirable for foreign warships to come and go as they pleased in these internal waters and thus to encourage rebellious elements. There was absolutely no reason for such warships to go there.

I pointed out the desirability of some agreement being reached at the conference as otherwise the strong maritime powers would do just what they liked. In trying to reach this agreement, we should try to safeguard rights of small countries as far possible.

156. Telegram, 2 April 1960.

157. According to *The Times of India* of 2 April 1960, Soekarno was on a two-month goodwill visit to over twelve countries, and stopped over in Delhi on 1 April. He was accompanied by Dr. Subandrio, the Foreign Minister, Suharto, the Minister for Small Industries, and Tamzil, the Director of Indonesian President's Cabinet. The talks between the two leaders were held over dinner at Nehru's House, where N.R. Pillai, M.J. Desai and J.N. Khosla, the Indian Ambassador to Indonesia, were also present. Replying to a question by newsmen about his 90-minute discussion with Nehru, Dr. Sukarno expressing his satisfaction with them, said: "We talked many things including those concerning the world situation and improved cooperation between India and Indonesia."

V. DEFENCE

203. To V.K. Krishna Menon: Border Roads¹

Lt. General B.M. Kaul² came to see me this evening about my programme for my visit to Tezpur.³ He asked me also as to when it would be convenient for me to have a meeting of the new Border Committee on Roads of which I am Chairman.

2. I told him that the sooner such a meeting is held the better, so that some preliminary decisions can be made. President Nasser is coming here on the 29th March and I shall be busy with his visit afterwards. I have, therefore, suggested that this Roads meeting might be held on the 29th March at 3 P.M. in my room in Parliament House or in the Committee Room next door.

3. Although much work has been done in making some kind of lists of the roads that we have to make, I have a feeling that there has not been a clear indication of priorities. It seems to me essential that there should be a decision about this matter. All the roads mentioned in the lists which have been prepared are surely not of the same priority or the same importance. If we spread out our energies over a large number of schemes, this will mean delay in dealing with the more important ones as well as a larger expenditure of money.

4. Broadly it seems to be that the most important and vital sector for road making is Ladakh. Next to that in importance is the NEFA region. Other roads must have a lesser priority.

5. Some days ago I saw a note about the road in Sikkim leading to Nathu La. It was proposed to widen this to enable it to carry heavier traffic. I was surprised to read this note as I saw absolutely no reason why we should undertake a widening of that road at this stage at any rate. The road, as it is, is a good one. Only it is not wide enough. It ends abruptly at the top of Nathu La. There is no particular purpose in widening it and our money and energy should be diverted elsewhere.

6. In undertaking this big programme of road making in the border, we should naturally use as much of our old equipment as possible. I understand that a good deal of this equipment dating from the last World War is lying about in various planes. As it is, it cannot be used, and probably is in a bad state. But it is quite possible, if a proper scrutiny is made, for many articles to be found

1. Note the Union Defence Minister, 26 March 1960. Copied to the Cabinet Secretary.
2. Director General Road Construction, and Secretary, Border Roads Development Board.
3. Nehru visited Assam on 15 and 16 April 1960. See SWJN/SS/60/items 66-71.

there which may be profitably used and which will save us from importing them from abroad.

7. The rough estimate for all these border roads was, I think, some figure between 110 and 130 crores of rupees. This is a large figure. What is considered essential must, of course, be undertaken. But I feel that if proper priorities are given, this sum will be capable of much reduction.

8. I am asking Cabinet Secretary to convene a meeting of this Roads Committee on the 29th March at 3 P.M.

204. The Border Roads Development Board ⁴

The Prime Minister stated that the Border Roads Development Board had been formed for expeditious construction of roads in our border areas, because the normal procedures and methods were too slow for the purpose and speed was the essence of this problem. He went on to say that it was necessary to lay down priorities for road construction, so that work on the essential ones would be undertaken with the least possible delay. He considered that Ladakh and NEFA areas deserved the highest priority in this project.

2. The Deputy Chairman stated that preliminary arrangements in connection with the functioning of the Board were already in hand. He mentioned that the Chiefs of the Army and Air Staff, Additional Secretary Ministry of Defence, Joint Secretary (G) Ministry of Defence, Lieutenant General B.M. Kaul, Director General Road Construction and Secretary, Border Roads Development Board, have been nominated as additional members of the Board. Major General K.N. Dubey⁵ has been earmarked for the appointment of Director General Road Construction. Shri S.K. Mukherjee⁶ has already joined as Secretary of the Board. The question of the requirements of equipment, labour force, material and the working out of priorities were under detailed examination.

3. The Prime Minister directed that the Cabinet Secretary should draw up some simple rules of business and procedure for the working of the Board. These should enable routine business to be proceeded with under the sanction

4. Minutes of the 1st (60) meeting, 29th March 1960, circulated under memorandum No. BRDB/S(3)/60 dated the 4th April 1960. File No. (1)-KS/60, MHA.

5. (1917-2007); commissioned, 1938; Chief Engineer, Southern Command; Director-General, Border Roads; Engineer-in-Chief; Master-General of Ordnance; retired, 1972.

6. Sudhir Krishna Mukherjee (b. 1915); joined Indian Defence Accounts Service, 1940; Controller of Defence Accounts (Southern Command), 1956-60; Secretary, Border Roads Development Board, and ex-officio Joint Secretary, Ministry of Transport, March 1960.

of the Chairman or the Deputy Chairman. Only major matters of policy should be put up to the Board.

4. The Chief of the Army Staff pointed out the importance of the early construction of the Leh-Kargil road, because that had to be the basis for the construction of further roads forward of that area. For this road they would have to depend, to a large extent, on the Air Force for transporting their construction and logistic requirements. In addition, the early construction of the Tawang road in NEFA was also of equal importance. He further stated that these roads must be given the highest priority.

5. The Chief of the Air Staff pointed out that his air commitments were very heavy. He had to transport about 15,000 tons for Ladakh, 15,000 tons for NEFA and some more for the civil requirements in the Assam area. The task became all the more difficult due to the limited number of flying days in these areas. In order to meet these requirements, bigger transport aircraft would have to be purchased. The Deputy Chairman observed that all these matters would have to be examined.

6. The Board then went into the detailed examination of the road requirements. It was agreed that the Leh-Kargil road system in Ladakh and the Tawang road system in NEFA must be built with the utmost speed and that nothing should delay work on these roads. Additional work should be taken in hand simultaneously provided it did not interfere with this commitment.

7. The Prime Minister observed that there did not appear to be any urgent requirement of road building on the Rohtang route. He stressed the importance of proper planning for the execution of the road development programme on a time schedule basis, i.e., from year to year. The Board should be kept informed of the progress and programme of work from time to time.

8. Secretary, Kashmir Affairs,⁷ pointed out the necessity for coordination of the plans of the different States for road development in these areas with the projects which are to be undertaken by the Board.

9. In the end, the Prime Minister stated that we were facing an uncertain situation on our northern frontiers. Even if the situation improves, our road requirements on the northern borders will remain a permanent commitment. The Board has, therefore, been formed to facilitate and expedite matters and it should not become yet another delaying agency.

7. Shankar Prasad.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

205. To M.S. Thacker: Suraj Gupta¹

March 26, 1960

My dear Thacker,

Your letter of the 25th March about Suraj Gupta. I entirely agree with you that he deserves no sympathy from us. I wanted your advice as to whether we should leave things as they are or take any kind of a step. You will see from his letter that he refers to the Indian Embassy, Washington, telling him that they are going to start legal action against his father in India to recover 1400 dollars. I am returning his letter to you so that you may consider this matter and advise. I do not know what the legal position is, and whether we can proceed against his father in India.

I do not propose to send an answer to Suraj Gupta.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

206. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Arrange Visit to Nye Bevan²

March 26, 1960

[Nan dear,]

I find that I shall be reaching London on the 1st of May rather earlier than had been had been previously stated. The Air India International Boeing is due to reach London at 9-20 A.M. (local time) on the 1st May.

This means that I will have practically the whole of the 1st of May at my disposal. In the programme you have mentioned a call on the Mountbatten family in the afternoon.

I think it is as well to keep this 1st of May rather free of engagements. But if you think that a visit to Nye Bevan³ is easily possible, this might be arranged.

[Yours
Jawahar]

1. Letter.

2. Letter.

3. Aneurin Bevan, British Labour MP, had been unwell for a while, died of cancer on 6 July 1960.

207. To Juliet G. Hollister: Temple of World Religions⁴

March 26, 1960

Dear Mrs. Hollister,⁵

I was interested to learn from you of your proposal to build a temple of World Religions in Washington D.C., the temple being used not as a house of worship, but as an educational project.⁶ I wish you success in this endeavour to bring about a wider understanding among people of different faiths and thus to promote tolerance of each other. But I am afraid I cannot associate myself with this project. It has long been my practice not to associate myself with proposals of the kind you have suggested, more especially when they are going to take shape abroad. But anything that aims at understanding and tolerance has my good wishes.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

208. To Paul Fr. Zimmermann: Heidelberg⁷

March 27, 1960

Dear Mr. Zimmermann,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th March and for sending me a beautiful book on Heidelberg. This book of pictures of Heidelberg has brought back to my mind old memories of my visit to Heidelberg first in 1901, that is, over half a century ago. That was the first city in Germany that I went to. I was a student in Cambridge, England, then and I was charmed by the beauty of the city.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

4. Letter.

5. (1916-2000); worked for interfaith harmony; founder chairman of the Temple of Understanding.

6. Established in 1960 in New York.

7. Letter.

209. To Lal Bahadur Shastri: A Job for Chinni Sundaram⁸

March 27, 1960

My dear Lal Bahadur,

I suppose you know Chinni Sundaram,⁹ the son of C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar. His brother¹⁰ is in the Lok Sabha.

Chinni Sundaram has worked for many years with the Tatas and rose to a fairly high position there. Normally he might become a Director there. But there was always some friction because of his nationalistic tendencies. A short while ago he decided to resign from Tatas and is now at a loose end, though I think he is a member of one of your committees, probably the one dealing with small industries.

I think Chinni Sundaram is a very competent man and his competence is of the kind which we sometimes lack, that is, experience of business management in a big way. On the whole, his outlook also is a good one. I should like you to keep him in mind because we often search for people of this kind.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

210. To Ved Mehta: Corrections¹¹

March 28, 1960

My dear Ved,¹²

I have just a little while ago received your letter of March 15, 1960. As there was a longish note attached to it, I was inclined to put it away for a leisure moment. If I had done this, it would probably have rested in some of my files for a considerable period. I decided to read it immediately, and I have done so. I do not propose to comment on or criticise what you have written. It is

8. Letter. File No. 4 (20)/60-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

9. C.R. Sundaram (1910-1996); worked with the Tatas, 1943-59; Chairman, National Small Industries Corporation Ltd., 1960-69.

10. C.R. Pattabhi Raman, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Kumbakonam, Madras.

11. Letter.

12. (b. 1934); author and journalist; born in Lahore, resident in the USA for most of his life; contributed to *New Yorker*, 1961-94.

something that has come out of you and it is no business of mine to make suggestions. But there are a few corrections to which I should like to draw your attention.¹³

My daughter does not call me “Bapu”, but “Papu”. This, I suppose, is a mixture of Bapu and Papa.¹⁴

On page 4 you mention that I said that “yet, the real Sanskrit scholars have not been Indians but Germans. Germans have done more for Sanskrit than Indians themselves.” I doubt if I said this, because it is not quite correct. What I might have said is that it was the Germans who first dealt with Sanskrit in a scientific and scholarly way. The Germans gave a lead in this which had been followed subsequently by Indian scholars.¹⁵

On page 5 there is a line—“It is, in some ways, the choice between being a pig and Socrates.” I wonder if I used the word ‘pig’ in this connection. It hardly brings out my thought.¹⁶

On page 6, referring to me you say that I explained “India has so many fundamental things to resolve that he does not know when we will get beyond them and be able to subsidise culture.” We are, as a matter of fact, subsidising it, but not as much as we want to. Probably it will be more correct to say that we do not know when we will be able to subsidise culture adequately and as we would like to do.¹⁷

These are some brief comments, and now I have to go on to some other work.

I am returning the note you sent me.¹⁸

With all good wishes to you,

Yours affectionately,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

13. This seems to be for the chapter “Winter of Content” in Ved Mehta’s book, *Walking the Indian Streets* (London: Faber and Faber, 1959, 1961), where Mehta writes about his lunch meeting with Nehru at the Prime Minister’s House.

14. See page 114 of *Walking the Indian Streets*.

15. See page 117.

16. See page 118.

17. See page 119.

18. According to a note in the book, most of the material, in somewhat different form, appeared originally in the *New Yorker*.

211. To B.R. Nanda: Personal Information¹⁹

April 5, 1960

Dear Nanda,²⁰

Your letter of March 30th. I am afraid I cannot supply you much of the information that you desire because I have not got it and I do not know where to get it. You might perhaps get some of the information from my cousin, Brijlal Nehru. I am giving below such information as I have got. The numbering is according to your note:

- (1) I have no idea where this letter is. But I remember seeing it in a rather torn condition. It may perhaps be in some of my papers.
- (2) I think I have got somewhere my letters to my father from Harrow and Cambridge. If they are found, I shall let you have them.
- (3) I have no idea where this article came out. Possibly it was some local newspaper which reached me.
- (4) I do not know the date of my parents' marriage. I suppose you know that my father had been married previously. It was some time after the death of his first wife that he married my mother.
- (5) I cannot give the exact date when my father got his first automobile. I imagine this must have been round about 1904. So far as I can remember, it was before we went to England in 1905.
- (6) I am afraid I cannot supply the information you require as to who was with the party. I remember the story because my father told us about it. My father himself had heard of it as he was born some years afterwards.
- (7) and (8) I cannot give this information.
- (9) I do not know the dates of birth of Pandit Gangadhar, Nandlal and Bansidhar. Possibly you can find out the date of birth of Pandit Bansidhar from his son, Dr. S.S. Nehru.

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit was born on 18th August 1900; Mrs. Krishna Hutheesing on 2nd November 1909; Indira Gandhi on 19th November 1917.

- (10) I do not remember their names. They were much older than my father.
- (11) I do not know the date when my father's mother died. This was some years before I was born.
- (12) F.T. Brooks was my tutor for nearly three years, from 1902 to 1904. I do not remember the exact dates. Nor have I any particular recollection as to why his services were dispensed with.

19. Letter.

20. Historian, he was writing a biography of Motilal Nehru at this time.

- (13) I was Secretary or Joint Secretary of a Committee in Allahabad for collecting funds for Gandhiji's Satyagraha in South Africa. No Englishman was associated with it. I was, however, Joint Secretary, with Knox, of the St. John Ambulance Association round about 1924 or 1915. It was this Knox who tried me and my father in December 1921.²¹
- (14) I have no clear recollection whether my application to join the Indian Defence Force was formally accepted or not before I withdrew it. I took it that it had been accepted.
- (15) I do not know the date when my father moved into 9 Elgin Road. But I imagine it must have been in the middle of the nineties.
- (16) I rather doubt if the original deed of the purchase of Anand Bhawan (now Swaraj Bhawan) is available. It may still be somewhere, but I do not know where.

As for your looking through some of my old letters and papers, you can do so. I think the best course, would be for you to come to my house here and look through them. If you will please ask for Rajan,²² he will help you in looking at them.

My father first went to Europe in 1899. In 1905 he went again taking the family, that is, my mother, myself and my baby sister (Vijaya Lakshmi), who was then called Sarup Kumari. After spending some time in England and putting me in Harrow School, he went to the Continent of Europe. I remember his spending some time at Bad Ems, the German health resort.

In the summer of 1909 he came again. I accompanied him to some places in Europe then including Berlin, Cologne, Heidelberg, Dresden, Frankfurt and Vienna.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

212. To D.C. Pavate: No Prizes in My Name²³

5th April, 1960

My dear Vice-Chancellor,

Thank you for your letter of the 1st April. It is very good of your University to suggest that a prize to be given should be known as "Prime Minister Jawaharlal

21. K.N. Knox, District Magistrate of Allahabad. See SWJN/FS/1.

22. M.V. Rajan, Personal Assistant to Nehru.

23. Letter to Pavate, Vice-Chancellor of Karnatak University, Dharwar.

Nehru Prize". I would, however, beg of you not to bring my name into this. We are trying to introduce a convention that the names of living persons should not be used in such and like matters. For me to agree to your proposal would be to break the very convention we are trying to set up. I hope you will appreciate my position in this matter.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

213. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Meetings in London²⁴

6th April, 1960

[Nan dear,]

I have your letter of the 31st March. I appreciate your difficulty. What rather worries me is that when I am there and people come to small and rather intimate meals, it will be difficult to talk freely. It would not be right for Harsha,²⁵ for instance, to be present on such occasions.

Also, it seems to me a great pity that Rita²⁶ cannot go to London because of these developments. I am sorry I cannot help from here.

Dickie has written to me that he will be returning to London in the evening of the 1st May. I cannot therefore see him then. He has suggested my having lunch with him on the 2nd. You will, no doubt, keep in touch with him.

[Yours,
Jawahar]

214. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: Health²⁷

April 7, 1960

[Nan dear,]

Indu is again feeling doubtful about going to England with me. She feels that it is not worthwhile her going now when she is not well enough to take full advantage of her visit. And she may not stay there long as she wants to come

24. Letter.

25. Harsha Hutheesing, elder son of Krishna Hutheesing, Nehru's younger sister.

26. Rita Dar, youngest daughter of Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

27. Letter.

back for the children's holidays. I think she prefers going there by herself at a later date. She has no desire to get entangled in the parties and functions and weddings that will take place when I am there. Also, she has in mind visiting the United States and, perhaps, Mexico from England later on. She cannot pay repeated visits abroad as they are costly. Therefore, she is not likely to go with me, though this is not certain yet.

I am not looking forward to these parties and functions in London, more particularly the Great Wedding. I would be very happy if I can keep out of these wedding celebrations. But I suppose this is hardly possible.

During my stay in London, I should like to have a check-up by Lord Evans,²⁸ the physician who normally sees me there. There is nothing wrong with me at all, except the basic fact that I am over seventy. Still it would be a good thing to have this check-up again after three years by Lord Evans. I have, in fact, only today had Col Rao²⁹ have a good look at me in various ways, blood pressure, cardiogram, etc. I shall bring all these papers with me.

[Yours,
Jawahar]

215. To The Bank of Foreign Trade, Moscow: Transfer My Funds to India ³⁰

13th April 1960

Dear Sirs,

As you know I have a Deposit Account with your Bank out of royalties accrued to me from the Russian edition of my books. Please transfer the entire balance in this Account by Demand Draft to The Central Bank of India Limited, Jan Path, New Delhi, India, for credit to my Royalty Account with them.

After you have done this my Deposit Account with your Bank might kindly be closed.

Thank you for looking after the Royalty monies on my behalf.

Yours faithfully,
Jawaharlal Nehru

28. Horace Evans.

29. Colonel N.S. Rao, Professor of Clinical Medicine, AIIMS.

30. Letter.

216. To N.G. Goray: A Foreword³¹

April 13, 1960

My dear Goray,

I am sending you a few lines which you may treat as a foreword to the *Family History*.³²

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

217. Foreword to *Family History*³³

April 13, 1960

It was a happy idea to trace the history of well-known families in Maharashtra. This is not merely a record of notable persons, but an intimate story of a nation's development.

The story of the Mavalankar family, which dates back nearly nine hundred years, must be a fascinating account of social conditions and political changes. In our own day we have been privileged to know and work with one of the illustrious members of this family, Shri G.V. Mavalankar, who was for many years the Speaker of the Lok Sabha.

The value of such family histories would depend greatly on how far they depict the social conditions of the age they deal with and not merely individual achievements.

I commend this enterprise.

31. Letter.

32. See the next item.

33. Foreword, 13 April 1960.

218. To K. Ram: About V. K. Krishna Menon³⁴

With reference to the attached letter,³⁵ please send the following reply. I have numbered the questions and my answers. ,

(1) No.

(2)&(3) I think I met him for the first time in 1935 in England. He had come to India earlier on some kind of a deputation, but I was in prison then. I had corresponded with him previously before I met him.

(4) The India League was not a part of the Congress organisation as the Congress did not encourage branches or affiliated institutions elsewhere. But the India League kept in fairly close touch with the Congress.

(5) No. It was not at my request, so far as I can remember.

(6) I do not know when I started corresponding with him, but it must have been in the early thirties.

(7) I have no recollection of this proposal.

(8) His contribution to India's freedom and to the building up of India's foreign policy have been very considerable. In the days of our struggle for independence, he played an important part in England; when Independence came, he was of great help in evolving the novel and peculiar relationship between independent India, which became a Republic soon after, and the United Kingdom. His work in the United Nations made him the outstanding figure there and increased respect for India greatly in foreign countries.

2. You might tell him that I cannot send any of his letters. I do not know where they are. I do not think there were many such letters.

219. To U Nu: Mangosteens³⁶

13th April 1960

My dear U Nu,

Thank you for your note of the 12th April and the mangosteens which you have sent. I like them but Indira likes them even more and so she is happy to receive them. They are in good condition.

Indira is now much better but she still has to go slow. At first she had intended going to England with me when I go there for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference. But now she has decided to remain here.

34. Note to PPS, 13 April 1960.

35. Letter not traced.

36. Letter.

I am very happy that you are again back in your old office and responsibility of Prime Minister of Burma. You have all our good wishes.

Very sincerely yours,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

VII. APPENDICES

1. (a) S.C. Bose to Nehru¹

[Refer to item 51]

Calcutta,

7th March 1960

I am really sorry to have to write you this letter, knowing fully well your pressing preoccupations.

The political affair of Orissa, is once again turning towards a stormy phenomenon due to publicised difference between Dr. Mahtab and Mr. B. Patnaik. You will agree that, after the Chinese affair and even to implement our Plan successfully the political "sine qua non" is the only requisite. The affairs in Orissa need your immediate and personal attention.

Would you kindly refer to my letter No. SCB/CB/235/7/58 dated 8-3-58 wherein I had emphatically expressed my views to make a thorough investigation of industrial and commercial enterprises of Shri B. Patnaik and his ways and means to corrupt politicians, Congress Party as well as Ministers? You were kind enough to reply to my letter on 11-3-58 through your Principal Private Secretary, stating that you are aware of Mr. B. Patnaik's activities.

At this stage I like to point out that neither I am a business rival of Mr. Patnaik nor I have any misunderstanding with him in personal level and when I received the above letter from you, I had no business to pursue or propagate it as I have no political axe to grind. From my childhood I have thought that Orissa is the most potential state in India and perhaps in the world, so far as her mineral wealth is concerned and I have tried my utmost to increase the avenues of opportunities and advocated for a self employed sector intensively for Orissa to affect her wealth potentiality in minimum time.

It seems that Orissa is once again facing a political crisis for Dr. Mahtab and Mr. B. Patnaik's crisis. The main reason[s] for this unfortunate affair are as follows:

1. Mr. B. Patnaik was virtually the dictator in the field of commerce and industry in Orissa and not only he secured the maximum aids, loans and support from the State Government, but he is having a monopoly on these subjects and he was selling his influence to others and all he used to do was in the name of Congress Party. But actually the Congress Party was helped by others, who have not taken any advantage for their support. In

1. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available.

Mr. Patnaik's case all Governmental formalities and scrutinies were always waived. If the Congress has lost the confidence of the people, specially educated people, it is for Mr. Patnaik's affairs and a mere perusal of last 7 years' State Assembly proceedings will confirm this.

Now, on the coalition Ministry, Mr. Patnaik cannot dictate terms as he has done previously.

2. Mr. B. Patnaik, in previous elections always used to finance the elections of two dozens of M.L.As and pay them monthly salaries to support him, which he continues still now, including the Ex-President of U.P.C.C., Shri Biren Mitra and ex-Minister Shri Dinabandhu Sahu and many others. If an investigation is made on all these group of M.L.As' private properties and bank balances, it will be confirmed.

3. Mr. B. Patnaik's main "modus operandi" was that he used to sponsor a problem and support the thing and when that problem used to become acute, he himself would mediate in it and solve it having all its prominence in service and cash that service through loan or license from State and Union Government.

4. Mr. B. Patnaik does not mind to finance the Communist Party and Jharkhand Party. Many electoral expenses of Communist Party in Orissa are paid by him and even Shri Chintamani Panigrahi, M.P. and Shri Jaipal Singh the leader of Jharkhand Party get regular monthly remuneration.

5. The main psychology of Mr. B. Patnaik at present is to acquire full political power to strengthen his economic power. He actually wants to monopolise the economic power of the State which more or less he possesses now with political power and that too mainly through corruption and spending money. He wants to become the Chief Minister of Orissa somehow or other, not even through Congress forum alone, because he has a secret treaty with the Maharajah of Kalahandi and it might be a fact that the Maharajah of Kalahandi wants to enter through G.P. door ejecting Shri B.N. Singh Deo of Patna. Mr. Patnaik also plans a coalition with G.P.

I for one definitely was not in favour of Rajahs and Maharajahs and thus against Ganatantra Parishad. But in a democratic constitution, when Congress merged the feudatory States for misrule of their then rulers and if the people of those States hold back their misrulers once again the democratic principles can only be denied if they refuse the democratic position. I have very closely watched the coalition Government and I have no hesitation to say that administrative efficiency has definitely increased and nepotism and favouritism have vanished from the administration, but there is no denying the fact that the Congress is losing its popularity in the State because there is a division and an industrialist like Mr. B. Patnaik wants to be the Chief Minister on self-

organisation. The people now in the Congress in our State are so downgraded that they will not be able to get the confidence of the people as their antecedents are known to them. The revival of Congress may be only through over-all change of membership, who have genuine intention of State's welfare.

I may be emphatically clear here that I have no special or particular fancy for the present Ministry nor I have any interest, I have only interest for a stable government in my State and functioning of our planned economy.

My personal and humble request to you, Sir, is to take up this matter, if possible, personally and do something about it.

1. (b) B. Patnaik to Nehru²

[Refer to item 51]

17 March 1960

A rather depressing episode in Orissa, leading to personal slanders against me, has ended. On Tuesday the 15th March 1960, to protect my personal honour, I had to slash our own Government (for the first time in 14 years), for hiding and distorting facts. Dr. Mahtab, although present in his retiring room throughout the duration of the Assembly on that day, did not attend the House. The Industries Minister had to bear the whole brunt.

2. The sum total of Dr. Mahtab's charges against me was cleared in the Orissa Assembly by the admission of the Industries Minister on 15th March 1960.

(i) Orissa Textile Mills. That due to certain rumours of malafide in the management of this Mill, the Director of Industries of Orissa started an investigation into the affairs of the Mills in 1952-53. In 1954 he submitted a report to the Government of Orissa and also to the Board of Directors of the Mills. The Board rejected the insinuations of Maladies contained in this report. Subsequently, Orissa Government forwarded this case to the Government of India, who, in their department of Company Law Administration, again investigated into the affairs of the Mills from 21-11-1956 to 14-9-57. On 20th January 1958, Company Law Administration cleared the Mills in a communication to us (copy of which went to Government of Orissa) with the comments, "no action is considered necessary by Government of India under the Companies Act 1956."

When the Industries Minister stated that not being satisfied with the 26 month old clearance by Government of India, Orissa Government has moved

2. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available.

the Government of India to reconsider their decision, questions were raised from all over the Assembly, including the Chair—“When was this letter written?” “Was it after the correspondence between Dr. Mahtab and Shri B. Patnaik released to the Press?” The Industries Minister was forced to reply that the same was done on the 7th of March, 1960 (correspondence was released to the press on 3rd March by Dr. Mahtab). Naturally the whole House laughed. How far a State Government is justified in acting in a vindictive manner against the management of a major industry, when the entire loan of Orissa Government has been paid in full and the Mill is doing very well presently, is a matter which needs careful consideration.

(ii) Synthetic Oil. This project was abandoned for various reasons. I merely quote from recorded debates in the Assembly, dated Wednesday the 23rd April 1958—Volume II—Part I—number 25, pages 15, 16 and 17, wherein, the then Minister of Industries had repeatedly stated that, “Shri B. Patnaik has done all that was stipulated in the contract and he is not bound to pay anything back to the Government.” I must say to the credit of the present Industries Minister that he, on 15th March, on the floor of the House, stated finally, after a great deal of heckling, “Shri B. Patnaik has carried out his contracts; his submitted accounts have been examined and found correct by the Accountant General of Orissa and Government has no legal dues from him.” “If he has any moral responsibility, it is his own affair.” I was satisfied. Subsequently in the House, I told the Minister that, if Orissa Government agrees to pursue this excellent project, I would be prepared to send him a draft for Rs. 6,70,000, as a gift, represent Orissa Government’s portion of expenditure. He did not give any reply.

I am enclosing copies of relevant letters written by Dr. Mahtab to yourself and to the then Industries Minister, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, years ago on this subject. I still hold that, in view of the fact that such a great project was abandoned in a hurry and that India is still hunting for oil a few synthetic oil plants could not only solve India’s oil problem to a great extent, but would also lead to scores of valuable chemical factories from the waxes and olefins—by-products of these plants.

I have refused to submit to slanders levelled against me by opposition members in the Assembly from time to time and now by the Chief Minister of Orissa Government. But since I have finally been cleared on the floor of Orissa Assembly on 15th March 1960, and Orissa Government is unable to receive any funds from me on this account, I enclose a Draft for Rs. 6,70,000 to the Prime Minister’s Fund, to be dealt with by you as you think fit. My only request to you is that, while all the preliminary work for this project had been completed and technical contracts finalised as early as 1950 with the biggest

synthetic oil firms in West Germany, this project at Talcher coalfields in Orissa may kindly be taken up by Government of India, which would not only do tremendous good to Orissa, but would also open up new sources of oil production in India. Orissa Government is obviously unable to pursue this project.

3. I admit that, my first reply to Dr. Mahtab's unwarranted letter was written in anger as he deliberately tried to insult my intelligence. I have since written to him expressing deep regret for my strong language. I have also expressed it publicly in a statement to the press. I am enclosing copies of my letter to him and his reply to me. It, however, creates an intolerable situation if Government apparatus is switched on to suppress differences of personal and political opinions in a democratic country like ours. I would indeed be a poor democrat, if I were to bend to despotic authority.

2. R. Goburdhan to S. Dutt³

[Refer to item 189]

Embassy of India,

Rabat

March 10, 1960

My dear Foreign Secretary,

I cut short my visit to Tunis on account of the calamity in Agadir and have returned to Rabat.

2. Ferhat Abbas, Prime Minister of the Provisional Government of Algeria saw me before I left Tunis and asked me to convey to our Prime Minister the following.

3. He appeared to be very bitter and disappointed and said that all hopes that they had put in General de Gaulle had now been shattered. He said that he went a long way to meet the demands of the French President as his two last speeches would show, because the nationalists were favourably impressed by some of the strong measures which General de Gaulle took after his victory over the insurgents in Algiers. The Nationalists, said Abbas, wanted nothing more than the fair application of the policy of General de Gaulle as revealed in his speech of September 16, 1959, and felt that it was necessary that fighting stopped before auto-determination could take place and since it was they who were fighting the French, it was necessary for them to meet the French and negotiate a cease-fire. He said that he did not want to discuss any political

3. Letter. File no. 3A(3)-WANA/60, MEA.

issues during these negotiations but simply the conditions which would enable the auto-determination to take place in a fair way. The Nationalists only wanted the referendum to be impartial. Ferhat Abbas said that General de Gaulle would not negotiate with them because according to him they did not represent the whole of Algeria and that the vast majority of Algerians were with the French. Ferhat Abbas went on to say that this might be true or not and that only a fair referendum would show it, but for the present, the vast majority of the Algerians supposed to be with the French were not waging the war against them, but that it was the "few fellaghas" as the French contemptuously referred to them, who were fighting the 500,000 soldiers of the mighty French army since 5 years and that it was quite natural that they asked for some "guarantees". Ferhat Abbas said if the French did not want to talk to them alone, he would have no objection if they also invited Messali Hadj, Sid-Cara, Algerians who were pro-French, Mr. Chevalier (liberal Mayor of Algiers—a Frenchman), and even the ultras during these talks and let General de Gaulle give to all of them the guarantees the Nationalists were asking for regarding the referendum. Ferhat Abbas continued that General de Gaulle wanted them to surrender their arms without conditions. This the Nationalists would never do. They would, however, be prepared to hand over their arms to the Algerian people and would accept their verdict. If the people chose to remain with the French, the Provisional Government would abide by their decision.

4. Ferhat Abbas then told me that he would like in the name of humanity to make an appeal to President Nehru, who enjoyed a great prestige among all the oppressed people. He said that when he was in India (New Delhi) he had asked our Prime Minister as to whether it would not be possible for him to convene a meeting of the Bandung powers in order to put some pressure on the French. At that time our Prime Minister felt that it was not advisable. Now that France had gone back on her words and had decided to fight this war to a finish, though she was aware that the Algerian people would never surrender and would rather be destroyed, would it not be opportune for the Prime Minister of great India to either convene a meeting of the Afro-Asian group or a meeting of certain friendly powers which followed the same foreign policy as India, such as Yugoslavia, United Arab Republic, Indonesia and Burma, and put some diplomatic pressure on France. The nationalists already count a million dead and untold sufferings would continue in Algeria if France disposing of a mighty army was not checked. Due to the cold war, the Western countries friendly to the cause of the nationalists were afraid of offending France and that only a man with the great moral authority enjoyed by our Prime Minister would have the courage, in the name of humanity, to raise his voice. Abbas said that if Prime Minister would like him to go to Delhi, he would gladly do so.

5. He also said that he was grateful for all the support they were increasingly getting from India. He had read about the intervention of Prime Minister's daughter, Mrs. Indira Gandhi during the last session of the Congress and the several speeches made by Prime Minister Nehru in support of their cause.

6. On the human plane, Ferhat Abbas said, he was ready to make many concessions to the French, but he would not compromise on the right of the Algerians to dispose of their fate. If after auto-determination, the Algerians chose independence, it would not mean that there would be a rupture with France. The Nationalists would like to preserve many important ties with France, ties which would be to the advantage of both the countries.

7. I told Mr. Ferhat Abbas that I would convey to the Government of India what he told me.

8. I am enclosing an English translation of the two speeches mentioned in paragraph 3 above which Ferhat Abbas made on the 17th and 29th February respectively.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

R. Goburdhan

3. Ahmed Soekarno to Nehru⁴

[Refer to item 201]

Djakarta, 15 March 1960

My dear Panditji,

For some time now I have not written a letter to you to keep in touch with each other. I know how busy you are. On the other hand so many changes have taken place in Indonesia to build up the solid foundations for the future, so that also on my side I am very much pre-occupied too. However, you can rest assured that I followed closely developments in India as part of the developments of the region as a whole, which is certainly of great importance to us all.

I am writing this letter for a rather special question in connection with an international conference to be held at Geneva on 17 March, 1960. It is the Second Conference on the Law of the Sea, in which Indonesia has much interest, particularly in connection with the Indonesian Government's stand on

4. Letter. File No. 1208(56)-SD/60, MEA.

problems relating to our territorial waters.

I am aware of the fact that the Indonesian delegation and the Indian delegation at the First Conference on the Law of the Sea in 1958 in Geneva cooperated in a very close way to support each other's interest and I do feel that I should write to you now to strengthen that cooperation in our mutual interest. I might briefly explain the specific position of my Government with regard to our territorial waters, bearing in mind the specific character of our country as an archipelago.

The Second Conference on the Law of the Sea is due to convene at Geneva on 17 March, 1960. Like other countries Indonesia is also sending a delegation to the Conference. You are no doubt aware that on 13 December 1957 a declaration was issued by the Indonesian Government concerning the application of the straight baseline method of delimitation of territorial waters to the Indonesian archipelago. The status of the waters enclosed by the baselines connecting appropriate points of the outermost island belonging to the Republic of Indonesia is that of internal waters. Through these waters innocent passage of foreign vessels is guaranteed, so that foreign maritime nations may continue to use the intervening waters for their shipping. The breadth of the territorial sea has been fixed at twelve nautical miles, to be measured from the aforesaid baselines. These matters have been set out in an aide memoire handed to your ambassador in Djakarta recently.

The declaration has been strongly opposed by such great maritime powers as the United States of America, the United Kingdom and a number of other West European Powers. The United States of America among others termed our step a wrongful appropriation of the high seas. Now, if one takes a close look at the map of Indonesia, one would see that the Indonesian archipelago is geographically a unit and that the Indonesian Seas—except one, i.e. the Sunda Sea, of which a part has become internal waters due to its being traversed by one of the baselines—are all bordered by Indonesian islands. They are in fact island Indonesian seas. Although objections have also been raised against the extension of the breadth of our territorial waters from three to twelve miles, the main objection of the above mentioned powers seemed to be against what they called the conversion of the intervening seas into internal waters. In my view, however, bona fide users of those waters need not have any concern about interference by us with international navigation as innocent passage through the internal waters is being guaranteed. Moreover, we ourselves are dependent on international shipping for our export and import trade.

Quite another matter, however, is the holding of naval exercises by large foreign fleets in the Indonesian seas over our opposition, as has been done by the SEATO some two years ago at the height of the rebellion, while the sympathies

of some of the leading powers of that pact for the rebels were only thinly disguised. Likewise our security has been seriously threatened by the presence of Dutch men of war who were lurking between the Indonesian islands at about the same time and they remained too close to our shores for comfort.

At that time our national legislation recognised the three mile limit for our territorial waters and consequently our protests against these acts of interference were not as unassailable as we would like them to be, strictly legally speaking. Furthermore, illicit traffic of arms and goods, and illegal immigration have grown to such an extent that we would be failing in our duties, if we were not to take appropriate action. As matters stood, however, the Indonesian navy had only a narrow legal basis for stopping and searching suspected foreign merchant men, except in cases of hot pursuit. Moreover, under the traditional system of delimitation of territorial waters, the effective patrolling and policing of the coastline of Indonesia was practically an impossible task to perform, as its total length amounted to four times the circumference of the globe. On the other hand, under the new regime of territorial waters the Indonesian Government will have a sound legal basis for prohibiting naval exercises by foreign fleets and for objecting against the continued presence of foreign warships in the seas between the Indonesian islands as well as for intervening with the passage of suspected foreign merchant men. The length of the Indonesian coastline will also be considerably reduced and the task of patrolling and policing of our navy will accordingly be kept within manageable proportions.

These questions were uppermost in our mind when we consider the decision of establishing a new regime of territorial waters. There are other political considerations and also economic reasons for our decision in which you may be interested. Likewise you may be interested in the legal basis of our action.

It is my sincere hope that in view of our vital national interests in the question of a special regime of territorial waters for Indonesia, as an archipelagic state, which may come up for discussion at the forthcoming Geneva Conference, you may find it possible to lend India's support to our position. It will no doubt have a great influence on the Conference, where there will be a more or less natural line-up of highly industrialised countries with large shipping fleets on one side and underdeveloped countries on the other side.

Meanwhile, Ambassador Khosla conveyed to me your invitation to stop in India, so that we can have an exchange of views. I gladly accept that invitation in order to meet you. I know we have not seen each other for a rather long time and it would be very useful, if we can talk about some developments in our relations in particular and about matters of world affairs in general. Unfortunately, my schedule has been fixed already, so there will be no margin left to visit India for a few days. However, we can arrange it in such a way that there will be a

stopover in Delhi, which shall give us ample time to see each other for a chat.

Very truly yours,
Soekarno

4.(a) M.B. Thakore to Nehru⁵

[Refer to item 27]

24 March 1960

I invite your kind attention to the facts submitted herewith which have been collected by my friend, Shri Chhabildas, Member of Legislative Council, Bombay State. It pains me to write you and trouble you for such a trivial matter of corruption, specifically alleged against the Congress Member of Legislative Assembly, Shri Jorsinh Kavi of Palitana, Gujarat.

I know that your mind is preoccupied with the bigger problems of the world. But I fail my duty to the public if I do not convey the wishes of the public for an open enquiry.

I have been in constant touch, though indirectly, with the family of the said M.L.A. for more than last 15 years. I was hearing all kinds of rumours and gossips against him and his wife since they became Members of Legislative Assembly. I personally never believed in all these vague allegations.

I am also told that the Government of Bombay has miserably failed to enquire and take any steps against the said person who has very good connection with some high ups in office.

In a meeting held at Palitana in this month, the public has demanded an open enquiry regarding the misappropriation of public funds by the said Member of Legislative Assembly, namely, Shri Jorsinh Kavi.

In the circumstances, I earnestly request you that you are the only proper person who could take personal interest in the said matter and take some positive steps in this regard. If the doubts of the public are not fully clarified, I am afraid the popularity of the Congress Party is certainly going to decrease in Gujarat.

5. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available.

4. (b) Chhabildas Mehta to M.B. Thakore⁶

[Refer to item 27]

Chabildas Mehta, M.L.C.
Bhavnagar, Dt. 22.2.1960

Respected Sir,

I would like to draw your attention to the alleged maladministration and misappropriation of public finance to the tune of lacs of rupees by a Congress M.L.A. Mr. Jorsingh Kavi of Palitana in Bhavnagar District.

This is a story like a fairy tale in which you will find that anything can happen with anything and everything so far as the illegal misuse of lacs of rupees can be made by sheer influence.

Most of the cases were pointed out by the enquiring officers concerned but nothing has been done because the person belongs to the Congress Party. You all are fully aware of Mundra Deal but here perhaps you will find more than that. If impartial enquiry be held, extraordinary intelligent scandals will come out.

Former Saurashtra Government decided to start a milk treatment plant at Palitana. This Congress M.L.A. requested the Government to purchase the shares of the proposed Joint Stock Company for this Milk Treatment Plant. The Government contributed Rs.1.20 lacs as share capital subject to the condition that registration of the company should be there. The company is not registered. The machinery is not purchased, nothing has been done, yet expenditure of about Rs.25 thousand have been incurred.

The Bills are submitted by the so-called promotor Shri Jorsing Kavi and others, that Rs.800/- were for registration and stamps, 10,000 rupees for the building, 5000 rupees for the grass and remaining for the miscellaneous items. You will be surprised to learn that building is not purchased and the grass was not required when the buffaloes and machinery were yet to arrive. The remaining Rs.96,000/- were deposited as a fixed deposit in a non-scheduled bank viz. Palitana Nagrik Bank which is a Cooperative Bank of Palitana of which he himself was the Director but due to mismanagement of the Bank he was removed as a Director and Government appointed an Administrator.

Government tried to recover Rs.96,000 from the Bank but failed to do so. Bank has its own difficulties because of the misdeeds of the former Director of the Bank. When the above gentleman was a Director of the Bank in which Government invested huge amount, he made unwarranted advances to the

6. Letter.

parties and institutions in which he himself is interested. The advances were made as under:-

1) Kiln Brick Manufacture Asscn. run by Bhutadia Kheti Centre.	Rs.5,000
2) Lime Manufactures Mandal run by Bhutadia Kheti Centre	5,000
3) Sarvodaya Goshala	25,000
4) Bhutadia Kheti Sahayak Kendra	35,000
5) Sathi & Co.	29,000

Thus you will know how this Congress M.L.A. is involved in the above transactions.

It is said the Bank came into difficulty and is unable to repay the Government funds. If the Audit Report of the Bank may be asked, you should not be surprised if you find unprecedented procedure adopted in the working of the Bank and devices manipulated to derive undue benefits.

It is said that he is running "GOSADAN" and he has taken subsidy as under: in the year 1954-55 Rs.122/-; 1955-56 Rs.1603/-; 1956-57 Rs.8752/-; 1957-58 Rs.8300/-.

It is also alleged that the above amount was taken for the number of cows at Rs.18/- per cow. Actually it is rumoured that most of the cattle in the stable were of Maldharis but shown as belonging to the Gosadan. Nobody is knowing about the crop production and income out of the land attached to the above institutions. You will also wonder to learn that when Government allotted grass land there were thousands of Babul trees which are taken away without the permission of the Government and there is no indication of the amount appropriated. From the public thousands of rupees are collected in the name of Sarvodaya Goshala and Gosadan.

Sarvodaya Goshala. Government gave about 250 acres of grass land for pasture but this Congress M.L.A. cultivated the land without permission of the Government and sublet the land to about 12 tenants on "Bhagbatai" basis (crop-share) which is declared illegal by the Government since long. He has taken thousands of rupees from the Government for the above institution and in the name of cattle breeding and rearing as under:-

In the year 1956-57	Rs.2500/- for purchase of cows.
" "	2500/- Ad hoc Grant for building
In the year 1957-58	2000/- Subsidy for feeding and
" "	2500/- Ad Hoc grant for building.

Bhutadia Kheti Kendra. In this centre it is said that a number of schemes are introduced and loans and subsidies are taken from the government in the name of various schemes. But it is difficult to assess the full amount. If the

inquiry is instituted, perhaps schemes may not be there though the loans and subsidies may have been taken. One can say the figures may be staggering.

Sathi & Co. Three partners of whom one is the son of this gentleman (Shri Kavi) have floated the company and were doing transport business. This was so floated that the gentleman had already obtained Rs.8000/- as a loan from the Government in the name of "Prajapati Cooperative Society" to purchase a Public Carrier. The amount was taken for the vehicle to be used by the above society, but immediately this was given over to Sathi & Co. and Rs.29,000/- advanced to the company from the Nagrik Bank. When this gentleman applied for the amount on behalf of the cooperative society and received it, it was said that he was not even an office bearer of the above society. Also you will be surprised that several thousands of rupees were debited in the account of the cooperative society as miscellaneous expenditure for operating public career, though the society was not operating the said carrier. If the Audit report of the above society can be obtained you will be surprised to learn about the audit objections and the remarks thereon, how misuse of public funds and unauthorised expenses have occurred and criminal action was suggested.

Tonga-Driver Association Bus Transport Company. The above company is operating the bus route from Palitana to Kadambgiri, but the above said tonga drivers are completely ignorant of the bus service. No one knows about the accounts and purposes for which the bus is plying. It is said the plying of service is for the benefit of tongawalas but they do not know who is benefitted. This should be inquired.

Bhutadia Poultry and Cattle Farming COOP. Society. The above gentleman has sponsored and conducted the above society. He applied to Government for the construction of houses of backward classes and obtained Rs.26,000 in the name of the above institution and Rs.5000 as a grant-in-aid for poultry farming houses and yet obtained the grant.

Gandhi Mandir. This Institution was started on the eve of independence movement. Public contributed to erect the Institution. After a Ghoshala was constructed on the premises of this building. It is said that some amount was taken from the Government for construction of this Goshala. It is also said several thousands of rupees were obtained from the Government for TOWN HALL. This so called Town Hall is nothing but an additional storey to the original building. Afterwards the use of the Goshala building was transferred to Hand loom Mandal which installed Handlooms there. It is said again huge amount was taken from the Government for the purposes. Soon after the use of this building was made by "AMBAR CHARKHA KARYALAYA" and for that purpose too, Government gave good amount. The Khadi Board and the Rachnatmak Samitee gave the money as well. It is interesting to note that this Rachnatmak

Samitee of Rajkot is assisted financially by the State Government as well as Khadi and Village Industry Board. This Samitee is conducting activities and a gentleman of Palitana has taken advantage to implement at Palitana most of the schemes undertaken by this Samitee. For that purposes huge grants and loans were taken.

Sarvodaya Kumar Chhatralaya. This Institution is recently started on the plot of Gandhi Mandir and thousands of rupees have been taken from the government for purchase of stores and for conducting the institution. Perhaps you will find that the stores are not purchased as per the bills or they are used elsewhere. Again the construction of the said Chhatralaya does not confirm [conform] to the specification required by the government and he had to make several changes in the building. If the inquiry is to be instituted for the above institution you will find something interesting for this institutions allied to Gandhi Mandir, Gram Divasali.

Rs. 9 to 10 thousand were taken from Government or village industry board or Rachnatmak Samitee to purchase machinery and articles of manufacture GRAM DIVASALI to provide employment to needy persons. But it is said nothing has been purchased and no production is there. We can understand that the Centre is defunct from the beginning. If inquiry is held details will come out which is interesting.

Stri Vikas Mandal. Mrs. Jorsinh Kavi who is also a Congress MLA is an office bearer of this Institution. A Managing Committee is there but it is said that many of the Lady Members themselves do not know whether activities for Women Welfare as well as Social Activities for the uplift of Backward class. A Cultural Centre is started and grants are taken. You will find that perhaps the statements of expenditure are not as they should be. This should be inquired. So many activities like Sadhan, Kshetra, Khadi and Village Industry—Home Industry etc. are sponsored and conducted by the same persons assisted by big amount of grants and loans from the Government as well as Village Industries Board and Samitees. Inquiry be made which will reveal something – interesting.

I cannot say how many institutions are sponsored and conducted by this gentleman and how many schemes he has implemented, designed in the world and devised to obtain lacs of rupees as grant-in-aid and loan from the Government. It is likely the loan and grants have emanated from various departments for the same purposes. Above references are only a few abstracts of the various activities and it is worthwhile to note that Saurashtra Government had to write off lacs of rupees of Many Rahat Samitees which was managed by this gentleman at the time of Famine in 1951-52. Government foodgrains and grass were given to the samitees which had to be written off. Apart from this, the funds raised from the public all over the country through his own men

permanently for the various institutions and at the time of recurring calamities for which accounts need to be looked into.

I would say many of the government officers who have exposed the irregular workings of various institutions are conversant of the misuse of the public funds and there superior authorities are informed of the same but nothing has been done till this date because of the special cloak of protection of Congress membership around him.

The State concerned failed to take action and I believe that it is the duty of the members of the State Legislature to persuade the Government for JUDICIAL INQUIRY and all the Hon'ble Members of the Parliament should take up the matter to move the concerned Government through the centre.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
Chhabildas Mehta,
M.L.C, Bombay State.

N.B. Gandhi Mandir is sold in Rs.60,000/- (Sixty-thousand) to Palitana Motor Vehicle Cooperative Society, in which he is a share-holder.

Received personally at Bombay on the 10th March 1960.

M.B. Thakore, MP.

5. (a) Clarke to Nehru's Private Secretary⁷

[Refer to item 181]

Reference invitation to Mr. Nehru to broadcast conversation with Dr. Nkrumah during London Conference in May forwarded via your High Commission London. Grateful you represent to Mr. Nehru great importance attached by B.B.C. to this broadcast and earnest hope he will accept invitation in view of one rare opportunity of such a conversation afforded by London Conference to Mr. Nehru's position as senior Commonwealth Prime Minister attending Conference.

7. Copy of telegram from the Head of Current Affairs Talks, BBC, London, 24 March 1960.

8. Copy of telegram, London, 24 March 1960.

5.(b) Rattan Singh to Nehru⁸*[Refer to item 181]*

Central Executive Committee of the Indian Workers' Association of Great Britain welcome you. Coming visit to London in May and request your honour to address a mass public meeting of the Indian Workers Association of Great Britain attended by all Indian nationals and delegates from all over Great Britain during your stay London. With best wishes. Letter follows—Rattan Singh, President, Indian Workers Association, Great Britain, 13, Artillery Passage, London, E.1.

6. S.M. Shrinagesh to Nehru⁹*[Refer to item 41]*

Raj Bhavan

Shillong

Sunday, 27th March' 60

My dear Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,

I was happy to receive your letter of the 22nd of March on my return to Shillong this evening, after my tour to the famine affected areas of the Mizo District. We are all delighted that you are coming to Assam.

I fully understand that it will not be possible for you to come to Shillong on this occasion and I shall therefore be glad to meet you at Gauhati, on the 16th of April. According to present arrangements, the Negotiating Committee of the Naga People's Convention are seeing me in Shillong, on the 8th of April, so by the time you come, I shall be ready to acquaint you with the latest developments.

We have another difficult, but rather different kind of problem, in the famine affected areas of the Mizo District. I am discussing this in detail with the Chief Minister tomorrow. I was sorry to see on my tour, that the friendly, happy and courageous people of Mizo District, are being encouraged to show no effort to help themselves. Wherever I went, and I went as far South as Lungleh, I was asked for rice which they desired should be dropped by air, or brought by jeeps, to their villages, free of cost. Naturally, we are doing everything possible to bring relief to the people, by bringing into the District, stocks of rice, and also by giving loans, medical relief, and agricultural seeds. Again, Government

9. Letter. File No. 8/140/60-PMS.

is providing for the people, ample opportunities to do Test Relief work and also giving Gratuitous Relief, in the form of money or rice, to those who deserve it. I have no doubt that the situation will come under control, but this sort of helpless attitude and competing with each other to get more from the Government than what the other person is getting, when the situation is so unhappy, is a disturbing factor.

I hope to be able to tell you the latest position about this also, when we meet at Gauhati on the 16th of April.

I am looking forward very much to seeing you again and hope that you are keeping well.

With our respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
S.M. Shrinagesh

7. K. Ram to Nehru¹⁰

[Refer to item 91]

As directed by the Prime Minister, I saw the Japanese correspondents this morning. Shri Ramachandran of the P.T.I., who is the Chairman of the Press Gallery Committee, and Shri T.R.V. Chari, P.I.O., were also present.

From our talk with the Japanese correspondents I got the impression that they had come to realise that their complaint to the Prime Minister was not fully justified; but having stated categorically that no Japanese correspondent was allowed admission to the Central Hall of Parliament when President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev addressed Members of Parliament they did not wish to own up their mistake but tried to justify it on the ground that no Japanese correspondent was issued an invitation in advance and it was only when a personal approach was made to Shri Jagadachari, Chief Information and Publicity Branch Officer of the Lok Sabha, that these four or five passes were issued and even for these, two of their representatives had to wait for nearly four hours in Shri Jagadachari's office. They also added that in issuing these passes, some of the very big newspapers which had a very large circulation in Japan had been left out and the correspondents of comparatively unimportant newspapers were issued the invitations.

10. Note, 28 March 1960. File No. 43(148)/60-61-PMS.

We told the correspondents that in order to avoid difficulties of this sort in future, it would be best if they met the Secretary of the Lok Sabha and, if necessary, also Mr. Speaker, so that some kind of a system could be worked out whereby all the Japanese newspaper correspondents could receive invitations by rotation. We explained to them that on account of the limited seating capacity in the galleries of the Central Hall, it was obviously impossible to accommodate all the press correspondents. A system of priority had, therefore, to be laid down and for this the Press Gallery Committee of the Lok Sabha were responsible. Shri Ramachandran agreed to arrange for these Japanese correspondents to meet the Secretary of the Lok Sabha in order to discuss this matter further.

The Japanese correspondents who came to see me seemed to be fully satisfied and asked me to convey their thanks to the Prime Minister.

I might add for PM's information that day before yesterday Shri Ramachandran came to see me and said that he had been sent for by Shri Shaktidhar who told him that he should not attend the meeting which I had fixed for this morning, notwithstanding the fact that he knew that Shri Ramachandra[n] was being invited at the instance of the Prime Minister. Shri Shaktidhar told Shri Ramachandran that he was there only to advise their Secretariat and he should not have anything to do with any other outside agency. Shri Ramachandran and I were both very surprised at this attitude of Shri Shaktidhar. In fact, Shri Ramachandran used somewhat strong language when he spoke to me about what Shri Shaktidhar had told him. Shri Ramachandran said that he did not bother about what Shri Shaktidhar had told him and that he was definitely coming to attend the meeting in my room and he did so.

8. NDC Meeting¹¹

[Refer to item 155]

Something ominous happened on the periphery of the recent Delhi meeting of the National Development Council. It did not happen in the Vigyan Bhavan where the Council was meeting officially. It happened at 7, Jantar Mantar Road, the headquarters of the All-India Congress Committee. Taking advantage of the presence in Delhi of the Chief Ministers of various States, the Congress President Shri Sanjiva Reddy, called a meeting at 7, Jantar Mantar Road where

11. Krishnalal Shridharani, "Beginning of the End" in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 28 March 1960, p. 6.

Prime Minister Nehru was present. As was to be expected, the Prime Minister spoke and there was no discussion. It happened during that speech.

Quite a few of the Chief Ministers present came out of the meeting with the uneasy impression that the Prime Minister was of the opinion that there was no alternative to parting with the 100-mile Aksai Chin Road and the territory east of it some 8,000 square miles (It should be recalled in this connection that the Prime Minister has studiously avoided the question in Parliament in spite of repeated challenges from opposition benches and also from one or two of his own party members). Maybe India might retain some voice in the administration of the road. The advantages of such a compromise would be numerous, reportedly according to him:

1. India would gain China's eternal friendship.
2. The entire China-India frontier would be officially recognised by China for the first time since Chiang Kai-shek started the map-kinking firm in Peking which was duly appropriated by Chou En-lai.
3. China is much deeper in the Indian territory as it is. It will be forced to withdraw upto Aksai Chin Road or at least within two miles along its 100-mile length.
4. And how could we resist China anyway. Those who are shouting loudest will be farthest from the front when and if the war starts. And do they know the cost of an uneasy frontier? More than 500 crores per year. What would happen to our Third Five-Year Plan?

What Price Eternal Friendship?

Some of the Chief Ministers caught the drift of the Prime Minister's talk and must have felt that he was preparing the ground for what many an Indian would call The Great Surrender. They were, therefore, unhappy that there was no attempt on his part to elicit opinion of the Chief Ministers who were present. For, at least two to three of them would have liked to politely tell him that they would not be able to sell the idea either to the peoples or the Legislatures of their respective States.

Now let us examine, one by one, the four advantages hinted at:

1. *Eternal Friendship.* How can we be sure that the *bhoodan* of the Aksai Chin spur will win as China's eternal friendship? To win China's eternal friendship, (a) India became the first to diplomatically recognise Mao and to ditch Chiang who had played no small part in supporting India's claim to independence; (b) Year in and year out India supported the Peking claims on the United Nations at the cost of antagonising the greatest giver of economic aid to the world in general and to India in particular; (c) India

acquiesced in the Chinese rape of Tibet twice; (d) India foisted Chou En-lai on an unwilling Asia at Bandung. The Chinese must have a different system of mathematics. That eternal friendship lasted just about five years! Thus the Chinese span of eternity is five years. Are purchasing that five-year long eternity by making bhoodan of the Aksai Chin spur and that too without the permission of Vinoba Bhave or Jai Prakash Narayan—the professional bhoodanis?

2. *Recognition of the MacMahon Line.* If the MacMahon Line is ours, as we claim it, would Mr. Chou En-lai's recognition thereof be a great concession on China's part? Would not the Pakistanis be justified, then, in asking for the Shrinagar Valley promising us that they would recognise that the Taj Mahal belongs to India?

3. *Chinese Withdrawal.* Would the Chinese be justified in illegally staying on in a part of our territory simply because they agree to vacate another part of our territory?

4. *Loud Mouths and Expenditure.* When the war starts, all the loud mouths will be well behind the fighting front, those on the opposition benches as well as those on the Treasury Benches, including the P.M. and D.M. So this taunt is a pure Australian boomerang. So far as expenditure is concerned, it can be merely slightly and not greatly less if we have an understanding with China at the cost of Aksai Chin. "We can never again neglect the border areas" seems to be the private refrain of all the Ministers including the P.M.

The Supreme Court Monkeywrench

From all accounts it appears that of all the assembled Chief Ministers, Prime Minister paid the greatest attention to Dr. B.C. Roy of West Bengal. Apart from their especially intimate personal relations, there was another concern. The monkeywrench thrown in by the Supreme Court in connection with the transfer to Pakistan of a portion of Berubari and Cooch-Bihar enclaves was weighing heavily on the Prime Minister's mind. The Supreme Court has ordained that a Constitutional Amendment is necessary to implement the Nehru-Noon Agreement on the subject. West Bengal's concurrence is necessary to avoid further complications. Dr. B.C. Roy was, therefore, invited to an intimate dinner by the P.M.

The P.M. solicitude for Dr. Roy was indicative of his desire to settle with Pakistan. But it was more indicative of the realisation that the Supreme Court opinion has made his talk with Chou En-lai much more difficult. Since time and again the Prime Minister has declared in Parliament that Indian Himalayan frontier

is firm and defined. Parliament is a party to that contention and it has committed itself. Any modification of that frontier would require a Constitutional Amendment. Some legal luminaries under the inspiration of some partisan ministers have started to argue that Aksai Chin is in Kashmir and that the state of Jammu and Kashmir has a Special position in the Constitution. However, the more sober Constitutional opinion does not see a way out of a Constitutional Amendment when and if the evil day of surrender comes.

Election As Referendum

Mr. Nehru is obviously aware of the difficulties. Even if he agrees to part with 8,000 square miles in Aksai Chin, perhaps in bargain for Tibetan territory lying between Sikkim and Bhutan and straightening the MacMahon Line at a point where India had given up the watershed principle in order to give monastery to Tibet, it is beginning of the end. The actual demarcation would take a long time. The Constitutional Amendment Bill would take further time. Meanwhile, general elections could be upon Nehru and the country. The Prime Minister seems to be anxious to avoid a referendum on the subject but he would be thus incurring a referendum in the form of general elections, for the opposition parties would make the deal with China the central electoral.

Our China policy is of such grave moment that any true democrat at the helm of affairs would seek the verdict of the people by fresh elections. No doubt Mr. Nehru is still the most popular person in the country but the question is whether the policy he intends to pursue is popular with the people. And since the issue is crucial, people must have a chance to pronounce their verdict.

In other words, the crucial question being debated today in Parliament lobby, on the streets of the nation's capital is this: How far can Mr. Nehru get away with it? There are three mutually cancelling responses.

A. Mr. Nehru can get away with the Bhodan of Aksai Chin. He is such a darling of the people that he can get away with anything, including murder as the English idiom goes, although he is incapable of committing a murder.

B. Mr. Nehru is shrewd, and so he will never go beyond what the public will allow him.

C. This will be the Waterloo of "N" (he once had his stationery printed with the Napoleonic "N") if he appeases Chou En-lai.

The reader is naturally free to take his choice.

Shrinking Specialism

At one stage during the deliberations of the National Development Council, the Prime Minister is reported to have remarked with irritation, in substance: "I do not understand our rich people. Everything is open to the private sector, barring two fields. And yet they are critical."

This is the type of outburst that confirms the trend indicating about-face from socialism. It is likely to disturb the little gingers strewn over the Congress and the P.S.P. parties, and overlaying the Communist Party. But many signs now point to the trend of lip-service to Socialism for election purposes. A huge chunk of resources is reserved for the Private Sector in the Third Plan. Oil, even Russian oil, is to have the benefit of private enterprise. Steel is being opened further and further to private sector. A pragmatic approach to State Trading in Foodgrains, indicating second thoughts on the subject, is being advocated. Cooperative farming is all but forgotten. The 51-per cent minimum for Indian capital for any venture inviting foreign investment is being waived. The P.M.'s attacks on big interests are becoming less frequent.

But India merely reflects a world-trend. There is growing disillusionment about Socialism as a solution of poverty. There is growing faith in regulated private enterprise. After the first flush of radicalism, people are realizing that it is better to have well-being at the price of inequality rather than to have equality at the price of poverty. To hunt wealth is not to capture Commonwealth. There can never be good wages or good employment for any length of time without good profits.

Mr. Nehru might have another motive. He stole the wind out of the sails of the Praja Socialist Party by showing that the Congress too is socialist. He might be trying to steal the wind out of the sails of the Swatantra Party by showing that the Congress too is conservative.

9. K.D. Malaviya to Nehru¹²

[Refer to item 168]

Minister of Mines & Oil
Government of India

March 29, 1960

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Koirala has now returned from China to his country and, therefore, I remind you about the scheme of this technical and financial aid to Nepal for Oil exploration work. As you know the External Affairs Ministry have already processed this matter to a large extent. I have reasons to believe that efforts have already been started from the Swiss and German side to help Nepal in oil exploration. A German team is already working in the U.P. Gangetic plain under the Indo-German aid plan and under the supervision of the Oil & Natural Gas Commission. One Swiss oil geologist who is attached to the O & NGC referred to this and proposed indirectly to me to have a triangular arrangement between Nepal, India and Switzerland to carry on some oil exploration work there. If possible, therefore, something should be done soon so that the initiative might be retained by us as I hope to find out some equipment and men from our meagre resources to start work there. Some sort of a collaboration with the Swiss or the Germans may be considered later on, but that question does not come up immediately. But if we start our own aid scheme in Nepal, that question might not come up immediately in connection with oil exploration programme.

Yours affectionately,
Keshava Deva Malaviya

10. P.T. Borale to Nehru¹³

[Refer to item 88]

CORPORATION HALL

BOMBAY, 30th March 1960

Dear Shri Panditji,

I will be relinquishing my office as the Mayor of Bombay after the 31st March 1960 and the Municipal Corporation of Greater Bombay will be electing their new Mayor on the 4th April 1960. [...]

You know there was a large scale conversion of the Scheduled Caste people

12. Letter. File No. 17(401)/60-66-PMS.

13. Extract of letter. File No. 2(172)/57-63-PMS.

as Buddhist under the able leadership of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar who felt that the *Panch Sheela* of the great Buddha would bring about the right type of change in the life and living of these poor people. We now find that after conversion a number of our people have stopped drinking and are on the way of leading a better type of life along with other citizens. Unfortunately however we find that the facilities that were being given to these people for their social and economic upliftment as Scheduled Caste people are taken away and this is hindering their progress which is the sole aim of a welfare and socialistic pattern of society. [...]

Thanking you and with respectful regards.

Yours sincerely,
P.T. Borale

11. (a) K.L. Mehta on Administration of NHTA¹⁴

[Refer to item 43]

Ministry of External Affairs

A Naga Negotiating Committee has been constituted and would be meeting the Governor of Assam on the 8th next to "negotiate a political settlement" for the Nagas on the basis of Resolutions passed in the Third Naga Convention of October last.

For a long time now we have been committed to the view that short of independence, we shall be prepared to concede fullest internal autonomy subject to the law and order being the ultimate responsibility of the Governor. The Governor would also have responsibility of a broad character over the finances of the area, but such control would not extend to the detailed administration of developments and other schemes. While the Government of India would also place funds at the disposal of the local Administration for specific development projects, they could not be expected to pay for the heavy administrative apparatus.

The Governor has examined the Resolutions and forwarded his proposals to form a basis for his forthcoming talks with the Negotiating Committee. Broadly speaking, these proposals envisage the administration of the Naga Area through a modified form of cabinet system. There would be a Naga People's Assembly of about 30 members with an elected Chairman and a majority of elected members to assist him and advise him in the administration and also to

14. Note, 1 April 1960. File No. 57/138/59-Poll-I, MEA.

serve as the legislature. There would be sub-committees to manage various Departments such as Medical, Education, and so on.

The Governor has expressed the view that the suggestions made by him are in harmony with the tribal traditions. These proposals are also acceptable to the Chief Minister of Assam, who has already been consulted. The Chief Minister has, however, expressed the view that NHTA should continue to form part of the Assam State constitutionally and geographically. This, in a way, is in consonance with P.M.'s own views that the amendment previously made to the Constitution to constitute NHTA should provide a basic framework, within which the people can be brought into closer association with the administration without having to amend the Constitution again. The position of NHTA as part of Assam, constitutionally speaking, is thus retained. NHTA continues to remain included in Part B of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution and the administrative changes now envisaged can be brought about under para. 18 of the Sixth Schedule and Article 240 of the Constitution, which empower the President to make Regulations for the peace, progress and good Government of the areas concerned.

The Resolutions of the Naga People's Convention have been examined in a meeting with representatives from the Home Ministry. The susceptibilities of the Assam Government have been taken into account as also the fact that there have been no indications so far that any of the hostile leaders would cooperate with the NPC leaders in shouldering the responsibility of the new administration. The fact that the Nagas have been carrying out a so called "war of independence" since late 1954, has been taken into account in the light of our own oft-repeated commitment that fullest internal autonomy subject to essential necessary safeguards would be given to the Naga people. We feel that our advice to the Governor of Assam, which takes into account his own proposals fully, may be to suggest that in explaining the background to the Naga leaders, the Governor may say that the Government of India are prepared to make a start with the changes without waiting for the hostile activities to cease entirely. He should keep in mind the susceptibilities of the Assam Government, the likely repercussions on the other tribal people of Autonomous Hill Districts of that State and the important fact that the hostile leaders have so far actively disassociated themselves from the recommendations made in the N.P.C. The Governor should emphasize that the more important thing is the spirit behind the Resolutions rather than the actual wordings of the Resolutions, and point out that it is in that spirit as also in the light of Government of India's desire to help the Nagas that he would be prepared to recommend to the Government, without of course making any firm commitment, that the future governance of the Area should be modelled on the following basis:-

- (a) The association of the Naga people with the administration will be through a Naga People's Assembly with an elected Chairman and a majority of the elected members. (The composition of the Assembly might be 20 elected members and 10 nominated members). The Assembly will exercise control over all matters with necessary safe-guards vested in the Governor in regard to questions of law and order (including Police) and Finance.
- (b) The Assembly will have some 4 to 5 sub-committees and it would be ensured that all the members of the Assembly find a place in one or the other of the sub-committees. Each sub-committee would deal with certain defined subjects and elect its own Chairman. The Chairman of all the sub-committees would form themselves into a Council. They will elect their own Chairman or in the alternative the Chairman of the Assembly would also function as the Chairman of the Council. The Council will be responsible to the Assembly.
- (c) The advice of the Council will be accepted on all matters of development, forests, lands, local customs and traditions and ordinarily also in matters pertaining to law and order and Finance. The Governor will, however, retain overall control over these two subjects.
- (d) The Assembly will have a tenure of three years.
- (e) Resolution No.8 on Local Self-Government, envisaging the constitution of Village, Range and Tribal Council, would be fully acceptable.
- (f) The administration of justice will be according to customary laws at lower levels. More serious offences and in any case offences in which one of the parties is a non-resident of the area, would be tried in ordinary courts under the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code. The High Court of Assam would retain its jurisdiction over the Naga area.
- (g) In regard to Resolution No.7, the Governor may explain that the Acts of the Union Parliament will apply to the Naga Unit but subject to Regulations made by the President under Article 240 of the Constitution.
- (h) Similarly, Resolution No.15 in regard to the transitional period envisaging the appointment of a Body to draft the details of the "Constitution for the Naga Land" is not acceptable because it is not desirable to make frequent changes leading to a continual state of uncertainty. But such changes as experience may warrant, would be brought about in course of time under the proposed framework.
- (i) The new name for the Area would not be "Nagaland" (which has its associations with Phizo and the N.N.C. movement). "Naga Pradesh" is considered more suitable.
- (j) It would be more appropriate to have a Commissioner, even in the new set-up, rather than a Chief Secretary, as suggested by the Governor.

(k) The proposal for the formation of a separate Naga Regiment may be accepted in principle and a beginning made by raising a Naga Battalion.

(l) The question of transferring Reserve Forests from Assam back to the Naga Area is not, strictly speaking, relevant at this stage and can be gone into separately, later on.

(m) The Resolution that other Naga tribes inhabiting the areas contiguous to NHTA should be allowed to join the Naga Union, if they so desire, may be left over for future consideration.

(n) The Government of India would fix a ceiling on funds which can be spent on the cost of administration as such. At present we are spending some 4 crores of rupees per year on the cost of administration and on development, excluding expenditure on Security Forces. (Separate figures for expenditure being incurred on Administration as such are not available. These will, however, be borne in mind in working out the proposed ceiling).

PM. would wish to consult the Home Minister before our advice is communicated to the Governor of Assam.

11 (b). S.M. Shrinagesh to Nehru¹⁵

[Refer to item 43]

12th April, 1960

I have just finished my discussions with the Negotiating Body of the Naga People's Convention and would like to let you know how matters have proceeded. I should mention, at the outset, that none of the present underground leaders were members of the Negotiating Body. In fact even some of the more important amongst the over ground leaders absented themselves. The Negotiating Body did, on the other hand, include representatives of practically every tribe in the NHTA, although they seemed immature.

We had three main sessions with the Negotiating Body. During the first session, I gave my opening address, as also my statement to the Negotiating Body after they had formally presented me with their proposals. I am enclosing a copy both of my opening address and my statement, from which you will see that I have conveyed your advice to the Negotiating Body and done my best to impress upon them the need for a simpler and more economical set-up. After giving them a general direction as to the lines on which they should think, I left them for a few hours with Rustomji and my other officers, so that they might

15. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available. File No. 57/138/59-Poll I, MHA.

be able to talk a little more informally and have a clearer idea of my personal reaction to their proposals. The second session was, therefore, an informal meeting between the Negotiating Body and my officers, in which the former were advised, in their own interest, to work out a formula more suited for the Naga Hills than the elaborate set-up of Governor and Council of Ministers which formed the basis of their proposals.

I held the third and last session with the Negotiating Body on the second morning, when I had a full talk with them for about three hours. I took the opportunity, during this session, to speak to them freely and also invited them to open up without reservation regarding what they really wanted. All the members of the Negotiating Body who spoke were in favour of a separate State.

It seems quite plain to me now that they are almost fanatically attached to the idea of having a State of their own. Nothing less will satisfy them. They repeat over and over again that it was only with the greatest reluctance and at the greatest risk that they gave up their demand for complete Independence. They have been branded as quislings by the underground, who are threatening them with "dire revenge". The least they can now expect from Government in return for their cooperation is the fulfilment of their demand for a separate State of their own within the Indian Union. Only a few days before, they had made a last-minute effort to contact the underground and persuade them to join in the negotiations. The underground refused to meet them, and left a very rude note to the effect that, as long as the negotiations were on the basis of remaining within the Indian Union, they were not prepared to co-operate. The underground also warned the NPC that, just as the NPC had let down the people by agreeing to remain within the Indian Union, they would now themselves in turn be let down and humiliated by the Government, who would whittle down their demand for a separate State.

The general attitude of the members of the Negotiating Body was that Government must first concede their demand for a separate state to be called "Nagaland", with a separate Governor and Council of Ministers. It was no use telling them that they should be satisfied with an arrangement virtually enabling them to enjoy the autonomy of a State. They persisted almost childishly, in arguing that they were not at present so much concerned about the powers. What they wanted was the name and status of a State. India was allowing new States to be carved out from year to year. Why should the Nagas, who had sacrificed their blood all these years for an ideal, be alone denied what others, who had sacrificed far less, been granted? From the stubbornness with which they talked, it was clear that matters had proceeded too far for any argument to be of much effect. They made it quite clear that they had no authority at all to

make major changes in their proposals, and, from their general attitude, I could understand that they themselves would be embarrassed by their own people on their return to NHTA if they admitted having yielded on their fundamental demand for a separate State.

All the speakers laid emphasis on their struggle for Independence ever since the British occupied their area during the last century. They referred again and again to their representations during the visit of the Simon Commission and to their continual struggle against their retention in the Sixth Schedule after the transfer of power. To our argument that the new apparatus of Governor and Ministers is too expensive and cumbersome for them, their reply is that the hostiles have at least half a dozen Governors (Ahngs in Naga terminology) and scores of Ministers (Kilonisers), who seem to manage well enough off the land and are not much concerned about a large salary. They feel it is their own business to decide whether the office-bearers of their set-up should be called Governors or Ministers and that they themselves should be left to fix their salaries without thinking in terms of the emoluments of Governors, Ministers etc. in the other States of the Indian Union.

I made it clear to them during this last session, that their proposals were of a very far-reaching character and that, under the circumstances, they would require the final decision of the Government of India, who would consider them from every angle. Government had already taken a very large step three years ago in constituting the NHTA. There was no control now by the Assam Government over the administration of the Naga Hills and they had already been granted a unit of their own, within which they could run their own affairs. When I talked to them about the Governor of Assam being the Governor of their unit, there was a hint from them that, while they might not object to the same "body" performing the functions of Governor of Assam and their "Nagaland", the Governor of Assam would have to be appointed specifically for "Nagaland" and his functioning in respect of the Naga Hills Administration would be in his capacity as "Governor of Nagaland" and not "Governor of Assam". This merely underlines their determination that their unit should, even constitutionally, be separate from Assam.

On my suggestion that they should consider modifying their stand, they stressed that they had no authority to do so, even if they wished, and urged that I should forward their proposals to the Government of India with my support. They realised that the final decision lay with the Government of India, and I could sense that, for reasons of tactics, if anything was to be yielded at all, the yielding would be not during these preliminary discussions but at some later stage when they hoped to place their proposals before the Government of India at New Delhi. I informed them that, while I would certainly forward their

proposals to the Government of India, I would seriously commend them to bear in mind the advice I had given them, which was in their own interest. Although the law and order situation had improved, it was certainly not yet satisfactory and some hostiles were still creating trouble. On my enquiry whether, if the proposals were accepted, they would be in a position to win over the hostiles and thus ensure peaceful conditions, they frankly admitted that they could give no guarantee that hostilities would cease, they could but do their best. I impressed upon them that, in spite of this, we were anxious to go ahead with certain changes and reforms and to make a start at once with the transference of a wide measure of autonomy to the Naga people. We would move ahead despite the hostiles and not allow their activities to come in the way of an immediate political advance. The NPC should not, however, encumber themselves by pressing for the mere "frills" of a State when the real substance of their demands was receiving such sympathetic consideration. As you will see, my discussions with the Negotiating Body were on very general lines, and I did not enter into any detailed discussions on their actual proposals.

What we have to bear in mind is that it is only three years since the Nagas would even agree to come to terms on the basis of any arrangement within the Indian Union. Rather than face the people again and tell them that the proposals framed by them at the full meeting of the third Convention last October had been whittled down with their consent, they would even prefer to wind up the NPC altogether. This, indeed, they have already hinted at in no uncertain terms. The effect might well be that Government would be left with no party over ground to approach again for a settlement. Military operations would continue year after year and there is no foreseeing what might be the ultimate end. Whatever the outcome of the discussions may be, therefore, it is very necessary to continue giving our support to the NPC. We cannot, at all events, allow ourselves, to be found in a situation where we have no one to deal with. Our policy, from the short term point of view, must be, therefore, to continue to sponsor the NPC and bring them round, if possible, to a more reasonable frame of mind.

I have my own views regarding our long term policy, but I should like to put them into shape more clearly before presenting them to you just now. I am not sure that we have not been a little limited in our approach to the Naga problem. Tribal consciousness one might even say tribal pride—is growing rapidly throughout this frontier, and I should not be at all surprised if we are later faced with similar problems in some of our other tribal areas as well. We should perhaps plan for the future with a view to our frontier policy as a whole instead of trying to deal with each problem separately as it arises. The problem of this north-eastern region is, as I see it, that it is an area where unity and co-

ordination are essentially necessary in the interests of defence, but where, at the same time, the various component units have each their own separate personality and may well, as in the case of the Nagas, press for their own separate State for fear of domination by any one particular group. We have to satisfy tribal aspirations, but not at the cost of a strong and united frontier. I am giving my serious consideration to the implications of the Naga problem in-so-far as they may have a bearing on our wider frontier policy, and I look forward to having the benefit of your advice and guidance when we meet at Gauhati on the 16th morning.

I am sending copies of all these papers to the Foreign Secretary, together with the Sixteen-Point Proposals of the NPC, dated Mokokchung 26th October 1959.

12. B. Prasad to Nehru¹⁶

[Refer to item 22]

2nd April, 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

I am grateful for your telegram of April 1. As you will be arriving here at 2.40 P.M. on April 14, I think it would be convenient for you if we start the Special Convocation at 3.30 P.M. I have accordingly drawn up a programme of our functions in the University which I am enclosing for your approval. In the programme I have provided for a short break for tea immediately after the Convocation. We will request a few other persons like the Governor, Chief Justice of India, Chief Minister of Bihar, Chief Justice of Patna High Court, Ex-Vice-Chancellors of the Patna University and Vice-Chancellor of the Bihar University to join you at tea. Immediately after the tea the second function (Jubilee Celebrations) of the Patna Law College will begin. I hope this will have your approval.

In case having tea in the middle is inconvenient to you, we can begin the jubilee functions at 4.30 P.M. instead of 5.00 P.M. as given in the programme.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
B. Prasad

16. Letter. File No. 8/140/60-PMS.

13. Raj Narayan to Nehru¹⁷

[Refer to item 67]

18वीं, दारुलशफा

लखनऊ।

2.4.60

सेवा में

श्री जवाहरलाल जी नेहरू,

प्रधान मंत्री, भारत,

न्यू दिल्ली।

माननीय महादेय,

आपकी आज्ञानुसार हमने ला मिनिस्टर का नोट माननीय मुख्य मंत्री के पास जाकर पढ़ा। नोट पढ़ने पर हमें ऐसा प्रतीत हुआ कि वह नोट सरसरी तौर पर बिना सारी बातों की जानकारी किए तैयार किया गया है उस नोट में तथ्यों को तोड़-मरोड़ कर रखा गया है, लाप्वाइंट पर भी गलती है। जितने ठेके हैं तथा जिन प्रकार के ठेके दिए गए हैं सभी की जानकारी माननीय ला मिनिस्टर ने नहीं की है। हिंदुस्तान कामर्शियल कारपोरेशन के शेयर होल्डर्स की लिस्ट में श्री कमला पति जी का नाम है, शेयर जब एलाट हुआ है तो उनके ही नाम हुआ है, रजिस्ट्रार कम्पनी का पत्र भी हमारे पास है जिसमें वह कमलापति जी को शेयर होल्डर मानते हैं। फिर ला मिनिस्टर का यह कहना कि वह शेयर होल्डर नहीं है अजीब मालूम पड़ता है। कम्पनी के ब्रांच मैनेजर श्री माया पति जी पुत्र श्री कमलापति जी का फोन गृह मंत्री जी के माने में है, वहीं से व्यापार संबंधी सारी बातें होती हैं, इस तथ्य को ला मिनिस्टर साहब कहीं लाए नहीं। विधि तथा नियमों को तोड़कर इस कंपनी को ठेके दिए गए हैं, लाख-लाख रुपया एडवांस किया गया है। जरूरत न रहने पर भी इंजीनियरों ने माल बिना टैन्डर के खरीदा है क्यों? आर. आर. से माल इस कंपनी का खरीदा गया है। क्यों फिर इसके अतिरिक्त अल्यूमिनियम प्राइवेट कम्पनी में श्री कमला पति जी के तीनों लड़के तथा बड़े लड़के की स्त्री सभी शेयर होल्डर्स है, यह प्राइवेट कम्पनी है। धीरजलाल शाह एन्ड कम्पनी बाम्बे नाम की सम्भवतः कोई कम्पनी नहीं है ऐसा उत्तर केन्द्रीय तत्संबंधित मंत्रालय से श्री रामसेवक यादव एम.पी. के प्रश्न के उत्तर में मिला है। हिंदुस्तान कमर्शियल कारपोरेशन को करीब पचास लाख रुपए का ठेका सन् 52 से 58 तक मिला, उत्तर प्रदेशीय सरकार से मिला है। ला मेम्बर ने बड़ा जोर दिया है कि सिंचाई विभाग से कम ठेका मिला है, यह अर्थ समझ में नहीं आता। क्या मंत्री मंडल का प्रभावशाली सदस्य अपने प्रभाव का प्रयोग अपने विभाग में ही रखता है? कदापि नहीं। वह दूसरे विभागों में भी उतना ही बल्कि उससे अधिक रखता है।

मैं पुनः आप से निवेदन करूँगा कि आप हमारी असेम्बली पार्टी के उपनेता श्री रामस्वरूप वर्मा जी को बुलाकर उनसे सारी जानकारी कर लें। हमारी राय में ला मिनिस्टर का नोट सभी दृष्टियों से दोषपूर्ण, एकांगी, भ्रामक तथा तथ्यों व सत्त्यों को छिपाने वाला है। आशा है आप सामाजिक जीवन को स्वस्थ तथा स्वच्छ बनाने के लिए ऐसी कार्यवाही शीघ्र करेंगे।

धन्यवाद।

(मुहर)

विधान मंडल सोशलिस्ट पार्टी,
उत्तर प्रदेश।

आपका

राजनारायण

सदस्य विधान सभा

[Translation begins:

Dear Sir,

As directed by you, I went to the honourable Chief Minister and read the Law Minister's note. I realised that this note has been prepared casually without going into all the aspects. In this facts have been twisted and there are mistakes on legal points also. The Honorable Law Minister has not taken into consideration the information about all the contracts and how they were granted. The list of the shareholders of Hindustan Commercial Corporation also contains Kamalapatiji's name, when share was allotted it was in his name only. We have the letter of the Registrar of Companies, in which he also acknowledges Kamalapatiji as shareholder. Now, the Law Minister taking the position that he is not a shareholder sounds unusual. The phone of the Company's Branch Manager, Shri Mayapatiji, son of Shri Kamalapatiji, is in the house of the Home Minister, and all business transactions are negotiated from there; this fact has not been pointed out by the Law Minister. Laws and rules were broken to give contracts to this company; lakhs of rupees have been given as advance. Why have engineers bought material which are not required and without floating tenders? R.R.¹⁸ has bought this company's material. And apart from this, why are Shri Kamalapatiji's three sons and his eldest son's wife shareholders in the Aluminum Private Company, which is a private company. It is probable that no company by the name of Dhirajlal Shah and Company, Bombay, exists, according to the information received from the Central Ministry concerned in reply to a question asked by Shri Ramsewak Yadav, MP. Hindustan Commercial

18. This is probably the Ministry of Relief and Rehabilitation.

Corporation got contracts worth fifty lakhs from 1952 to 1958 from the Uttar Pradesh Government. The Law Member has emphasised that the contracts from the Irrigation Department are for lower amounts. Now, this is incomprehensible. Does an influential member of the Cabinet use his influence only in his own department? Certainly not. He exercises similar influence, rather more, in other departments as well.

I want to request you again to call Shri Ram Swarup Vermaji, the Deputy Leader of our Assembly Party, and obtain full information. In my opinion the Law Minister's note, from all accounts, is flawed, one-sided, misleading and is concealing the truth. We hope that you will take suitable action to make the public life clean and healthy.

Thanks,

Yours,
Raj Narayan

14. Yadunath Singh to Nehru¹⁹

[Refer to items 35 and 68]

Jammu-Tawi,
2nd April 1960

Subject: Dacoity

The work of meeting the dacoits is progressing by the grace of God. Over a dozen important dacoits have already surrendered unconditionally to the Madhya Pradesh authorities. The Roopa-Mansingh gang which could not surrender in January last is now collecting to surrender. I hope this will take place in the next few weeks.

During your recent meeting with Shri Vinoba, he might have told you that he is touring Agra, Morena, Bhind and Gwalior districts of the Chambal Valley, thus taking his message of peace, love and non-violence. I am confident this will create a tremendous effect and the dacoity problem may well become a matter of history. Could you be kind enough to write to the Chief Ministers of U.P. and M.P. to give all considerations and support to Vinoba in his peace mission? This is especially about Agra area. Vinoba wants people to meet him without let or hindrance by the local authorities. If undesirable characters trying to meet Vinoba are not allowed to do so by fear of police activities then the mission becomes a little difficult.

19. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available.

Please forgive this trespass on your time.

15. B. N. Chakravarty to Nehru²⁰

[Refer to item 148]

MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

Elections to the various organisations and sub-organisations of the U.N. take place during the Sessions of the General Assembly. These elections have become so contested that some countries announce their candidature more than a year in advance of the date of election. In view of previous experience, we felt that we too should, if possible, make up our mind well in advance regarding the bodies to which we should seek election at the Sessions to be held in 1960 and 1961. We consulted our Permanent Representative in New York and the matter was considered yesterday by S.G., F.S., C.S. and myself. Our recommendations are submitted to P.M. for his consideration.

(1) Security Council: Ceylon will retire at the end of 1961 and, according to convention, another Commonwealth country will come into the Council. Ghana had withdrawn on the last occasion in favour of Ceylon and probably will again be a candidate for the seat to be vacated by Ceylon. The Federation of Malaya is another possible candidate. This question might be discussed by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers as had been done on previous such conferences. Our chances of election are small and we need not seek election to the Security Council.

(2) Trusteeship Council: Although we have just been elected for a three-year term, which should normally expire at the end of 1962, it is not known what will be the composition of the Council when France and Italy cease to be Administering Members during this year. As the total number of Members of the Trusteeship Council is equally divided between Members administering Trust territories and those who do not, some of the non-Administering Members may have to go out of the Council. The whole question of the future composition of the Trusteeship Council will be decided during the Fifteenth Session.

(3) Economic & Social Council: There is no possibility of our getting into the ECOSOC in 1960 since Ghana has already announced her candidature for the seat to be vacated by Sudan. There are no other seats which India can contest. In 1961, Afghanistan and New Zealand would go out and we can

20. Note, 3 April 1960. File No. 1 (9)-UN II/60, MEA.

contest either of these seats. If we are interested, it is important to announce our candidature as early as possible. If we have to go out of the Trusteeship Council, our case for election to the ECOSOC will become very much stronger. We should, therefore, stand for election in 1961.

(4) Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories: India's term expires at the end of 1961. We are among the founder-members of this Committee and we should stand for re-election and announce our candidature for 1961 immediately after the next Session of the General Assembly.

(5) International Court of Justice: We have already put up the candidature of Dr. Radha Binod Pal. Pakistan has put up Mr. Zafrullah Khan for the same seat.

(6) Committee on Contributions: Our term expires at the end of 1960. We failed to get elected to the Administrative and Budgetary Committee. There does not seem to be any possibility of our election to the Administrative and Budgetary Committee during the next couple of years. In that view, we should seek re-election to the Committee on Contributions.

(7) U.N. Administrative Tribunal: Our term expires at the end of 1961. We may stand for re-election on this Tribunal and announce our intentions immediately after the next Session of the General Assembly.

(8) Human Rights Commission: Our present term on the Human Rights Commission expires in 1961. Elections will take place in the ECOSOC Session to be held in April 1961. We should immediately announce our candidature for re-election.

16. D.B. Kalelkar to Nehru²¹

[Refer to item 37]

April 4, 1960

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I wonder whether you remember that I had written to you about the acuteness of the problem about Belgaum and the only solution which would avoid a catastrophe.

I send you herewith your reply to my letter, to refresh your memory.

I still feel that the whole problem of States Reorganisation has been sadly mismanaged owing to lack of knowledge and proper appreciation of peculiar local conditions.

21. Letter. File No. 38/7/60-SR (R), MHA.

The Marathi speaking area which resists being included in Mysore has a genuine grievance. But the Kannada people will not now consent to restore the area to Maharashtra.

All this area is round about Goa.

It will ease the present tension and simplify the inevitable difficulty of the Goan internal problem, if the area under dispute is centrally administered for several years. And then when Goa is liberated this area could conveniently be given to Goa in order to make it a larger viable unit. I know that neither Maharashtra nor Karnatak will be satisfied if the area under dispute is administered centrally. They will grumble a little but will accept the solution as the best under the circumstances. At least we shall be saved violence and police shooting which is sure to grow.

I have spent my childhood and youth in Belgaum, Karwar and Dharwar. I know the temperament of the people. I am not interested in local ambitions and local politics. It is indifferent to me how the areas are shared. All I am anxious about is that there should be peace in the area. Discontent should be avoided and people should feel that justice is done to them.

I have reliable sources from which I know how keenly the people feel and what desperate remedies they are considering.

I am prepared to discuss my solution in detail with you personally if you feel that my suggestions are worth considering.

There are things which I would not like to commit to paper.

Yours sincerely,
Kaka Kalelkar

17. V.C. Trivedi to M.J. Desai²²

[Refer to item 77]

4 April 1960

In my letter No. 1(2)/PS/60 dated the 2nd of March, I had given you some details regarding the notice served on Mr. Basant Kumar Das under EBDO. In that letter I had stated that one of the charges against Mr. Das was that he had asked a Hindu officer of the Civil Service of Pakistan, Mr. A.K. Dutta-Choudhury, to ascertain from government files whether there was any material against members of the Congress Party. I had also stated that Shri Dutta-Choudhury

22. Copy of letter from Deputy High Commissioner for India in Dacca; salutation and signature not available.

was transferred to West Pakistan in a judicial capacity.

I am writing this letter in connection with certain other developments regarding Mr. Dutta Choudhury. While Shri S.N. Ray was here in connection with the Chief Secretaries' Conference, we talked, among other things, about the case against Mr. Basant Kumar Das. I then learnt that Mr. Dutta-Choudhury is presently in Calcutta. Shri S.N. Ray also told me confidentially and on a personal basis that the West Bengal Cabinet have, more or less, decided to offer a job to Mr. Dutta-Choudhury in Calcutta. I told Shri S.N. Ray that this would be most unfortunate from the point of view of East Bengal Hindus. I reminded him of the celebrated case of Major-General Anis Ahmed, whose employment in Pakistan in some rehabilitation job had created considerable furore in India and public accusations that Muslims were not to be trusted in India. I believe the Major-General was eventually discharged from the job in question. The reaction to Dutta-Choudhury's appointment in Calcutta is likely to be even more violent in Pakistan. As it is, Hindus are being openly accused of disloyalty and an incident of this type will serve as a very useful argument for denying jobs and opportunities to the Hindus of East Pakistan. Besides, it would also lend support to the thesis that West Bengal is determined to undermine the integrity of East Bengal.

I got the impression that Shri S.N. Ray appreciated my approach. If you also agree with my assessment of the situation, It would help Shri Ray's hand if you write to him that you had heard reports of some government job being offered to Mr. Dutta-Choudhury and that you felt that this was not a wise move in the context of the disabilities that are being suffered by the Hindus of East Pakistan.

18. Opposition MPs to Nehru²³

[Refer to item 154]

April, 4

Dear Prime Minister,

The Prime Minister of China has accepted your invitation and from 19th April he would be here for seven days. We have been informed that he is coming here for talks on the Sino-Indian frontier and other allied problems. We fail to understand how any distinction can be made between talks and negotiations.

As some time has passed since the Lok Sabha had an opportunity to discuss this matter and as we do not wish any impression to prevail in your mind or of

23. Letter. Published in *The Hindu*, 6 April 1960.

others concerned that there has been any change or weakening in the attitude of the parties and groups that we represent, we have felt it necessary to reiterate briefly what we consider the popular feeling on this matter to be.

As you know we have deplored the fact that contrary to your own earlier stand you have agreed to a meeting with the Chinese Prime Minister without a satisfaction of the pre-conditions which you yourself had earlier stated to be essential for negotiations with the Chinese Government. We still believe that the proper context for really successful talks can be created only if the Chinese Government give concrete proof of a change of attitude towards the outstanding problems between their country and ours. Such proof would be given if the Chinese forces were first to vacate the illegal occupation of Indian territory.

Now that you are entering on these talks, in spite of the predominant opinion of the Indian people to the contrary, we wish to express the hope that there will be no dilution of the boundaries and that nothing will be done which may be construed as a surrender of any part of Indian territory.

Recognising as we do that the Chinese Premier will be visiting our country in response to an invitation by the Government, our parties would not like to do anything during his stay which may embitter the atmosphere. On the other hand, we trust that the Government will not go out of its way to arrange any public reception or functions in honour of the visitor. We mention this as it is clear to us that in the present state of public feeling if any such efforts are made to induce public participation in the reception of the visitor, such attempts may not be allowed to go unchallenged by the people. In that event, the responsibility will be of those who create such a situation.

In view of the importance of the issue and the public interest in it, we hope you will not mind our releasing this letter to the Press after you have received it.

19. C. Subramaniam to Nehru²⁴

[Refer to item 82]

5th April 1960

This is in continuation of my letter of March 26th. I have in my letter of 15th March explained in detail all the facts. A few more points arise for clarification in view of the letter from Shri Deshmukh a copy of which you were kind enough to send.

Sri Deshmukh has raised the question why I advised Sri Rajaji in 1952 that the question of locating the college within the city by acquiring the land at high

24. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available.

cost should be reconsidered. It has been my considered view that educational institutions at college level with residential hostels should be located away from thickly populated towns. As a matter of fact, that has been the policy of the University also and minimum land requirements to the extent of 40 or 50 acres were fixed with a view to force the location of colleges outside big cities. In this connection, I may mention the ease of Fathimah Girls' College which was originally located within the city of Madurai; it had to shift to an area outside Madurai for the purpose of getting an extensive area. There are two other colleges within the Madurai city but they are very old colleges and they got their lands long ago.

Sri Deshmukh asserts in his letter that Sri Thiagarajan did speak to Rajaji after the decision was taken in August 1953. The records do not bear out this. On the other hand, Rajaji has specifically minuted on 4.11.1953 that Thiagarajan had not seen him.

I have already mentioned in my letter of 15th March that the Collector of Madurai Sri Arunachalam, now deceased, assessed the value of the property at Rs. 12 lakhs and I find there was no subsequent revision of the value by him. Sri Deshmukh refers to a Court auction sale of 30 acres for Rs.42, 000 in 1942 and says that the valuation made by the Collector at Rs. 12 or 13 lakhs was not a correct estimate. Certainly Court auction sales do not provide the correct basis to assess the value. But the valuation by the Collector is only to have an approximate idea of the value to get the amount deposited with the Government by the party. As I already indicated, the actual valuation will have to be made by the Land Acquisition Officer under the provisions of the Act. If anybody is aggrieved with the valuation, remedies are provided in the Act itself. Sri Deshmukh also now accepts this position.

Shri Deshmukh has further suggested that it is most unusual on the part of the Government in land acquisition proceedings to continue to receive objections once a decision is taken. I have already pointed out in my previous letter the real position under the Land Acquisition Act that objections are received only when the 4(1) notification is made as only then owners are given notice of the acquisition proposals and that those objections will have to be considered before passing orders under Section 6.

Sri Deshmukh has also referred to the *Dinamani* newspaper and said the editor of the paper is no less a person than that exemplary character, Sri Ramnath Goenka. I can understand his feelings towards Sri Goenka particularly after the recent article he wrote about Sri Deshmukh. The person who approached the Government on behalf of the paper was not Sri Goenka but the editor of the paper Sri Sivaraman; but perhaps that is not relevant. The Government had to consider whether the objection of the paper should be taken into account or

not and it was decided that the objection should be upheld. I do not think Sri Goenka was persona-grata with Rajaji to influence his decision.

There is a reference in Sri Deshmukh's letter to the Preceptors' College. This college was started only in 1956. A building was put up on a site of 1.55 acres which was purchased by direct negotiation. The college was evidently located in another existing building and was shifted to this building in 1957. Then an application has been made to acquire an extent of 24 acres round about this building. Out of this extent of 24 acres, 7.24 is already covered by Section 4(1) notification issued in connection with the acquisition for the Arts College. Perhaps it is this 7.24 acres which Sri Deshmukh refers to as block D. I may straightaway say if land is required for the Preceptors' College, we will have to institute fresh proceedings. So, the acquisition of this land cannot be linked with the acquisition proceedings for the Arts College.

There is one point in Sri V.V. Giri's letter which calls for my remarks. He has referred to a missing file and the failure of the Government to reconstruct the file and produce it in the High Court. Even before the filing of the Writ Petition, the loss of the file was detected by the Collector of Madurai and action was taken against the clerk who was found to be responsible for the loss of the file. I have got my own suspicions about the loss of the file but that is merely a guess. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to reconstruct the file as the registers and papers connected had been destroyed due to efflux of time and we have explained this matter in an affidavit filed before the High Court.

Sri Thiagaraja Chettiar's contention is that Sri Arunachalam had refixed the valuation at Rs. 2.65 lakhs and that this file was shown to Sri Thiagarajan by Sri Arunachalam. The file is missing and it is very easy for anybody to allege what the file contained. The officer also is unfortunately dead. But if Sri Arunachalam had valued the property again, one would expect a senior civilian officer to send a revised report to the Government informing them about the revaluation. No such report has been received by either the Government or the Board of Revenue. That is why I am inclined to suspect that the disappearance of the file was caused by interested parties.

Sri Thiagaraja Chettiar has not yet met Sri Kamaraj. After he meets him, I shall let you know the further developments.

I am enclosing herewith an extract from the judgement of the Supreme Court, wherein the conduct of Sri Thiagarajann has been commented upon.

P.S. Shri Thiagarajan met me this morning and he is meeting the Chief Minister this evening.

20. Report of Koirala's Press Conference²⁵

[Refer to items 169 and 175]

Nepal Rejects China's Everest Claim
Many disputed points in Peking map: Koirala
No Guarantee of safety in Non-aggression pact

From our Correspondent

Kathmandu, April 4. China has claimed that Mount Everest is in Chinese territory, Mr B.P. Koirala, Nepal Premier, disclosed here today. The claim was made during the recent Nepal-China talks in Peking.

He rejected the claim and told the Chinese that "the Nepal border will continue to be where it is and that it will not permit any encroachments."

"We left the Everest question to be settled in the spirit of the Peking talks when Mr Chou En-lai comes here," Mr. Koirala said.

The Premier, who was speaking to journalists, admitted that the Chinese map presented for approval in Peking included many disputed points. He said that it would not be in the public interest to disclose them.

The disputed area would not be more than a few square miles.

He hoped the boundary question would be settled "favourably" and that his country would "continue to have its present border."

Mr. Koirala was "glad that the Chinese agreed to accept Nepal's traditional boundary." He believed that that would "help India in its stand on the traditional boundary with China during the forthcoming Nehru-Chou negotiations."

A representative of a Nepal Daily, who went to Peking along with Mr. Koirala, reported the Chinese claim to Everest in his newspaper. The Chinese insisted according to the report, that permission could be granted to expeditions to Everest only in consultation with the Chinese Government.

Mr. Koirala did not entertain this suggestion, the report added.

The Premier said today that the report was correct.

The claim was a new one and Mr. Koirala could not say whether it related to the entire Everest range.

It related to "Everest as such". Gauri Shanker which also stands on the Nepal-China border, had not been claimed. He declined to discuss the differences

25. *The Hindustan Times*, 5 April 1960.

on Everest in detail.

Authoritative sources, according to PTI, said that the claim had surprised Mr. Koirala. They said that Everest would be the height of either accord or discord between Nepal and China.

The claim is considered here as a move aimed at strengthening China's claims to the Himalayas in Peking's border dispute with India. Informed sources said that the Chinese attached much value to the crest of the Himalayan ranges.

The following are the views China and Nepal expressed on Everest: China: Sagarmatha, the Nepali names for Everest, is a recent one. The Chinese name, Chomolungma, which is a Tibetan word, was the traditional name for the highest Himalayan peak.

We attach much national value to Everest. Until World War II, all British expeditions to Everest obtained permission from Lhasa and the blessings of Dalai Lama.

Chinese school books taught that Chomolungma belonged to China.

Nepal: We too attach much national value to Everest.

China did not protest when we started granting permission to expeditions to Everest in 1948.

Our schools teach that Sagarmatha is a Nepali mountain.

Discussing the Chinese offer of a treaty of friendship, peace and non-aggression, Mr. Koirala said that non-aggression treaty could save a country and history bore ample evidence of this.

Nepal would not be alone in the event of any Chinese aggression, he said.

On principle he was not opposed to such measures, but at the same time he held that no non-aggression treaty could be a guarantee against aggression. This was history's lesson. Many such treaties had been trampled elsewhere.

Mr. Koirala dismissed the suggestion that a China-Nepal agreement could possibly create a gulf between India and Nepal. On the contrary, he said India would like a settlement of Nepal's problems with China.

The Chinese offer of a non aggression treaty would be further explored in Kathmandu. It was just an idea.

Mr. Koirala claimed that the chances of a settlement between India and China had improved. He attributed this development to "international factors".

Mr. Koirala said that agreement to demilitarise 20 km. on either side of frontier was a definite gain to Nepal.

A correspondent asked if it was really "wise" to make this agreement in view of several administrative requirements like emergencies.

Mr. Koirala said although no written provisions were there, in case of internal emergencies Nepal could send armed personnel to the border areas. The agreement applied to normal conditions.

Mr. Koirala made these other points:

Nepal had no border dispute with India. There had been no case of any violation of Nepal's southern border.

Constructions in Jalkundi in the West Nepal Terai had been fully authorized. If any former PM (of Nepal) cast doubt on this, he was deliberately being unfair.

The Deputy premier, Mr. Subarna, who is to visit the United States along with King Mahendra next week, would explore the possibility of obtaining a Rs.40 Crore loan from the World Bank or other agencies to complete the Karnali river and other projects.

About 40 per cent of the total aid Nepal received from various sources had been utilized during the past six months.

China was much ahead of India in agriculture, but industrial progress was not higher than in India.

21. Akali Problem²⁶

[Refer to item 63]

Averting Akali MLAs' Break with Congress
Moderates want Tara Singh to meet Prime Minister

Chandigarh, April 6. The threatened break of the Akali legislators with the Congress, in response to Master Tara Singh's four week-old "quit-Congress" call has been delayed.

This has given time to the moderates to work for averting the final rupture.

The Akali Dal general body at its meeting at Anandpur Sahib on March 12, had directed the Akali legislators to leave the Congress legislature party and organise a "panthic group" with the opposition. The Congress had been branded as an "anti-panth" organization. The call was meant to be implemented "with immediate effect", but none of the MLAs has taken the extreme step so far.

The change in the Akali mood—denied by the Dal leadership—the direct outcome of the interview of five pro-Tara Singh Congress-Akali MLAs had with Mr Nehru recently in New Delhi when they apprised him of their viewpoint on various aspects of the problems affecting the Sikhs.

26. Report from *The Hindustan Times*, 7 April 1960.

MLAs impressed

From all accounts, the legislators were impressed by the Prime Minister's sincerity and his readiness to discuss the issue in detail.

This was conveyed to the Master Tara Singh by the Akali MLAs at Amritsar, with the result that his earlier hostility was transformed into a "wait and see" attitude.

Efforts are now being made for Master Tara Singh to meet the Prime Minister.

According to another view, which lacks confirmation so far, the change in the Akali attitude is due to the word received from Mr Baldev Singh, former Defence Minister who is at present abroad for medical treatment. A trusted lieutenant of both Master Tara Singh and Mr Baldev Singh, it is stated, has been acting as an emissary.

A section of Akalis believe that the status quo is in no way less beneficial to their cause than the proposed break in as much as their membership of the Congress party has not debarred them from raising their voice against "official interference" in Gurdwara affairs or even in favour of the Punjabi Suba demand.

22. Lakshman Singh Charak to Nehru²⁷

[Refer to item 34]

Village Satwari, Jammu Cantt.

7th April 1960

I wrote to you in January last this year. I believe that my letter would be receiving your kind consideration. In the meanwhile an event of importance affecting me has occurred necessitating my writing to you again.

As I mentioned to you in December 1959, when I had the privilege of waiting on you, I had mentioned that I have been working in the Bharat Sewak Samaj since March 57, in various capacities. In 1959 I was elected to the office of the Lok Karya Kshetrya at Marh in Jammu Tehsil. In February this year I received a communication from Shri Khanna, Organising Secretary, Central B.S.S. New Delhi, asking me to suggest names for appointment as a Convener for Jammu Pradesh for the year 1960. Further he wanted to know if I could undertake the responsibility of this office, if an offer was made to me. I suggested a few names and also expressed my willingness to work as a Convener for Jammu Pradesh.

27. Copy of letter, salutation and signature not available.

I understand that when Bakhshi Sahib went over to Delhi recently and Shri Nandaji met him and had enquired from him about me. It appears, however, that he suggested someone else for that appointment evidently not approving my appointment as such.

I may here mention that on your call in November 1947 I was the first among the land owners and the Dogras in Jammu area to extend cooperation to the National Conference in the most critical days of the history of Jammu & Kashmir. Following this I was sent in 1952 in Parliament for which I am ever so grateful to the party. I worked in the Parliament to the best of my ability. I hold letter of commendation about my work from Bakhshi Sahib as well as other dignitaries, in the Congress Party in Parliament.

As I mentioned before since 1957 Bakhshi Sahib has been holding out repeated assurances to me of my being given a position of responsibility in the National Conference; but in actual practice the assurances remained a dead letter and the only conclusion that can be drawn from this is that my continued association with the National Conference is not very much desired by him. What therefore a self-respecting person confronted with such a situation can do is not to stick to such an organisation. But before such a step was taken by me, as a humble follower of yours, I thought I was duty bound to apprise you of the situation and seek your guidance.

23. S.K. Dey to Nehru²⁸

[Refer to item 103]

Minister Community Development and Cooperation India

New Delhi,
April 7, 1960

My dear Panditji,

[...]Two days ago, it appears, there was a meeting of the sub-committee of the Cabinet that you appointed to find out if and how some of the special demands made for the Third Five Year Plan by some Ministries in the centre like Steel, Industries, etc. could be met. Shri Shriman Narayan tells me that because the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation and the Ministry of Irrigation and Power did not raise any forceful protests against their allocations, there was a feeling that the allocations of these Ministries could, perhaps, be

28. Extract of Letter. File No. 17(28)/59-62-PMS.

cut to meet the demands of others. As I was not there, Shri Shriman Narayan says, he protested against the very idea and pointed out what difficulties the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation had still been grappling with for the adjustment of its needs to the allocation of Rs. 400 crores. The matter has apparently been postponed for a further discussion.

I wish to cast no reflection. I wish nevertheless that some of my colleagues who made such observations regarding the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation would kindly refresh their contact with the villages of India today. It is overdue. As for any possible cut, the least that I can say is that it is better to abandon the idea of Community Development than to deal with it either without understanding or in a step-brotherly way. Gentleness was not the inborn virtue in my character. If I have been practising it against all my native impulses, it is only in deference to your implied wishes. I do not wish my gentleness to be interpreted by any one as weakness.

Yours sincerely,
S.K. Dey

24. K. Kamaraj to Nehru²⁹

[Refer to item 142]

Fort St. George
Madras
April 7, 1960

My dear Panditji,

[...]3. Our considered assessment is that, during the Third Plan period, there will be a continuing shortage of power of the order of 500 M.W. in power supply even after exploitation of the conventional sources of energy to the full. During the crucial period of the Industrial development of the State, it would be, from our point of view, rather disastrous to leave uncovered such a wide gap in power supply. I would, therefore, urge that the location in this State of an Atomic Power Plant of 250,000-500,000 K.W. would be fully justified. Madras Government explained these facts to Dr. Bhabha last month. While expressing his sympathies, Dr. Bhabha indicated that unless a third Nuclear Power Station was included in the plan, the chances of Madras securing the plant were similar. It appears that even if the third station were included in the

29. Extracts of letter. File No. 17(278)/57-60-PMS.

Plan it could not go into operation before 1964. Since our power shortage will be acute and unmanageable by that time, the sanction of the third Nuclear Power Station appears to be an obvious necessity.

4. In the light of these facts, I would urge that our request may be given due consideration before finalising the programme of Nuclear Power Development.

Yours sincerely,
K. Kamaraj

25. R.M. Hajarnavis to Nehru³⁰

[Refer to item 130]

I feel considerable hesitation in agreeing with the Secretary who proposes to advise the Ministry of Home Affairs that import of unexpurgated edition of D.H. Lawrence's controversial novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover* should be prohibited under section 19 (f) of the Sea Customs Act. Ban of D.H. Lawrence's book is likely to be an international literary event. Further, I regard our law relating to obscene literature, which is the same as law in U.K. before 1959, as vague, rigid and out of date. The law in U.K. as a result of vigorous agitation carried on by Society of Authors, P.E.N. Club and progressive Members of Parliament has now been considerably liberalised. I am of opinion that our own law may, with advantage, be brought in line with the reformed law in U.K. In the absence of the Law Minister, I am, therefore, submitting the file to the Prime Minister.

2. Our law deals with obscene literature in two ways: (i) its entry at port and circulation by post in the country may be prohibited, (ii) the bookseller may be prosecuted under section 292 of the Indian Penal Code, a provision which was inserted in 1925 in pursuance of the International Convention which India signed for the suppression of obscene publications. This provision reproduces the law in U.K. where for over a hundred years obscene publications were dealt with under the Obscene Publication Act and in interpreting the statute Cockburn C. J. in Hicklin's case laid down the following test of obscene literature:

"A writing was said to be obscene where there was a tendency to deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influences and

30. Note, 7 April 1960.

into whose hands the publication of this sort may fall."

Indian courts have based their decisions on the test laid in Hicklin's judgment.

3. The law in Hicklin's case was regarded with great dissatisfaction by authors, publishers, lawyers and booksellers. When the Home Office started a vigorous literary witch hunt in 1954, there were several convictions of highly reputable firms of book publishers and a large number of books were confiscated and destroyed. The Society of Authors, therefore, appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of Sir Alan Herbert, which, in association with P.E.N. Club, launched a campaign for amendment of the law. Though other attempts failed, Mr. Roy Jenkins, M.P., has been successful in placing on the statute book a few months back a measure which though it does not go the whole length desired by the sponsors is yet fairly progressive. By the Jenkins Act, as it is now known, the court is now required (i) to take into consideration the dominant effect of the whole book, (ii) to find that the publication of the article is justified on the ground that it is in the interest of science, literature or learning and of other subjects of general concern, and (iii) lastly, to admit opinion of the experts as to the literary, scientific or other merits of the article.

4. This edition of Lawrence's novel which is priced at 35 cents per copy by its American publishers is claimed to be a faithful reprint (including errors and all) of the edition which was printed for Lawrence in 1928 by Orioli in Florence for private circulation. It has successfully faced the challenge of American censorship laws twice, but the Supreme Court of Japan has proscribed it as obscene. In 1956, a bookseller in U.K. was convicted and fined for selling the book; but on the other hand the famous jurist and Law Lord, Lord Denning speaking on Jenkins' Bill expressed doubt whether the novel would be condemned after the Bill was passed. In 1942, we had banned the import of this edition under the Sea Customs Act. In Bombay, I am informed by the Deputy Legal Adviser, it is the subject of a criminal prosecution by police. I had asked him to ascertain at what stage the case is and he was informed last evening that four booksellers are arrested and charge sheet will be filed before the Magistrate on the 11th of April.

5. Our record after independence on censorship is good. *Lolita*—first published by Olympia Press of Paris—was for years a literary outlaw in U.K. and could come out in the open only after Jenkins' Bill was passed. We raised no objection to its import, and judging by the reception the book had in the English speaking countries, our decision taken so much in advance of theirs has been amply vindicated.

6. I venture to suggest, however, that we in the Ministry of Law when asked whether an article is obscene libel, can collect and explain the provisions of law but evaluation of the artistic merit of a book ought to be entrusted to a

Committee of persons who form a cross-section of educated society. Not only do literary judgments vary from person to person and age to age but even judgments of the criminal courts are not conclusive. James Joyce's *Ulysses* is free after the judgment of an American Court; but though the publisher of Miss Radclyffe Hall's *Well of Loneliness* was convicted of publishing obscene literature (in spite of able defence by Sir Norman Birkett), the book is now openly sold in all English speaking countries notwithstanding the judgment.

7. As I am dealing with the question, I cannot evade expressing my own opinion. I had read the expurgated edition of the book some years back and have gone through the passages to which objection is raised. Lawrence insists on deliberate and repeated use of "four letter words" in his description of sexual act. In his defence of the book (Apropos *Lady Chatterley's Lover*), he said that these "words are a natural part of the mind's consciousness of the body". Assuming the theme to be portrayal of passionate love and joy which man and woman find in each other's body, leading to sexual embraces and which finally culminate in a lifelong attachment, my reaction as an ordinary reader to the use of the words is that they not only do not add to the artistic merit but they positively repel. They almost satisfy Lawrence's own definition of obscene literature "dirt for dirt's sake".

8. Even so, I would find difficulty in imposing a ban on the book. If we ban the book on the ground that it contains description in detail of the sexual act, how can we justify the exhibition to the tourists, both from our own country and outside, the panels showing sexual orgies in groups and unnatural sexual acts as Khajuraho and other places? It is true that temples and places of worship are exempt from the criminal law of obscenity but in my opinion, there cannot be different standards for Government and private citizen; if skill in carving saves the figures at Khajuraho, many will concede Lawrence's claim as a virtuoso in handling English language.

9. I would, therefore, suggest that—

(a) the importer may be asked to await the trial in the Bombay court under the present law. There is high probability of the case ending in conviction under the present law;

(b) the law relating to obscene libel may be amended. For that purpose—

(i) we may request the Law Commission to examine the question,

(ii) but if this is likely to result in delay, as I am afraid it will, Government may introduce a Bill which contains the main features of the Jenkins' Act; and

(c) while the Ministry of Law may continue to advise on law, opinion whether an article is obscene may be obtained from a Committee of experts constituted on the pattern of Board of Censors for cinematographic films,

under the direction of the Ministry of Education or Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.

26. R.P. Paranjpye to Nehru³¹

[Refer to item 17]

Purushottam Ashram

Poona 4

8th April 1960

My dear Prime Minister,

I have recently paid a very instructive and enjoyable visit to the Andaman and Nicobar Islands and I would like respectfully to suggest that you should find time to visit this important, but much neglected, outpost of India.

The Government have in hand some important schemes of development in these islands and the Chief Commissioner and other officers are doing their best in the matter. But a visit from you will greatly encourage them and also the people. You have paid visits to all other parts of India, and I am sure you will find a visit to the Andamans very interesting, and enable you to see something very different from other parts of India. The potentialities, both economic and strategic, of these islands are immense. The Japanese had occupied these islands for three years during the last war, and this must not happen again after independence.

The great need of this part of our country is adequate communication with the mainland. Recently I hear that a weekly air service is going to be arranged during the fair season, but even more is required in the way of regular postal and steamer facilities. You will be able to see all this for yourself in a short visit and ensure that the Andamans lose the stigma of having been a penal settlement and became a favourite resort for visitors and a place where enterprising people have ample opportunities of improving their prospects and adding to the wealth of the country.

Apologising for thus intruding on your notice,

Yours sincerely,

R.P. Paranjpye

31. Letter. R.P. Paranjpye Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

27. G.B. Pant to Nehru³²*[Refer to item 90]*

Home Minister
India
New Delhi,
April 8, 1960

My dear Jawaharlalji,

Rajendra Babu had written to me some time ago about the appointment of the second Official Language Commission in terms of Article 344 of the Constitution. The question was already under consideration in consultation with the Law Ministry. The Law Minister has advised that it is not mandatory to appoint the second Official Language Commission (copy of his note enclosed). I informed the President of the Law Minister's advice and have received his reply of April 3 (copy enclosed). I have since spoken to the President. He was not in favour of amending the Constitution. He, however, seemed to agree that the appointment of the second Commission immediately might not be feasible and thought that it could be set up after some time. The question has in any case to go to the Cabinet and I am having the necessary paper prepared for it.

Yours affectionately,
G.B. Pant

28. T.N. Kaul to S. Dutt³³*[Refer to item 183 and 185]*

9 April 1960

I have just received by today's bag your "Secret & Personal" letter No. FS/305/60 of April 8. I am hastening to reply so that the wrong impression created by the Foreign Minister's alleged statement to the British Ambassador may not be allowed to continue. I am indeed surprised at the remarks attributed by him to me. I could not possibly have attributed something to Lord Mountbatten which he did not mention to me and I categorically refute the Foreign Minister's statement to the British Ambassador that I had seen him (Foreign Minister) and

32. Letter. File No. 52(13)/58-63-PMS. Also published in B.R. Nanda (ed.), *Selected Works of Govind Ballabh Pant* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002), Vol. 18, p. 236.

33. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available.

informed him that Lord Mountbatten was very concerned at the political and economic state of Iran. In fact I have not seen the Foreign Minister officially since my meeting with Lord Mountbatten, though I have met him casually at various parties and receptions. At one of these, the Foreign Minister, while talking to me about the meeting of the Military Committee of CENTO, said that he was not concerned with its military aspect, but only with its economic and political implications, which, in his opinion, were more important. He casually remarked that some foreign circles seemed to be unduly worried about political and economic conditions in Iran. He then asked me if I had seen Lord Mountbatten and what he thought about it. I told him that I had paid a courtesy call on Lord Mountbatten and we had only talked about India and the days when he was there. I said that I had seen some adverse criticism of conditions in Iran in some foreign newspapers and some junior foreign diplomats in Tehran had been talking about it. The Foreign Minister could not possibly have linked these remarks with Lord Mountbatten, unless he had any other information with him. Iranian officials are inclined to be unduly suspicious of and sensitive to foreign criticism and apt to jump to conclusions not justified by facts.

2. As I have already reported, there is considerable anxiety among Americans in particular and other diplomats in general that the economic and political conditions in Iran are rapidly deteriorating. I do not know if Lord Mountbatten talked about this subject to the Shah or to other Iranian authorities, but it is possible that if he did so, they may have possibly connected it with the people who had met Lord Mountbatten in Tehran. I know that the Iranian Security Service keep a strict watch on all important foreign visitors and the people who meet them. I am, however, somewhat surprised that the Foreign Minister should have attributed to me remarks which I did not make. If, therefore, you have no objection, I should like to ask him about the matter. I would also request that, if necessary, Lord Mountbatten may be assured that I have not divulged my conversations with him to anyone in Iran—not even to the British Ambassador and some diplomatic officers of the British Embassy who tried to find out from me.

29. C. Subramaniam to Nehru³⁴*[Refer to item 83]*

9th April 1960

I am writing this again in connection with the Thiagarajar College at Madurai. Shri Thiagaraja Chettiar met the Chief Minister and had a talk with him. As I already wrote to you, there are two separate questions to be settled now, one regarding the land required for the Thiagarajar Arts College for which we have offered to acquire about 27 acres as decided in the Cabinet resolution and the other being the question relating to the land required for the College of Preceptors. Sri Thiagaraja Chettiar has applied for acquisition of 25.79 acres for the College of Preceptors. Out of this extent, an extent of seven and odd acres is already included in the notification issued in connection with the acquisition of land for the Arts College. Sri Thiagaraja Chettiar requests that this extent of seven and odd acres for the College of Preceptors may be acquired along with the 27 acres intended for the Arts College. As far as this question is concerned, the Chief Minister is agreeable to acquire this land by initiating fresh acquisition proceedings and there would be no difficulty regarding the price as that will be fixed according to law and the owners of the lands would not be prejudiced.

But the main difficulty would arise in regard to the price to be paid for the 27 acres to be acquired for the Arts College for which preliminary notification has been issued in the year 1951. According to the Land Acquisition Act, the market value prevailing as on the date of the issue of the notification, that is, 4-9-1951, would have to be fixed. This would cause great hardship to the owners of the sites. They have been prevented from utilising the land effectively because of the pending acquisition proceedings. During the last ten years, the property value has gone up considerably. So, an equitable value will have to be paid to the owners. That cannot be done if we adopt the procedure laid down in the Land Acquisition Act. So I would suggest that both the parties should agree to a third party preferably a high placed official to value the land as on 1st January 1955 and to accept that valuation, I feel that this would be the best under the circumstances. Sri Thiagaraja Chettiar should be asked to agree to this proposal.

If you think that this should be solved in any other way, you will kindly let us know.

34. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available.

30. A.K. Chanda to Nehru³⁵

[Refer to items 71 and 72]

I was shown on the 11th morning, on return from a week's tour, the transcript of the debate in the House on the defence estimates. Some insinuations were made about the timing of the presentation of the Audit Report to the House and also about the inclusion of one chapter (in fact, it is only one para) in the Report.

I have also seen in the newspapers this morning that some Congress Members of Parliament are meeting you today to draw your attention to what are supposed to be some extraordinary features of the Defence Audit Report.

So far as I can judge from the discussions in the Lok Sabha and the newspaper reports, the points made are:

- (i) The report was hustled and deliberately placed on the table of the House on the very day the Defence demands were taken up for consideration.
- (ii) There has been impropriety in the signing of the report before the end of the financial year 1959-60.
- (iii) The Ministry has not been given six weeks' time to offer comments on paras proposed to be included in the report; and
- (iv) An extraordinary procedure has been followed in referring to a point under a "new" chapter entitled "Other topics of interest".

I deeply regret that the conduct of the Auditor-General in the discharge of his functions under the Constitution should have been questioned in the manner it has been by some responsible people and should have become the subject of a controversy in the Press. What is really extraordinary is that no attempt has been made by the critics of the Auditor-General to ascertain whether there has been any departure from the normal and established procedures. I take, therefore, the earliest opportunity to acquaint you with the factual position.

The printed Audit Report was countersigned by me on March 28 and submitted to the President for presentation to Parliament. The report was presented to the House on April 8, after 11 days of its signature. This hardly is "hustling" the report. Secondly, my responsibility ends with the submission of the report to the President; I have nothing to do with the presentation of the report to the House.

35. Copy of letter; salutation and signature not available.

The report relates to the accounts of 1958-59 and has been signed after the close of that financial year. In accordance with past practice, it mentions also any irregularities noticed in audit relating to the subsequent period. The preface to all the Audit Reports makes a specific mention of this. As for example, in the second paragraph of the introduction to the Civil Audit Report, 1958, relating to the year 1956-57, it has been stated, "these relate mainly to transactions in the fiscal year 1956-57, but wherever possible, transactions up to the date of audit have been included. Similarly, a few transactions of earlier years which could not be dealt with earlier, by reason of delay in final administrative decisions, have been included."

It is as a result of sustained effort that audit has now been brought up to date. The 1960 reports on Railways and Posts & Telegraphs have already been submitted, and the Civil Audit Report will be ready before the end of the month. There are long-standing orders of the Auditor-General to the Accountants-General to prepare and present Audit Reports before the next year's budget estimates are considered. It will be evident, therefore, that there is nothing extraordinary or unusual in trying to make audit as concurrent as is feasible or in referring to past transactions. The preparation of the Defence Audit Report was only in line with what had been done in regard to the three other Audit Reports.

It is for the Auditor General to decide how best he should fulfil his constitutional responsibilities and what conventions he should establish regarding reporting etc. There is no constitutional or legislative compulsion for him to adopt a particular procedure. In order, however, to give the Ministries an opportunity to suggest corrections or modifications to paras embodying major financial irregularities which are proposed for inclusion in the Audit Report, it is the Auditor General himself who has directed the Accountants-General to send these to the administration as it was "desirable" to do so, adding that "this was done as a matter of precaution and is not obligatory". (Article 268 of the Audit Code).

In 1946, the Finance Department, in consultation with the Auditor General, accepted the recommendation of the Public Accounts Committee that a maximum period of six weeks should be allowed to the Departments to accept or suggest modifications to the Audit paragraphs. This limit was imposed as chronic delays in the departments were holding up the preparation of the Audit Reports.

I should mention that all the paras relating to financial irregularities were sent to the Defence Ministry. In many cases, more than six weeks were allowed for a reply, but even then, explanations were not forthcoming on some of the paragraphs. In fact, the Director of Audit, Defence Services, had complained

to me that papers necessary for audit had not been made available sometimes for months, and I had occasion to mention this to the Defence Secretary more than once. As a result, the Director of Audit has not been able to give me the necessary assurance that he has received all information required to enable me to certify the Defence Appropriation Accounts.

The Defence Minister made a point that a "New" chapter headed "Other topics of interest" was introduced in the Defence Audit Report and that (the solitary paragraph in) this chapter was not sent to the Defence Ministry for its explanation before incorporation in the Report. He drew special attention to the heading, implying that the Auditor-General had coined a special phraseology for the Defence Report. I should say that a chapter on "Other topics of interest" is a normal and routine prescribed feature of Audit Reports, both here as well as in the U.K. A reference to any of the previous Audit Reports, Civil, Railways, etc., will show that this is so.

Material included under "other topics of interest" does not constitute an audit objection requiring the explanation of the Ministry concerned. It is a factual narration of a matter which would interest the House. There is not even a convention of prior consultation in such matters. The paragraphs are sent for information to the Ministries concerned whenever possible, as a matter of courtesy, but it is not always possible to do so, nor is there any question of allowing six weeks for representation. For example, the Audit Report of 1952, which was presented by my predecessor to the House in May 1954, carried in the chapter "Other topics of interest" an important paragraph on "The Integration of former Princely States with the Union of India". This was added subsequent to printing, just before the report was signed and it was not sent to the States Ministry even for information. There are other similar instances also.

I need hardly add that the suggestion that the Defence Audit Reports of recent years reflect any personal animus has no substance whatsoever. On the contrary, a cursory reading of the Defence Audit Reports of earlier years will show that the audit observations were then far more strongly worded than in the recent reports. The introduction to the 1954 Audit Report provides a ready answer to such an unwarranted suggestion.

I shall be glad to provide further clarification in personal discussion with you, if you so desire. In view of the references in the two Houses, implying impropriety in the Auditor General's conduct, I propose to write to the Speaker and Chairman explaining the position in greater length.

31. Lal Bahadur Shastri to Nehru³⁶*[Refer to item 187]*

We have made some progress in the setting up of Productivity Councils at different levels but we are still in the initial stages of our productivity schemes. I feel that we should do some solid work before actually joining the Asian Productivity Council. I had, therefore, suggested that it would be premature to join this organisation at present.

2. We had advised our representatives attending the Asian Round Table Productivity Conference of March 1959 that they should tell the Conference that the time is not yet ripe for setting up the Asian Productivity Organisation. If, however, the other countries are desirous of proceeding ahead with the proposal, India need not object to it. It should be made unmistakably clear that participation of the Indian representative in these meetings does not in any way involve a commitment that the Indian National Productivity Council, which has yet to consider the proposal, has agreed to be a member of the Asian Productivity Organisation if and when it is set up.

3. There is no doubt that Japan has made a great and definite advance in activities concerning productivity. The other countries represented in the Council like Formosa, South Korea and Viet-Nam have not, as far as I understand, made much progress. Some of the countries are not even recognised by the government of India. This was an additional reason for not agreeing to our participation in this Asian organisation.

4. The Japanese Ambassador might be informed that we do not consider it advisable to join the Asian Productivity Council unless we have really made some advance in regard to productivity as such. It would certainly be appropriate to consider this matter at a later stage. In the meanwhile we are taking steps to go ahead with our programmes relating to productivity.

32. M.J. Desai to Nehru³⁷*[Refer to item 193]*

Shri Mohamed Esoop Nagdee is seeing P.M. at 4.15 this afternoon. Shri Nagdee has been in South Africa for 69 years and he is about 100 years' old. He comes from a place called Kachholi in Surat District, Bombay State, and is the only

36. Note, 13 April 1960. File No. 2 (310)/59-65-PMS.

37. Note, 13 April 1960. File no. UPD-18/60-AFR. I, MEA. Also available in JN Collection and File No. 8/143/60-PMS.

living survivor of the group of Satyagrahis who took part, under Gandhiji's leadership, in the Satyagraha campaign in South Africa.

2. Shri Nagdee in his talk with me referred to the administration of the Group Areas Act and the terrible hardships that persons of Indian origin are suffering. He referred to the compulsory removal of people from the areas that the authorities in Transvaal have started, described the terrible hardships and suffering involved and pleaded that P.M. should, during his visit to London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, impress on all concerned the urgency of revocation of the Group Areas Act so that persons of Indian origin in South Africa could continue to reside where they are and carry on their professions and may be able to buy and sell property. Shri Nagdee is aware of the persistent efforts being made by India in the United Nations to get the Group Areas Act annulled, but wants energetic steps to be taken both in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and in the United Nations to get the Group Areas Act annulled.

3. Shri Nagdee is very keen that P.M. should visit his place Kachholi in Surat District during the next couple of months or so while Shri Nagdee is there as more than 50 people from South Africa have expressed a desire to meet P.M. and they would all fly out if P.M. gave a date for his visit to Kachholi. Shri Nagdee wants to make this as a special occasion when P.M. can meet a large number of people of Indian origin who are working in South Africa and also remind them as well as people in India of the Satyagrah campaign led by Gandhiji in South Africa. Shri Nagdee gets highly emotional when he refers to his association with Gandhiji and, as the only survivor of the Satyagrah campaign who is now about 100 years' old, wants to have the satisfaction in the evening of his life of P.M. visiting Kachholi which is Shri Nagdee's native place, and meeting a large gathering there. Shri Nagdee also mentioned that he wants to invite Indiraji and others also if P.M. gives him a date.

GLOSSARY

(Including abbreviations and names of places)

AIIMS	All India Institute of Medical Sciences
Aijal	Aizawl
AIR	All India Radio
AMU	Aligarh Muslim University
ANC	African National Congress
APCC (I)	Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee (Indira)
Artha Sachiva	Finance Officer
Banaras	Varanasi
Bangalore	Bengaluru
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
Bombay City	Mumbai
BPCC	Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee
BSS	Bharat Sewak Samaj
Burma	Myanmar
Calcutta	Kolkata
CENTO	Central Treaty Organisation
Ceylon	Sri Lanka
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CS	Commonwealth Secretary
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
DCC	Defence Committee of the Cabinet
Djakarta	Jakarta
DM	Defence Minister
DMK	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
East Pakistan	Bangladesh
EBOO	Elective Bodies Disqualification Order (Pakistan)

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ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
FB (M)	Forward Bloc (Marxist)
FICCI	Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
Formosa	Taiwan
FS	Foreign Secretary
Gauhati	Guwahati
GNP	Ganatantra Parishad
GOI	Government of India
IAF Meghdoot	Indian Air Force Meghdoot
IAS	Indian Administrative Service
ICWA	Indian Council of World Affairs
IFAS	Indian Frontier Administrative Service
IFS	Indian Foreign Service
IG Police	Inspector General Police
IPS	Indian Police Service
kallar	barren or saline land
Madras State	Tamil Nadu
maund	unit of weight, about 38 kilograms
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MLA	Member of Legislative Assembly
MLC	Member of Legislative Council
MP	Madhya Pradesh/Member of Parliament
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NHTA	Naga Hills Tuensang Area
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
NNC	Naga National Council
NPC	Naga People's Convention
ONGC	Oil and Natural Gas Commission
Orissa	Odisha
P&T	Posts and Telegraph
PA	Personal Assistant
PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress
Panga	large cane cutting knife
PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee

PEN Club	Poets, Editors and Novelists' Club
PIB	Press Information Bureau
PIO	Press Information Officer
PM	Prime Minister
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
Poona	Pune
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PTI	Press Trust of India
PWD	Public Works Department
<i>Rajya Sabha Debates</i>	<i>Parliamentary Debates in the</i> [as appropriate] <i>Session of the Rajya Sabha</i> , various volumes, Rajya Sabha Secretariat, New Delhi.
Rajyapal	Governor
Rangoon	Yangon
RR	Refugee Rehabilitation
RSP	Revolutionay Socialist Party
Sahkarita	Cooperation
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organisation
SG	Secretary General
South Korea	Republic of Korea
SWJN/FS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru/First Series</i>
SWJN/SS	<i>Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru/Second Series</i>
thanedar	police official in charge of police station
TB	tuberculosis
UAR	United Arab Republic
UGC	University Grants Commission
UK	United Kingdom
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPCC	Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee
UPSC	Union Public Service Commission
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
vimukta jati	denotified tribes
White Paper III	Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, <i>Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged Between</i>

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YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

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- Nehru reassured IFS recruits: "You have all joined the Foreign Service with ideas that it is a most thrilling and exciting life and let me assure you that 90% and sometimes 99% of life is dull with flashes of light here and there."
- On D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, Nehru said: "I have no doubt in my mind that so far as this book is concerned, it should be banned. In case our order is challenged in a court of law, the matter can be faced."
- Nasser expanded at length to Nehru on how Bulgaria was the centre of communist propaganda and intrigue.
- Nehru confided to Nasser: "Eisenhower threw hints several times that they were prepared to give us military aid. We refused. We are prepared to buy arms, but not accept military aid."
- Krishna Lal Shridharani wrote in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*: "Mr. Nehru can get away with the Bhoodan of Aksai Chin. He is such a darling of the people that he can get away with anything, including murder as the English idiom goes, although he is incapable of committing a murder."
- Shridharani remarked about concessions to China: "This will be the Waterloo of 'N' (he once had his stationery printed with the Napoleonic 'N') if he appeases Chou En-lai."

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